

COR = 112-10 58-10
p17683

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXI

1958

12

Published by

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Agents : MESSRS. LUZAC & Co., LTD., 47 Great Russell Street, W.C.1.

P17683



INDEX TO VOLUME XXI

A

- Ad 'Sissoc at Susa', *BSOAS*, XIX, 2, 1967, 317, l. 5 (Ilya Gershevitch), 174.
Adhyāśayasamcodanasūtra, Note on the (D. L. Snellgrove), 620-3.
 AGRAVĀL (VĀSUDDEVŚARAṆ), *Bhārat-sāvitri*, 442.
 Albanian chronicle, The, of Mxit'ar Goš (C. J. F. Dowsett), 472-90.
 ALLOHN (F. R.), rev., 213.
 ALLOTT (A. N.), rev., 206-7.
 almohade, *Historia política del imperio*. [Primera parte] (Ambrosio Huici Miranda), 190-1.
Altindische Grammatik (Jakob Wackernagel). *Nachtrage zu Bd. II, 1 von Albert Debrunner*, 440.
Anandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka of. (Uddyota I, Uddyota II) (ed. Bishnupada Bhattacharya), 440-1.
Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka (tr. K. Krishnamoorthy), 440-1.
Ancient folk-literature from north-eastern Tibet (F. W. Thomas), 650-1.
Ancient Semitic civilizations (Sabatino Moscati), 437.
 ANDRAE (TOR), *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme*, 673.
 ANDRZEJEWSKI (B. W.), ed., *Hikmah Soomaali, by Muuse Haaji Ismaaciil Galaal*, 430-1.
 Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vols. 3, Tom. 1, 10-14 (review), 427-8.
annotation, L', ponctuelle de la description de voyage étonnante ... de moi Maria ter Meelen ... (Hoorn 1748) (tr. G.-H. Bousquet and G. W. Bousquet-Mirandolle), 210.
arabe classique, L' (Henri Fleisch), 637-8.
arabe moderne, Introduction. à l' (Charles Pellat), 437-8.
arabes, Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources (Arne Melvinger), 211.
 Arabian geographical works, Two sixteenth-century (R. B. Serjeant), 254-75.
Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden, Handlist of (comp. P. Voorhoeve), 628-9.
Arabic manuscripts, The, of Mount Sinai (Aziz Suryal Atiya), 672-3.
Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria, A catalogue of the (W. E. N. Kensdale), 673.
Arabic, The phonology of colloquial Egyptian (Richard S. Harrell), 635-7.
Arabic centrale, Expédition en (Philippe Lippens), 629-30.
 'ARAFAT (W.), The development of a dramatic theme in the story of Khubaib b. 'Adiyy and the related poems, 16-30; Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the Sira, 453-63.

- Archaeological studies in Szechwan* (Chêng Tê-k'un), 200-2.
 ARNOTT (D. W.), The classification of verbs in Tiv, 111-33.
 Arya (H. W. Bailey), 522-45.
 Aspiration in two Polynesian languages (G. B. Milner), 368-76.
 ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS, *A select list of books on the civilizations of the Orient*, 680-1.
 'Āṭil, al-, al-hālī (Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī), 405-7.
 ATIYA (AZIZ SURYAL), *The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, 672-3.
 ATKINS (GUY), rev., 434.
Ati di Krestos Samrā (ed. and tr. Enrico Cerulli), 179-80.
Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic (ed. and tr. E. I. J. Rosenthal), 409-10.
 AVICENNA, see BAKOŠ (JÁN).
 AVIGAD (NAHMAN) and YADIN (YIGAE), *A Genesis apocryphon*, 184-5.
 AYALON (DAVID), *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, 188-90.
Azerbaijan, The Turkish language of Soviet (C. G. Simpson), 439-40.

B

- BAILEY (H. W.), *Missa* suppletum, 40-7; Arya, 522-45.
 BAKE (A. A.), rev., 648-9, 676.
 BAKOŠ (JÁN), ed. and tr., *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne) d'après son œuvre Aš-šifā'*, 407-9.
 BALÁZS (ÉTIENNE), *Le Traité juridique du 'Souei-chou'*, 651-2.
 BALDWIN (K. D. S.), see GALLETTI (R.).
 BALLHATCHET (KENNETH), *Social policy and social change in western India, 1817-1830*, 416-17; rev., 443-4.
Bantoetalen, Inleiding tot de studie van de kongolese (Amaat Bursens), 427.
 BASHAM (A. L.), rev., 442-3, 643-5.
 BAWDEN (C. R.), rev., 202-4, 445-6, 660-2.
 BAXTER (GLEN WILLIAM), *Index to the imperial register of t'zu prosody*, 444.
 BECKINGHAM (C. F.), rev., 632-3.
 BENDALL (CECIL), ed., *Śikshāsamuccaya*, 442.
 BENZING (JOHANNES), *Die tungusischen Sprachen. Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*, 642-3.
 BERGER (MORBOE), *Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt: a study of the higher civil service*, 412-14.
 BERGH (SIMON VAN DEN), rev., 409-10.
Berliner sogdische Texte II (Olaf Hansen), 674.
 Bharata's concept of sādharana (N. A. Jairazbhoy), 54-60.
Bhārat-sāvitri (Vāsudevśaraṇ Agravāl), 442.
 BHATTACHARYA (BISHNUPADA), ed., *Dhvanyāloka of Anandavardhana. (Uddyota I, Uddyota II)*, 440-1.

- BHATTACHARYA (SUKUMAR), *The East India Company and the economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740*, 676-7.
- Bibliography of Oceanic linguistics (comp. H. R. Klenesberger), 447-8.
- Bilin, The noun in (F. R. Palmer), 376-91.
- BIOBAKU (SABURI O.), *The Egba and their neighbours, 1842-1872*, 667-8.
- BIRCH (CYRIL), rev., 214.
- BIENBAUM (S. A.), rev., 184-5, 400-2, 625-8, 672.
- Borneo, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of* (A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlenbeck), 679-80.
- Borneo, *Nineteenth-century* (Graham Irwin), 446-7.
- BOUSQUET (G.-H.) and BOUSQUET-MIRANDOLLE (G. W.), tr., *L'annotation ponctuelle de la description de voyage étonnante ... de moi Maria ter Meelen ... (Hoorn 1748)*, 210.
- BOUSQUET (G.-H.) and SCHACHT (J.), ed., *Selected works of C. Snouck Hurgronje*, 439.
- BOUSQUET-MIRANDOLLE (G. W.), see BOUSQUET (G.-H.).
- BOWEN (HAROLD), see GIBB (H. A. R.).
- BOWEN (JOHN CHARLES EDWARD), *The golden pomegranate: a selection from the poetry of the Mogul Empire in India, 1526-1858*, 444.
- BOWNAS (GEOFFREY), tr., *Confucius, by Shigeki Kaizuka*, 419-20.
- BRANDON (S. G. F.), rev., 183-4.
- Bronze culture of ancient China (William Charles White), 657.
- BROUGH (J.), *Ugas and Mater Matuta*, 395-9; rev., 440-1, 441-2.
- BROWN (C. C.), rev., 679.
- BRYAN (M. A.), see TUCKER (A. N.).
- BRYNER (EDNA), *Thirteen Tibetan tankas*, 677-8.
- Buddha's prolongation of life (Padmanabh S. Jaini), 546-52.
- Buddhism: a 'mystery religion'? (Paul Lévy), 195-7.
- Buddhism in India, *The decline of* (R. C. Mitra), 648-5.
- Buddhismus, *Die Philosophie des* (tr. Erich Frauwallner), 675-6.
- Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, No. 1, 438-9.
- Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt: a study of the higher civil service (Mortoe Berger), 412-14.
- BURSENS (AMAAAT), *Inleiding tot de studie van de kongolese Bantoealen*, 427.
- BURTON-PAGE (J.), Notes on two problems in New Indo-Aryan, 174-8; rev., 197-8.
- C
- CACHIA (PIERRE), *Tāhā Husayn: his place in the Egyptian literary renaissance*, 411-12.
- Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, Nos. I-III, 675.
- CANTERA (F.) and MILLÁS (J. MA.), *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España*, 625-8.
- catalogue, A, of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria (W. E. N. Kensdale), 673.
- CENSE (A. A.) and UHLENBECK (E. M.), *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*, 679-80.
- CERULLI (ENRICO), *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti. I*, 431-2; *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, 179-80; ed. and tr., *Atti di Krestos Samra*, 179-80.
- CHAN (SHAU WING), *A concise English-Chinese dictionary*, 678.
- Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia (ed. Felix Tauer and others), 212-13.
- CHAUDHURI (SASHI BHUSAN), *Ethnic settlements in ancient India. Part I*, 443.
- CH'AN (JEROME), *The Hsien-fang inflation*, 578-88.
- CHENG TÊ-K'UN, *Archaeological studies in Szechuan*, 200-2.
- China. Bronze culture of ancient (William Charles White), 657.
- China. Leaders of twentieth-century (Eugene Wu), 214.
- China: new age and new outlook (Ping-chia Kuo), 202.
- Chinese dictionary, A concise English- (Shau Wing Chan), 678.
- Chinese Economic and Political Studies. Special Series (review), 214-15.
- Chinese, Some remarks on the structure of the verb complex in Standard (H. F. Simon), 553-77.
- Chinese spirit-medium cults in Singapore (Alan J. A. Elliott), 445.
- Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription, A note on (Walter Simon), 334-43.
- Çikshāsamuccaya (ed. Cecil Bendall), 442.
- classification, The, of verbs in Tiv (D. W. Arnett), 111-33.
- coinage, The, of the Tālānds (Oleg Grabar), 631.
- COLLYNDER (BJÖRN), *Fennougric vocabulary*, 415-16.
- concise English-Chinese dictionary, A (Shau Wing Chan), 678.
- Conference tenue all'Is.M.E.O. (H. Corbin and others), 680.
- Confucius, by Shigeki Kaizuka (tr. Geoffrey Bownas), 419-20.
- Constitutional problems in Pakistan (Sir Ivor Jennings), 198-9.
- Contemporary Indian literature: a symposium, 197-8.
- CONTINAU (GEORGES), see DRITTON (ÉTIENNE).
- CORBIN (H.), and others, *Conference tenue all'Is.M.E.O.*, 680.
- CORNELL (JOHN B.), see SMITH (ROBERT J.).
- Costumes et croyances des Falachas (ed. and tr. Wolf Leclau), 181.
- COWAN (C. D.), rev., 446-7.
- Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo (A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlenbeck), 679-80.
- Crusades, A history of the Vol. I (ed. Kenneth M. Setton), 191-2.
- D
- DAMMANN (ERNST), *Studien zum Kwangali*, 434.
- Dayal: nights, Nine (W. R. Geddes), 665.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES	PAGE
W. 'ARAFAT : The development of a dramatic theme in the story of Khubaib b. 'Adiyy and the related poems	15
W. 'ARAFAT : Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the <i>Sira</i>	453
D. W. ARNOTT : The classification of verbs in Tiv	111
H. W. BAILEY : <i>Missā</i> suppletum	40
H. W. BAILEY : <i>Arya</i>	522 ✓
JEROME CH'ËN : The Hsien-fêng inflation	578
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT : <i>Kuttā</i> : a class of land-tenures in South India	61
C. J. F. DOWSETT : The Albanian chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš	472
M. M. GREEN : Sayings of the Ọkọkọ society of the Igbo-speaking people	157
W. B. HENNING : A spurious folktale	315
P. M. HOLT : The Sudanese Mahdia and the outside world : 1881-9	276
PADMANABH S. JAINI : On the theory of two Vasubandhus	48
PADMANABH S. JAINI : Buddha's prolongation of life	546
N. A. JAIRAZBHoy : Bharata's concept of <i>sādhāraṇa</i>	54 ✓
D. C. LAU : The treatment of opposites in <i>Lao Tzu</i> 老子	344
I. M. LEWIS : The Gadabuursi Somali script	134
HENRY MCALEAVY : Varieties of <i>hương-hỏa</i> (香火) : a problem of Vietnamese law	608
D. N. MACKENZIE : Pashto verse	319
V. L. MÉNAGE : 'The Map of Hajji Ahmed' and its makers	291
KARL H. MENGES : Some remarks on Oyrot morphology	491
G. B. MILNER : Aspiration in two Polynesian languages	368
P. G. O'NEILL : The structure of Kusemai 曲舞	100
F. R. PALMER : The noun in Bilin	376
F. RAHMAN : Muslim Modernism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent	82
D. S. RICE : A drawing of the Fatimid period	31
D. S. RICE : Studies in Islamic metal work—VI	225
R. B. SERJEANT : Professor A. Guillaume's translation of the <i>Sirah</i>	1

	PAGE
R. B. SERJEANT : Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works	254
H. L. SHORTO : The Kyaikmaraw inscriptions	361
H. F. SIMON : Some remarks on the structure of the verb complex in Standard Chinese	553
WALTER SIMON : A note on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription	334
A. S. TRITTON : Sidelights on Muslim history	464
O. W. WOLTERS : Tāmbraliṅga	587
 NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS	
J. BROUGH : Uṣas and Mater Matuta	395
J. BURTON-PAGE : Notes on two problems in New Indo-Aryan	174
ILYA GERSHEVITCH : <i>Ad</i> 'Sissoo at Susa', <i>BSOAS</i> , xix, 2, 1957, 317, l. 5	174
D. L. SNELGROVE : Note on the <i>Adhyāśayaśaṃcodanasūtra</i>	620
A. S. TRITTON : The Old Testament in Muslim Spain	392
 REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES	
See the tables of contents of Parts 1-3 and also index.	
 BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW	 216, 449, 682
 OBITUARY	
Evangeline Dora Edwards	220

- DEBRUNNER (ALBERT), *see* WACKERNAGEL (JAKOB).
- decline, *The, of Buddhism in India* (R. C. Mitra), 643-5.
- DERBETT (J. DUNCAN M.), *Kutūz*: a class of land-tenures in South India, 81-81; rev., 647-8.
- DESAI (VISHUKUMAR S.), ed., *Rāgatatva-vibodha*: a work on Indian music by Śrīnivāsa, 676.
- development, *The, of a dramatic theme in the story of Khubaiḥ b. 'Adiyy and the related poems* (W. 'Arafat), 15-30.
- Dhvanyāloka, Anandavardhana's* (tr. K. Krishnamoorthy), 440-1.
- Dhvanyāloka of Anandavardhana. (Uddyota I, Uddyota II)* (ed. Bishnupada Bhattacharya), 440-1.
- DINA (I. O.), *see* GALLETTI (R.).
- Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: a documentary record* (ed. J. C. Hurewitz), 192-3.
- DORE (R. P.), rev., 423-4.
- DOWNER (G. B.), rev., 420-1.
- DOWSETT (C. J. F.), *The Albanian chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš*, 472-90.
- drawing, A, of the Fatimid period (D. S. Rice), 31-9.
- DRIDOT (ÉTIENNE), and others, *Les religions de l'Orient ancien*, 183-4.
- DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN (J.), *see* DRIDOT (ÉTIENNE).
- DUMONT (LOUIS), *Hierarchy and marriage alliance in south Indian kinship*, 417-19; *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du sud*, 417-19.
- DUPONT (PIERRE), ed. and tr., *La version mène du Nārada-jātaka*, 199-200.
- dynamics, The, of a rural society* (Ramkrishna Mukherjee), 677.

E

- Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the *Sira* (W. 'Arafat), 453-63.
- East India Company, The, and the economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740* (Sukumar Bhattacharya), 676-7.
- Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period* (Sachindra Kumar Maity), 645-7.
- Economic structure of the Yüan dynasty* (tr. Herbert Franz Schurmann), 654-6.
- EDMONDS (C. J.), *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925*, 414-15.
- EDWARDS (EVANGELINE DORA), obituary cf., 220-4.
- EGAMI (N.), *see* CORBIN (H.).
- Egba, The, and their neighbours, 1842-1872* (Saburi O. Biobaku), 667-8.
- EGEROD (SØREN), *The Lungtu dialect*, 420-1.
- ELIADE (M.), *see* CORBIN (H.).
- Elite communication in Samoa* (Felix M. and Marie M. Keesing), 425-6.
- ELLIOTT (ALAN J. A.), *Chinese spirit-medium cults in Singapore*, 445.
- EMENEAU (M. B.), *Kolami, a Dravidian language*, 194-5.
- English-Chinese dictionary, A concise* (Shao Wing Chan), 678.

- English factories, The, in India. Vols. III-IV (New series)* (Sir Charles Fawcett), 443-4.
- English-Malay dictionary, An unabridged* (Sir Richard Winstedt), 679.
- Erdeni-yin tobči: Mongolian chronicle by Sayang Seḥen* (Antoine Mostaert), 202-4.
- Ethnic settlements in ancient India. Part I* (Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri), 443.
- etopica, Storia della letteratura* (Enrico Cerulli), 179-80.
- Europe and the Turk: a pattern of alliances, 1350-1700* (Dorothy M. Vaughan), 211.
- EVLIYÂ CHELEBÎ, *see* KRUTEL (RICHARD F.).
- Expédition en Arabie centrale* (Philippe Lippens), 629-30.

F

- Falachas, Coutumes et croyances des* (ed. and tr. Wolf Leslau), 181.
- FAWCETT (SIR CHARLES), *The English factories in India. Vols. III-IV (New series)*, 443-4.
- FAWZI (SAAD ED DIN), *The labour movement in the Sudan, 1946-1955*, 210.
- Fenno-Ugric vocabulary* (Björn Collinder), 415-16.
- FERNANDES (GONÇALO), *see* WICKI (JOSEF).
- Fijian grammar* (G. B. Milner), 666.
- FILLIOZAT (J.), *see* CORBIN (H.).
- FIRTH (J. R.), *Papers in linguistics, 1934-1951*, 668-71.
- Five studies in Japanese politics* (ed. Robert E. Ward), 446.
- FLEISCH (HENRI), *L'arabe classique. esquisse d'une structure linguistique*, 637-8.
- FLINT (J. E.), rev., 667-8.
- folktale, A spurious (W. B. Henning), 315-18.
- form, The, of the object in the Uralic languages* (Bo Wickman), 416.
- FRAUWALLNER (REICH), tr., *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus*, 675-6.
- FURBER (HOLDEN), rev., 416-17.

G

- Gadabuursi Somali script, *The* (I. M. Lewis), 134-56.
- GADD (C. J.), rev., 181-3.
- GALAAL (MUUSE HAAJI ISMAA'IL), *see* ANDRZEJEWSKI (B. W.).
- GALLETTI (R.), and others, *Nigerian cocoa farmers: an economic survey of Yoruba cocoa farming families*, 206-7.
- GEDDES (W. R.), *Nine Dayak nights*, 665.
- Genesis apocryphon, A* (Nahman Arigad and Yigael Yadin), 184-5.
- Geometry in Egyptian art* (Else Christie Kielland), 624-5.
- Georgian monarchy, The last years of the* (D. M. Lang), 639-41.
- GERCHEVITCH (ILYA), *Ad 'Sisroo at Susa', BSOAS, xix, 2, 1957, 317, 1.5, 174; rev., 674.*
- GHOSHAL (U. N.), *Studies in Indian history and culture*, 442.
- GIBB (H. A. R.) and BOWEN (HAROLD), *Islamic society and the West. Vol. one. Part II*, 632-3.

- Gitonga of Inhambane, A study of* (L. W. Lanham), 448.
- GLEDHILL (A.), rev., 198-9.
- GNOLI (RANIERO), ed., *Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters. Part I*, 441.
- golden pomegranate, The* (John Charles Edward Bowen), 444.
- GRABAR (OLEG), *The coinage of the Tūlūnids*, 631.
- Grammaire du persan contemporain* (Gilbert Lazard), 638-9.
- grammar, A, of Pashto* (Herbert Penzl), 674.
- GRAY (BASIL), rev., 421-3.
- GRAY (JOHN), rev., 202, 214-15.
- GREEN (M. M.), Sayings of the Okonko society of the Igbo-speaking people, 157-73.
- Grundriss der malayischen und indonesischen Sprache* (Gerhard Kahlo), 678-9.
- GRUNEBaum (GUSTAVE E. VON), *Kritik und Dichtkunst Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, 673-4.
- GUILLAUME (A.), tr., *The life of Muhammad*, see Professor A. Guillaume's translation of the *Sīrah* (R. B. Serjeant), 1-14.
- Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom* (David Ayalon), 188-90.
- GUTHRIE (MALCOLM), rev., 427-8.
- H
- HAAS (W.), rev., 668-71.
- HAENISCH (ERICH), *Sinomongolische Glossare. I*, 445-6.
- Haggadah, The Kaufmann: facsimile edition*, 401-2.
- Hajvut shelanu* (Haim Rosén), 403-5.
- 'Hajji Ahmed, The Map of', and its makers (V. L. Ménage), 291-314.
- HALL (D. G. E.), rev., 425.
- Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden* (comp. P. Voorhoeve), 628-9.
- HANSEN (OLAF), *Berliner sogdische Texte II*, 674.
- HANSFORD (S. HOWARD), *The Seligman Collection of oriental art. Vol. I*, 421-8; rev., 200-2, 857.
- HARRELL (RICHARD S.), *The phonology of colloquial Egyptian Arabic*, 635-7.
- HARRIES (LYNDON), rev., 204-5.
- HASANI ('ABD AL-RAZZAQ AL-), *Ta'riḥ al-suhafa al-'Irāqīyya: al-juz' al-awwal*, 212.
- HELD (G. J.), ed. and tr., *Waropense teksten*, 447.
- HENNING (W. B.), A spurious folktale, 315-18.
- Hierarchy and marriage alliance in south Indian kinship* (Louis Dumont), 417-19.
- Hikmah Soomali*, by Muuse Hqaji Ismaaciil Galaal (ed. B. W. Andrzejewski), 430-1.
- Hippologica Accadica* (Armas Salonen), 181-3.
- Historia política del imperio almohade. [Primera parte]* (Ambrosio Huici Miranda), 190-1.
- Historical atlas of the Muslim peoples* (comp. R. Roolvink), 410-11.
- history, A, of the Crusades. Vol. I* (ed. Kenneth M. Setton), 191-2.
- HOENNERBAUGH (WILHELM), ed., *Die vulgar-arabische Poetik al-Kutāb al-'Aṣil al-hāṣil wal-muraḥḥaṣ al-gāṣil des Šafīyaddīn Ḥillī*, 405-7.
- HOLT (P. M.), *The Sudarṣe Mahdia and the outside world: 1881-9, 276-90*; rev., 192-3, 438.
- HOMBURGER (L.), *Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent. Nouvelle édition*, 448.
- HOOPYKAAS (C.), rev., 679-80.
- HOPKINS (J. F. P.), rev., 190-1.
- HOVRANI (ALBERT), rev., 633-5.
- HRBEK (IVAN), see TAUREL (FELIX).
- Hsien-feng inflation, *The* (Jerome Ch'ên), 578-86.
- HUICI MIRANDA (AMBROSIO), *Historia política del imperio almohade. [Primera parte]*, 190-1.
- HULSEWÉ (A. F. P.), *Remnants of Han law. Vol. I*, 652-4.
- HUMBERTLAUDÉ (P.), see CORBIN (H.).
- HUNTINGFORD (G. W. B.), rev., 205-6.
- hwong-hōa*, Varieties of (Henry MoAlevy), 608-19.
- HUREWITZ (J. C.), ed., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: a documentary record*, 192-3.
- I
- IRN RUSHD, see ROSENTEAL (E. I. J.).
- IRN SĪNĀ, see BAKOŠ (JÁN).
- Igbo-speaking people, Sayings of the Okonko society of the (M. M. Green), 157-73.
- Im Reiche des goldenen Äpfels: des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyâ Çelebi denkwürdige Reise . . . anno 1665* (ed. and tr. Richard F. Kreutel), 211.
- Index to the imperial register of 'a'u prosody* (Glen William Baxter), 444.
- India, The personality of* (Bendapudi Subbarao), 213.
- Indian history and culture, Studies in* (U. N. Ghoshal), 442.
- Indian literature, Contemporary*, 197-8.
- Indo-Aryan, Notes on two problems in New (J. Burton-Page), 174-8.
- Indo-Iranian Reprints, II-III, 674.
- Indonesian sociological studies, part two* (B. Schrieke), 425.
- indonesischen Sprache, Grundriss der malayischen und* (Gerhard Kahlo), 678-9.
- Inleiding tot de studie van de kongolese Bantoetalen* (Amaut Burssens), 427.
- inscripciones hebraicas, Las, de España* (F. Cantera and J. Ma. Millás), 625-8.
- Institute of Islamic Studies, Bulletin of the*, No. 1, 438-9.
- INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE, *Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. one*, 434-5.
- Introduction à l'arabe moderne* (Charles Pellat), 437-8.
- IRWIN (GRAHAM), *Nineteenth-century Borneo*, 446-7.
- Islam and Russia: a detailed analysis of An outline of the history of Islamic studies in the USSR by N. A. Smirnov, with an introduction by Ann K. S. Lambton*, 211-12.
- Islam in modern history* (Wilfred Cantwell Smith), 633-5.
- Islam, War and peace in the law of* (Majid Khadduri), 438.

- Islamic art and archaeology: a register of work published in the year 1954* (comp. J. D. Pearson and D. S. Rice), 193-4.
- Islamic metal work*, *Studies in*, VI (D. S. Rice), 225-53.
- Islamic society and the West. Vol. one. Part II* (H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen), 632-3.
- Islamic Studies, Bulletin of the Institute of*, No. 1, 438-9.
- Israel: the emergence of a new nation* (Oscar Kraines), 210.
- Iteso, The* (J. C. D. Lawrance), 205-6.
- ITTMANN (JOHANNES), *Volkskundliche und religiöse Begriffe im nördlichen Waldland von Kamerun*, 448.

J

- JAINI (PADMANABH S.), *On the theory of two Vasubandhus*, 48-53; *Buddha's prolongation of life*, 546-52.
- JAIRAZBHROY (N. A.), *Bharata's concept of sādharma*, 54-60.
- JAMES (T. G. H.), rev., 624-5.
- Japanese politics, Five studies in* (ed. Robert E. Ward), 446.
- Japanese thrust, The, into Siberia, 1918* (James William Morley), 662-3.
- Japanese villages, Two* (Robert J. Smith and John B. Cornell), 423-4.
- JENNINGS (Sir Ivor), *Constitutional problems in Pakistan*, 198-9.
- Johnston, Sir Harry, & the scramble for Africa* (Roland Oliver), 432-4.

K

- KAHLO (GERHARD), *Grundriss der malayischen und indonesischen Sprache*, 678-9.
- KALZUKA (SHIGEKI), see BOWNAS (GEOFFREY).
- Kaufmann Haggadah, The: facsimile edition*, 401-2.
- KERSING (FELIX M. and MARIE M.), *Elite communication in Samoa*, 425-6.
- KENDSABLE (W. E. N.), *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria*, 673.
- KHADDURI (MAJID), *War and peace in the law of Islam*, 438.
- Khubaib b. 'Adiyy and the related poems, *The development of a dramatic theme in the story of* (W. 'Arafat), 15-30.
- KHILLAND (ELSE CHRISTIE), *Geometry in Egyptian art*, 624-5.
- Kutub al-ghifā* (Ibn Sinā), 407-9.
- Ki-Vumba, a dialect of the southern Kenya coast* (H. E. Lambert), 204-5.
- KLEINBERGER (H. R.), comp., *Bibliography of Oceanic linguistics*, 447-8.
- KÖHLER (OSWIN), rev., 428-30.
- Kolami, a Dravidian language* (M. B. Emenanu), 194-5.
- KRAINES (OSCAR), *Israel: the emergence of a new nation*, 210.
- Krestos Samrā, Atti di* (ed. and tr. Enrico Cerulli), 179-80.

- KREUTEL (RICHARD F.), ed. and tr., *Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels: des türkischen Wellenbummlers Evliyâ Çelebi denkwürdige Reise... anno 1665*, 211.
- KRISHNAMOORTHY (K.), tr., *Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka*, 440-1.
- Kritik und Dichtkunst: Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Gustave E. von Grunebaum), 673-4.
- KUBŔKOVÁ (VĚRA), see TAUBE (FELIX).
- KUO (PING-CHIA), *China: new age and new outlook*, 202.
- Kurds, Turks and Arabs: politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925* (C. J. Edmonds), 414-15.
- Kusemai, *The structure of* (P. G. O'Neill), 100-10.
- Kutā: a class of land-tenures in South India* (J. Duncan M. Derrett), 61-81.
- Kwagali, Studien zum* (Ernst Dammann), 434.
- Kyakmaraw inscriptions, The* (H. L. Shorto), 361-7.

L

- labour movement, The, in the Sudan, 1946-1955* (Saad ed Din Fawzi), 210.
- LAMBERT (H. E.), *Ki-Vumba, a dialect of the southern Kenya coast*, 204-5.
- LAMBTON (ANN K. S.), see *Islam and Russia*.
- LANG (D. M.), *The last years of the Georgian monarchy*, 639-41; rev., 185-7, 631.
- Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Parts I-II. Preliminary edition* (Kenneth L. Pike), 207-10.
- langues négro-africaines, Les* (L. Homburger), 448.
- LANHAM (L. W.), *A study of Gĩlɔŋga of Inham-bane*, 448.
- Lao Tzū, The treatment of opposites in* (D. C. Lau), 344-60.
- last years, The, of the Georgian monarchy* (D. M. Lang), 639-41.
- LAU (D. C.), *The treatment of opposites in Lao Tzū*, 344-60; rev., 419-20.
- LAWRANCE (J. D. C.), *The Iteso: fifty years of change in a Nilo-Hamitic tribe of Uganda*, 205-6.
- LAZARD (GILBERT), *Grammaire du persan contemporain*, 638-9.
- Leaders of twentieth-century China: an annotated bibliography* (Eugene Wu), 214.
- Legende, Die, von Šunahšepa* (Friedrich Weller), 675.
- LESIAU (WOLF), ed. and tr., *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas*, 181.
- LÉVY (PAUL), *Buddhism: a 'mystery religion'?*, 195-7.
- LEWIS (B.), rev., 412-14.
- LEWIS (I. M.), *The Gadabuursi Somali script*, 134-66.
- Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. one* (International African Institute), 434-5.
- Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. two* (Irvine Richardson), 436.

- Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. four* (A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan), 666-7.
 LIPPENS (PHILIPPE), *Expédition en Arabie centrale*, 629-30.
 LOEWENTHAL (RUDOLF), *The Turkic languages and literatures of Central Asia: a bibliography*, 642.
 Lomsngo, *Syntaxis van het* (Albert Jozef de Rop), 448.
 Lungtu dialect, *The* (Søren Egerod), 420-1.

M

- Maasai grammar, A, with vocabulary* (A. N. Tucker and J. Tompo Ole Mpaayei), 428-30.
 McALEAVY (HENRY), *Varieties of hwoŋ-kōa: a problem of Vietnamese law*, 608-19.
 MacKENZIE (D. N.), *Pashto verse*, 319-33.
 Mahdia, *The Sudanese, and the outside world: 1881-9* (P. M. Holt), 276-90.
 MAITY (SACHINDRA KUMAR), *Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period*, 645-7.
 Malay dictionary, *An unabridged English-* (Sir Richard Winstedt), 679.
malayischen und indonesischen Sprache, Grundriss der (Gerhard Kahlo), 678-9.
Mamluk kingdom, Gunpowder and firearms in the (David Ayalon), 188-90.
 'Map of Hajji Ahmed, The', and its makers (V. L. Ménage), 291-314.
 MASTER (ALFRED), rev., 194-5.
 MASUI (J.), see CORBIN (H.).
Materials on Muslim education in the Middle Ages (A. S. Tritton), 630-1.
 MAYER (ADRIAN C.), rev., 417-19.
 MAYER (L. A.), rev., 193-4.
 MEETLEN (MARIA TER), see BOUSQUET (G.-H.).
 MELVINGER (ARNE), *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*, 211.
 MÉNAGE (V. L.), 'The Map of Hajji Ahmed' and its makers, 291-314.
 MENGES (KARL H.), *Some remarks on Oxyrot morphology*, 491-521.
 MILLÁS (J. MA.), see CANTERA (F.).
 MILNER (G. B.), *Aspiration in two Polynesian languages*, 368-75; *Fijian grammar*, 666; rev., 425-6, 665.
 MINARD (ARMAND), *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins. Tom. II*, 441-2.
 MINORSKY (V.), rev., 639-41.
Miša suppletum (H. W. Bailey), 40-7.
 MITCHELL (T. F.), rev., 207-10, 635-8.
 MITRA (R. C.), *The decline of Buddhism in India*, 643-5.
mōne, La version, du Nārada-jātaka (ed. and tr. Pierre Dupont), 199-200.
Mongolian monuments, The, in hP'ags-pa script (Nicholas Poppe), 660-2.
 MOORE (CHARLES A.), see RADHAKRISHNAN (SARVEPALLI).
 MORLEY (JAMES WILLIAM), *The Japanese thrust into Siberia, 1918*, 662-3.
 MOSCATI (SABATINO), *I predecessori d'Ieracle*, 400; *Ancient Semitic civilizations*, 437.
 MOSTAERT (ANTOINETTE), *Erdeni-yin tobki: Mongolian chronicle by Sayang Sečen*, 202-4.
 MOULE (A. C.), *Quinsai, with other notes on Marco Polo*, 656-7.
 MOYSE-BARTLETT (H.), rev., 432-4.
 MPAAYEI (J. TOMPO OLE), see TUCKER (A. N.).
Muhammad at Medina (W. Montgomery Watt), 187-8.
 MUKHERJEE (RAMKRISHNA), *The dynamics of a rural society: a study of the economic structure in Bengal villages*, 677.
Muslim education in the Middle Ages, Materials on (A. S. Tritton), 630-1.
 Muslim history, *Sidelights on* (A. S. Tritton), 464-71.
 Muslim Modernism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent (F. Rahman), 32-99.
Muslim peoples, Historical atlas of the (comp. R. Roolvink), 410-11.
 Muslim Spain, *The Old Testament in* (A. S. Tritton), 392-5.
 Mxit'ar Goš, *The Albanian chronicle of* (C. J. F. Dowsett), 472-80.
Mysticism, sacred and profane (R. C. Zaehner), 185-7.

N

- Nāṭya, nr̥tīa and nr̥tīya: their meaning and relation* (K. M. Varma), 348-9.
Nāyakas, The, of Ikṣvāki (K. D. Swaminathan), 647-8.
Near and Middle East, Diplomacy in the (ed. J. C. Hurewicz), 192-3.
 NEBESEKY-WOJKOWITZ (RENÉ DE), *Oracles and demons of Tibet*, 649-50.
Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters. Part I (ed. Raniero Gnoli), 441.
 New Indo-Aryan, *Notes on two problems in* (J. Burton-Page), 174-8.
Nigerian cocoa farmers: an economic survey of Yoruba cocoa farming families (E. Galletti and others), 206-7.
Nine Dayak nights (W. R. Geddes), 665.
Nineteenth-century Bornec (Graham Irwin), 446-7.
 Note on the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodanāśāstra* (D. L. Snellgrove), 620-3.
 note, A, on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription (Walter Simon), 334-43.
 Notes on two problems in New Indo-Aryan (J. Burton-Page), 174-8.
 noun, *The, in Bihm* (F. R. Palmer), 376-91.

O

- Oceanic linguistics, Bibliography of* (comp. H. R. Kheneberger), 447-8.
 Old Testament, *The, in Muslim Spain* (A. S. Tritton), 392-5.
 OLIVER (ROLAND), *Sir Harry Johnston & the scramble for Africa*, 432-4.
 On the theory of two Vāsubandhus (Padmanabh S. Jaini), 48-53.
 O'NEILL (P. G.), *The structure of Kusamai*, 100-10.
Oracles and demons of Tibet (René de Nebeaky-Wojkowitz), 649-50.
Orient, A select list of books on the civilizations of the (Association of British Orientalists), 680-1.

Oriental despotism: a comparative study of total power (Karl A. Wittfogel), 657-60.
origines, Les, de l'Islam et le Christianisme (Tor Andrae), 673.
 Oyrot morphology, Some remarks on (Karl H. Menges), 491-521.

P

Pakistan, Constitutional problems in (Sir Ivor Jennings), 198-9.
 PALMER (F. R.), *The noun in Bihl*, 376-91.
Papers in linguistics, 1934-1951 (J. R. Firth), 668-71.
 PARRY (V. J.), rev., 188-90, 191-2.
Pashto, A grammar of (Herbert Penzl), 674.
Pashto verse (D. N. MacKenzie), 319-33.
 PEARSON (J. D.), rev., 628-9.
 PEARSON (J. D.) and RICE (D. S.), comp., *Islamic art and archaeology: a register of work published in the year 1954*, 193-4.
 PELLAT (CHARLES), *Introduction à l'arabe moderne*, 437-8.
 PENZL (HERBERT), *A grammar of Pashto*, 674.
persan contemporain, Grammaire du (Gilbert Lazard), 638-9.
personality, The, of India (Bendapudi Subbarao), 213.
 PHILIPS (C. H.), see EDWARDS (EVANGELINE DORA).
Philosophie, Die, des Buddhismus (tr. Erich Frauwallner), 675-6.
phonology, The, of colloquial Egyptian Arabic (Richard S. Harrell), 635-7.
 PIKE (KENNETH L.), *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Parts I-II. Preliminary edition*, 207-10.
 PITCHER (DONALD), rev., 410-11.
Polynesian languages, Aspiration in two (G. B. Milner), 368-75.
 POPPE (NICHOLAS), *The Mongolian monuments in hP'ags-pa script*, 660-2.
predecessori, I, d'Israele (Sabatino Moscati), 400.
premieres incursions, Les, des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes (Arno Melvinger), 211.
Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne) d'après son œuvre Aṣ-ṣifā' (ed. and tr. Ján Bakoš), 407-9.
 PULLEYBLANK (E. G.), rev., 657-80.

Q

Quinsai, with other notes on Marco Polo (A. C. Moule), 658-7.
Qumran studies (Chaim Rabin), 672.

R

RABIN (CHAIM), *Qumran studies*, 672.
 RADHAKRISHNAN (SARVEPALLI) and MOORE (CHARLES A.), ed., *A source book in Indian philosophy*, 675-6.
Rāgatatvavibodha: a work on Indian music by Śrīmatī (ed. Vibhukumar S. Desai), 676.
 RAHMAN (F.), *Muslim Modernism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent*, 82-99; rev., 407-9.

religions, Les, de l'Orient ancien (Étienne Drioton and others), 183-4.
Remnants of Han law. Vol. I (A. F. P. Hulsewé), 652-4.
 RICE (D. S.), *A drawing of the Fatimid period*, 31-9; *Studies in Islamic metal work—VI*, 225-63.
 RICE (D. S.), see PEARSON (J. D.).
 RICHARDSON (IRVINE), *Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. two*, 436.
 ROBINS (R. H.), rev., 666.
 ROBSON (JAMES), rev., 630-1.
 ROOLVINK (R.), comp., *Historical atlas of the Muslim peoples*, 410-11.
 ROP (ALBERT JOZEF DE), *Syntaxis van het Lomōngo*, 448.
 ROSÉN (HAIM), *Haivrit shelanu*, 403-5.
 ROSENTHAL (E. I. J.), ed. and tr., *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 409-10.
 RYPKA (JAN), see TAUBER (FELIX).

S

ŠAFĪ AL-DĪN AL-ḤILLĪ, see HOENERBACH (WILHELM).
 SĀFANG SEÖEN, see MOSTAERT (ANTOINE).
 SALONEN (ARMAS), *Hippologica Accadica*, 181-3.
Samoa, Elite communication in (Felix M. and Marie M. Keesing), 425-6.
Samrā, Atti di Krestos (ed. and tr. Enrico Cerulli), 179-80.
 SAVOY (R. M.), rev., 638-9.
Sayings of the Okonko society of the Igbo-speaking people (M. M. Green), 157-73.
 SCHACHT (J.), see BOUSQUET (G.-H.).
 SCHAPIRA (I.), rev., 680.
 SCHREIBER (ALEXANDER), *The Kaufmann Hag-gadah*, 401-2.
 SCHRIEKE (B.), *Indonesian sociological studies, part two*, 425.
Schrift, Die, des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Śāstra (Madura 1616) (Josef Wiedl), 213-14.
 SCHURMANN (HERBERT FRANZ), tr., *Economic structure of the Yuan dynasty*, 654-6.
 SEGAL (J. B.), rev., 400, 403-5.
select list of books, A, on the civilizations of the Orient (Association of British Orientalists), 680-1.
Selected works of C. Snouck Hurgronje (ed. G.-H. Bousquet and J. Schacht), 439.
Seligman Collection, The, of oriental art. Vol. I (S. Howard Hansford), 421-3.
Semitic civilizations, Ancient (Sabatino Moscati), 487.
 SERJEANT (R. B.), *Professor A. Guillaume's translation of the Sirah*, 1-14; *Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works*, 254-75; rev., 187-8, 405-7, 411-12, 414-15, 437-8, 629-30.
 SETTON (KENNETH M.), ed., *A history of the Crusades. Vol. I*, 191-2.
 SHORTO (H. L.), *The Kyaikmaraw inscriptions*, 361-7; rev., 199-200.
Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851 (Walter F. Vella), 663-5.
Stidelights on Muslim history (A. S. Tritton), 464-71.

- Sifra or Torat kohanim according to Codex Assemani LXVI*, 400-1.
- SIMMONDS (E. H. S.), rev., 663-5.
- SIMON (H. F.), Some remarks on the structure of the verb complex in Standard Chinese, 553-77.
- SIMON (WALTER), A note on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription, 334-43; rev., 678.
- SIMON (WALTER), see EDWARDS (EVANGELINE DORA).
- SIMPSON (C. G.), *The Turkish language of Soviet Azerbaijan*, 439-40.
- SIMPSON (C. G.), see Some remarks on Ozyrot morphology (Karl H. Menges), 491-521.
- Sinomongolische Glossare. I* (Erich Haenisch), 445-6.
- SINOR (D.), rev., 415-16, 642-3.
- Sir Harry Johnston & the scramble for Africa* (Roland Oliver), 432-4.
- Sifra*, Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the (W. 'Arafat), 453-63.
- Sifrah*, Professor A. Guillaume's translation of the (R. B. Serjeant), 1-14.
- 'Sissoo at Susa', *Ad* (Ilya Gershevitch), 174.
- SMIRNOV (N. A.), see *Islam and Russia*.
- SMITH (ROBERT J.) and CORNELL (JOHN B.), *Two Japanese villages*, 423-4.
- SMITH (WILFRED CANTWELL), *Islam in modern history*, 633-5.
- SNELLGROVE (D. L.), Note on the *Adhyāṣaya-samcodanāsūtra*, 620-3; rev., 649-51, 677-8.
- Snouck Hurgronje, Selected works of C.* (ed. G.-H. Bousquet and J. Schacht), 439.
- SNOXALL (R. A.), rev., 666-7.
- Social implications of industrialization and urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara*, 680.
- Social policy and social change in western India, 1817-1830* (Kenneth Ballhatchet), 416-17.
- sogdische Texte, Berliner, II* (Olaf Hansen), 674.
- Somali script, The Gadabuursi (I. M. Lewis), 134-56.
- Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti. I* (Enrico Cerulli), 431-2.
- Some remarks on Ozyrot morphology (Karl H. Menges), 491-521.
- Some remarks on the structure of the verb complex in Standard Chinese (H. F. Simon), 553-77.
- SOMERVELL (D. C.), see TOYNBEE (ARNOLD J.).
- Soomaali, Hikmad, by Muuse Hqaji Ismaaciil Galaal* (ed. B. W. Andrzejewski), 430-1.
- source book, A, in Indian philosophy* (ed. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore), 675-6.
- sous-caste, Une, de l'Inde du sud* (Louis Dumont), 417-19.
- spurious folktale, A (W. B. Henning), 315-18.
- ŚRINIVĀSA, see DESAI (VIRHUKUMAR S.).
- Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Enrico Cerulli), 179-80.
- STORRY (RICHARD), rev., 662-3.
- structure, The, of Kusamai (P. G. O'Neill), 100-10.
- Studien zum Kwangali* (Ernst Dammann), 434.
- Studies in Indian history and culture* (U. N. Ghoshal), 442.
- Studies in Islamic metal work—VI (D. S. Rice), 225-53.
- study, A, of Gitonga of In'yambane* (L. W. Lanham), 448.
- study of history, A* (Arnold J. Toynbee).
- Abridgement of Vols. VII-X* by D. C. Somervell, 439.
- SUBBARAO (BENDAPUDI), *The personality of India*, 213.
- Sudan, The labour movement in the, 1946-1955* (Saad ed Din Fawzi), 210.
- Sudanese Mahdia, The, and the outside world: 1881-9 (P. M. Holt), 276-80.
- Sunahšepa, Die Legende von* (Friedrich Weller), 675.
- SWAMINATHAN (K. D.), *The Nāyakas of Ikkeri*, 647-8.
- Syntaxis van het Lomōngo* (Aitert Jozef de Rop), 448.
- Szechwan, Archaeological studies in* (Chêng Tê-k'un), 200-2.

T

- Tahā Husayn: his place in the Egyptian literary renaissance* (Pierre Cachia), 411-12.
- Tāmbraṅginga, (O. W. Wolters), 587-307.
- Ta'riḫ al-ṣūhāfa al-'Irāqiyya: al-yuz' al-awwal* ('Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥasanī), 212.
- TAUER (FELIX), and others, ed. *Charisteria orientalis praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia*. [Ioanni Rypka... hoc volumen sacrum], 212-13.
- Thirteen Tibetan tankas* (Edna Bryner), 677-8.
- THOMAS (F. W.), *Ancient folk-literature from north-eastern Tibet*, 650-1.
- Tibet, Ancient folk-literature from north-eastern* (F. W. Thomas), 650-1.
- Tibet, Oracles and demons of*, René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 649-50.
- Tibetan tankas, Thirteen* (Edna Bryner), 677-8.
- Tibetan transcription, A note on Chinese texts in (Walter Simon), 334-43.
- Tiv, The classification of verbs in (D. W. Arnott), 111-33.
- TOYNBEE (ARNOLD J.), *A study of history. Abridgement of Vols. VII-X* by D. C. Somervell, 439.
- Traité juridique, Le, du 'Souei-chou'* (Étienne Balázs), 651-2.
- treatment, The, of opposites in *Lao Tzu* (D. C. Lau), 344-60.
- TRITTON (A. S.), *The Old Testament in Muslim Spain*, 392-5; *Sidelights on Muslim history*, 464-71; *Materials on Muslim education in the Middle Ages*, 630-1.
- Trois énigmes sur les Cens Chemins. Tom. II* (Armand Minard), 441-2.
- TSCHARNER (E. H. DE), see CORBIN (H.).
- TUCKER (A. N.), rev., 430-1.
- TUCKER (A. N.) and BRYAN (M. A.), *Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. four*, 666-7.
- TUCKER (A. N.) and MPAAYEI (J. TOMPO OLE), *A Maasai grammar, with vocabulary*, 428-30.
- Tūlūnids, The coinage of the* (Oleg Grabar), 631.
- tungusischen Sprachen, Die* (Johannes Benzing), 642-3.

Turk, Europe and the (Dorothy M. Vaughan), 211.

Turkic languages and literatures, The, of Central Asia (Rudolf Loewenthal), 642.

Turkish language, The, of Soviet Azerbaijan (C. G. Simpson), 439-40.

TWITCHETT (D. C.), rev., 651-7.

Two Japanese villages (Robert J. Smith and John B. Cornell), 423-4.

Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works (R. B. Serjeant), 254-75.

U

UHLENBECK (E. M.), see CHENE (A. A.).

ULLENDORFF (EDWARD), rev., 179-81, 431-2. *unabridged English-Malay dictionary, An* (Sir Richard Winstedt), 679.

Uralic languages, The form of the object in the (Bo Wickman), 416.

Uşas and Mater Matuta (J. Brough), 395-9.

V

Varieties of *hưong-hôa*: a problem of Vietnamese law (Henry McAleavy), 608-19.

VARMA (K. M.), *Nāṭya, nṛta and nṛtya: their meaning and relation*, 648-9.

Vasubandhu, *On the theory of two* (Padmanabh S. Jaini), 48-53.

VAUGHAN (DOROTHY M.), *Europe and the Turk: a pattern of alliances, 1350-1700*, 211.

VELLA (WALTER F.), *Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851*, 663-5.

version *mône, La, du Nārada-jātaka* (ed. and tr. Pierre Dupont), 199-200.

Volkskundliche und religiöse Begriffe im nördlichen Waldland von Kamerun (Johannes Ittmann), 448.

VOORHORVE (P.), comp., *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden*, 628-9.

vulgararabische Poetik, Die, al-Kiṭāb al-ʿĀṭil al-hāṭ wal-muraḥḥas al-ḡālī des Ṣaḥīyādīn Ḥillī (ed. Wilhelm Hoenerbach), 405-7.

W

WACKERNAGEL (JAKOB), *Altindische Grammatik. Nachträge zu Bd. II, 1 von Albert Debrunner*, 440.

WALEY (ARTHUR), *Yuan Mei, eighteenth century Chinese poet*, 444-5.

War and peace in the law of Islam (Majid Khadduri), 438.

WARD (ROBERT E.), ed., *Five studies in Japanese politics*, 446.

WARDER (A. K.), rev., 195-7, 645-7.

Waropense teksten (ed. and tr. G. J. Held), 447.

WATERSON (NATALIE), rev., 439-40.

WATT (W. MONTGOMERY), *Muhammad at Medina*, 187-8.

WELLER (FRIEDRICH), *Die Legende von Sunahšepa*, 675.

WHITE (WILLIAM CHARLES), *Bronze culture of ancient China*, 657.

WHITBLEY (W. H.), rev., 434-5.

Whither North Africa? (Nicola A. Ziadeh), 438.

WICKI (JOSEF), *Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Sastra (Madura 1616)*, 213-14.

WICKMAN (BO), *The form of the object in the Uralic languages*, 416.

WINSTEDT (SIR RICHARD), *An unabridged English-Malay dictionary*, 679.

WINSTON (F. D. D.), rev., 436.

WITTFOGEL (KARL A.), *Oriental despotism a comparative study of total power*, 657-60.

WOLTERS (O. W.), *Tāmbraṅga*, 587-607.

WU (EUGENE), *Leaders of twentieth-century China: an annotated bibliography*, 214.

Y

YADIN (YIGAEL), see AVIGAD (NAHMAN).

Yuan Mei, eighteenth century Chinese poet (Arthur Waley), 444-5.

Z

ZAEHNER (R. C.), *Mysticism, sacred and profane*, 185-7.

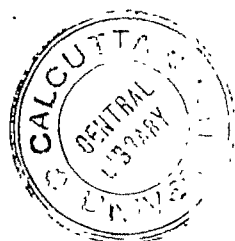
ZIADEH (NICOLA A.), *Whither North Africa?*, 438.

BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXI: PART 1

1958

Published by

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

• •
•

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	PAGE
R. B. SERJEANT: Professor A. Guillaume's translation of the <i>Sīrah</i>	1
W. 'ARAFAT: The development of a dramatic theme in the story of Khubaib b. 'Adiyy and the related poems	15
D. S. RICE: A drawing of the Fatimid period	31
H. W. BAILEY: <i>Missā</i> suppletum	40
PADMANABH S. JAINI: On the theory of two Vasubandhus	48
N. A. JAIRAZBHOY: Bharata's concept of <i>sādhāraṇa</i>	54
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT: <i>Kuttā</i> : a class of land-tenures in South India	61
F. RAHMAN: Muslim Modernism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent	82
P. G. O'NEILL: The structure of Kusemai 曲舞	100
D. W. ARNOTT: The classification of verbs in Tiv	111
I. M. LEWIS: The Gadabuursi Somali script	134
M. M. GREEN: Sayings of the Ọkọṅkọ society of the Igbo-speaking people	157

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

ILYA GERSHEVITCH: <i>Ad</i> 'Sissoo at Susa', <i>BSOAS</i> , xix, 2, 1957, 317, l. 5	174
J. BURTON-PAGE: Notes on two problems in New Indo-Aryan	174

REVIEWS

Enrico Cerulli: <i>Storia della letteratura etiopica</i> .—Enrico Cerulli (ed. and tr.) <i>Atti di Krestos Samrā</i> . By EDWARD ULLENDORFF	179
Wolf Leslau (ed. and tr.): <i>Costumes et croyances des Falachas</i> . By EDWARD ULLENDORFF	181
Armas Salonen: <i>Hippologica Accadica</i> . By C. J. GADD	181
Étienne Drioton and others: <i>Les religions de l'Orient ancien</i> . By S. G. F. FRANDON	183
Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin: <i>A Genesis apocryphon: a scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea</i> . By S. A. BIRNBAUM	184
R. C. Zaehner: <i>Mysticism, sacred and profane</i> . By D. M. LANG	185
W. Montgomery Watt: <i>Muhammad at Medina</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	187
David Ayalon: <i>Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom</i> . By V. J. PARRY	188
Ambrosio Huici Miranda: <i>Historia política del imperio almohade</i> . [<i>Primera parte</i> .] By J. F. P. HOPKINS	190
Kenneth M. Setton (ed.): <i>A history of the Crusades</i> . Vol. I. By V. J. PARRY	191
J. O. Hurewitz (ed.): <i>Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: a documentary record</i> . By P. M. HOLT	192
J. D. Pearson and D. S. Rice (comp.): <i>Islamic art and archaeology: a register of work published in the year 1964</i> . By L. A. MAYER	193
M. B. Emeneau: <i>Kolami, a Dravidian language</i> . By ALFRED MASTER	194

	PAGE
Paul Lévy: <i>Buddhism: a 'mystery religion'?</i> By A. K. WARDER	195
<i>Contemporary Indian literature: a symposium.</i> By J. BURTON-PAGE	197
Sir Ivor Jennings: <i>Constitutional problems in Pakistan.</i> By A. GLEDHILL	198
Pierre Dupont (ed. and tr.): <i>La version mène du Nārada-jātaka.</i> By H. L. SHORTO	199
Chêng Tê-k'un: <i>Archaeological studies in Szechwan.</i> By S. HOWARD HANSFORD	200
Ping-chia Kuo: <i>China: new age and new outlook.</i> By JOHN GRAY	202
Antoine Mostaert: <i>Erdeni-yin tobči: Mongolian chronicle by Sayang Sečen with a critical introduction.</i> By C. R. BAWDEN	202
H. E. Lambert: <i>Ki-Yumba, a dialect of the southern Kenya coast.</i> By LYNDON HARRIES	204
J. C. D. Lawrance: <i>The Iteso: fifty years of change in a Nilo-Hamitic tribe of Uganda.</i> By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD	205
R. Galletti and others: <i>Nigerian cocoa farmers: an economic survey of Yoruba cocoa farming families.</i> By A. N. ALLOTT	206
Kenneth L. Pike: <i>Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Parts I-II. Preliminary edition.</i> By T. F. MITCHELL	207

SHORT NOTICES

Saad ed Din Fawzi: <i>The labour movement in the Sudan, 1946-1956</i>	210
G.-H. Bousquet and G. W. Bousquet-Mirandolle (tr.): <i>L'annotation ponctuelle de la description de voyage étonnante . . . de moi Maria ter Meeten . . . (Hoorn 1748)</i>	210
Oscar Kraines: <i>Israel: the emergence of a new nation</i>	210
Arne Melvinger: <i>Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes</i>	211
Richard F. Kreutel (ed. and tr.): <i>Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels: des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evhyâ Celebi denkwürdige Reise in das Giaurenland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien anno 1665</i>	211
Dorothy M. Vaughan: <i>Europe and the Turk: a pattern of alliances, 1350-1700</i>	211
<i>Islam and Russia: a detailed analysis of An outline of the history of Islamic studies in the USSR</i> by N. A. Smirnov	211
'Abd al-Razzâq al-Hasanî: <i>Ta'riḥ al-subāfa al-'Irāqiyya: al-juz' al-awwal</i>	212
Felix Tauer and others (ed.): <i>Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia</i>	212
Bendapudi Subbarao: <i>The personality of India.</i> By F. R. ALLOHIN	213
Josef Wioki: <i>Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Śāstra</i>	213
Eugene Wu: <i>Leaders of twentieth-century China: an annotated bibliography of selected Chinese biographical works in the Hoover Library.</i> By CYRIL BIRCH	214
Chinese Economic and Political Studies. Special Series. By JOHN GRAY	214

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW	216
-------------------------------------	-----

OBITUARY

Evangeline Dora Edwards	220
-----------------------------------	-----

Editorial Board

Professor J. Brough, M.A., D.LITT.
(Chairman)

Professor M. Guthrie, PH.D., B.Sc., A.R.S.M.

Miss E. J. A. Henderson, B.A.

Professor W. B. Henning, DR.PHIL., F.B.A.

Professor B. Lewis, B.A., PH.D.

J. D. Pearson, Esq., M.A.

Professor C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D.

Professor W. Simon, DR.PHIL., D.LIT., F.B.A.

Editorial Secretary: Miss D. M. Johnson, M.A.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1. Articles, Notes and Communications, and Notices of Books should be submitted in typescript.

Offprints of articles, from Volume XIV onwards, may be purchased from the Editorial Secretary.

All communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to the Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

PROFESSOR A. GUILLAUME'S TRANSLATION OF THE *SĪRAH*¹

By R. B. SERJEANT

I

PROFESSOR Guillaume's new translation of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Ishāq (in the recension of Ibn Hishām) will stand as an enduring monument to his tenure of the Chair of Arabic at the University of London. The Arabic has been rendered into elegant classical English, very readable in style, with none of that awkwardness of English idiom which often besets translations attempting to present an Arabian setting and outlook so utterly different from those of the Occident as that portrayed in the *Sīrah*.

Through these pages at last the figure, the vigorous character of the Prophet is vividly impressed upon the consciousness of the reader; the true savour of the early days of Arabian Islam and its founder are conveyed with an authentic flavour lacking in any of the numerous biographies of Muḥammad. Not only is the translation of the *Sīrah* a vast task, but it is hedged about with all manner of difficulties; even when it is rendered into careful accurate English one is not infrequently at a loss to understand the proper interpretation and application of a passage, yet every line in the *Sīrah* has great significance, not of necessity religious significance, but both the actual Arabic diction used and the content may have some far-reaching historical, social, or other implication. The study of this early period of Islam, far from being exhausted, is only really at its beginning. Now that it is becoming possible to understand early Islam by reference to the ancient inscriptions and the findings of archaeology, hitherto the merest scratching of Arabia's vast surface, an entirely new assessment of the age will inevitably have to be made, where only facts can remain unchanged but interpretations will be radically altered. Professor Guillaume's translation is an important step in this new direction although he has had to content himself with only the minimum of actual explanation of the text, for the re-interpretation of the *Sīrah* will not be the work of one, but of many scholars.

The author's preface as summing up the impressions of a minute examination of the text of Ibn Hishām and, to some extent, the comparison of this text with versions of the same incident in other authors, merits the most serious attention. The discussion on the predecessors of Ibn Ishāq and of *Sīrah* literature in general summarizes the information available up to date in convenient form. In conjunction with the section on characteristics,

¹ A. Guillaume (tr.): *The life of Muḥammad: a translation of [Ibn] Ishāq's Sīrat rasūl Allāh, with introduction and notes*. xlvii, 815 pp. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955. 63s.

Professor J. Robson's 'Ibn Ishāq's use of the *isnād*' (lecture delivered at the Twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, 1954, and printed in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxviii, 2, 1956) should be read; it is a critical analysis of the methods of Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām. The criticism of Ibn Hishām (p. xli) is perhaps a little severe, for Ibn Hishām's notes do seem to be of value, though of course at this distance in time it may be that their full purport cannot be perceived.

A feature that stands out clearly, says Professor Guillaume, 'is the insertion of popular stories on the Goldilocks model', and (pp. xxv, seq.) he discusses the question of the authenticity of the *Sīrah* poetry. On p. 318 he goes so far as to describe certain verses as 'most blatant forgery'! Forgery implies deliberate attempt to deceive and of course such attempts are manifold in Arabic literary history, but are we in fact to assume that apart from a limited number of specific cases, any person or persons concocted any of the poetry in the *Sīrah* with such intent any more than one would impute forgery to Livy? In one sense all the poetry in the *Sīrah* is authentic in that it is a traditional presentation of historical events. The important point at issue is to distinguish what can reasonably be assumed to be the actual verses spoken on the occasion. In many cases on simple stylistic grounds readily perceived even by a non-Arab, it is quite possible to say that it is most improbable that certain verses were actually said on a given occasion; in other places the verses, as on p. 319, certainly consort ill with the historical circumstances. It is assumed that all ancient poetry was of the type described by Professor Guillaume on pp. xxvi-xxvii, but it is unlikely that this was the case. The heroic verse uttered extempore on the field in Arabia to this day differs greatly from that of the townsmen and agriculturalists, but only the ancient verse of chivalry has survived, for who would preserve the verses of the non-tribal classes to whom every Islamic law book assigns an inferior position in society? The type of verse at issue has a ballad quality about it; most of it, if not all, is in *rajaz*. The origins of ballad verse are always obscure, but where there is no contra-indication why should it be impossible for some such verse to remount even to the actual life-time of Muḥammad? It is suggested therefore that this verse forms part of a popular verse cycle of the Ḥaḍar whose language in Arabic itself differs from that of the Bedouin, a verse cycle somewhat resembling the *Sīrah* of the Banū Hilāl and other literature of the same genre which has been studied by Rudi Paret. It need scarcely be said that, like all oral narrative verse it was subject to alteration, interpolation, and perhaps a change of political emphasis. It is not sufficient in itself to dub verses glorifying the Prophet's house as Shī'ite propaganda, for the idea of the Bait with spiritual powers was known in Arabia before the Prophet; it is possible that both Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām may have accepted some such verses, even when actually Shī'ite propaganda, in good faith. Professor Guillaume states that 'ancient poetry has suffered greatly at the hands of forgers, plagiarists, and philologists'. This view was categorically opposed by Lyall when propounded first by

Margoliouth in its more extreme form, while admitting the minor alterations that can take place due to the effect of time. Lyall's view is confirmed by the fact that ancient Arabian verse is readily understood by the Bedouin of Arabia to-day, whereas a townsman cannot make much headway with it unless equipped with dictionaries. To regard the philologists as intellectually dishonest rogues to the extent of forging verse on any scale is to do them serious injustice! Of course where a clearly discernable political motive can be perceived behind any given *Sirah* verse, a motive which can be dated as relating to some specific later historical event, that is in a category of its own, but are there in fact so many such verses in the *Sirah* itself?

II

The following improvements to the translation or interpretation thereof are suggested, drawn from occasional comparisons with the Arabic text¹:

- p. 69 'When he had been working in clay.' Here *fin* cannot mean 'clay', but is the ordinary word employed in Arabia for 'cultivable land, fields'. It is unlikely that an Arab of noble birth would work in clay—a menial task allotted to the servile classes.
- p. 123 *Wad'* does not mean 'amulets' but 'cowries'. These are still used as in Sabeian times for ornamenting harness and clothing. In the previous verse, unless there is evidence to the contrary, 'Where the blood flows' would seem to mean 'Where the flood-waters pass'.
- p. 124 The difficult line noted at the top of the page would seem corrupt. My own copy of the *Sirah*, an undated early Cairo edition, reads:

وحطهم سمر الرماح وسرحه وشبرقه وخذ النعام الجوافل

- p. 126 *Ma'āqil* (line 7), translated as 'quarters', might give better sense if translated with the Yemenite meaning of 'fortresses'.
- p. 126 It does not seem necessary to take *Hindiskiya* as 'Ethiopian', or yet as 'South Arabian', for the trade routes were so well established and known that there could be no doubt about India and Ethiopia. In the Middle Ages Indian slave-girls were imported to South Arabia and the trade may well have been very ancient.

¹ Minor points of criticism in the translation are first of all the transcriptions of the type Abu 'Abdu *Shama*, which does not seem very consistent, and secondly, the avoidance of the literal translation of obscenities which might perhaps have been rendered in good orientalist tradition into the decent obscurity of Latin! For example (p. 177) *fary* does not mean 'womb', and on p. 502 the translation of a phrase well known to Arabists as, 'Suck al-Lāt's nipples!' might well lead the sociologist who is not at the same time an Arabist to formulate theories entirely baseless concerning the mother-nature of al-Lāt! The significance of Abū Bakr's rudeness is better understood when one recalls that 'Urwa, to whom it was addressed, was actually the *adīm* of al-Lāt. It is a pity that, owing to the shortness of time, the indices are so incomplete, but for the scholar this is not so vital a matter as he can have recourse to those provided with the standard Arabic versions.

- p. 167 The *zaqqūm* tree, according to my field notes, is the name given in South Arabia to a cactus of the *Euphorbia* type.
- p. 173 'Has not our Lord's doing come to the ears of those Far distant across the sea.'
A simple way in which the difficulty of this verse may be resolved is to take *Bahrī-nā* as meaning 'to the west of us'. (In Ḥaḍramawt, of course, *Bahrī* means 'south'.) This might then be a reference to the emigrants in Abyssinia which would fit the context.
- p. 176 *Hinā* should read *himā*.
- p. 201 For the reading 'Mount of Galilee' (*Ja'il*) my text has *al-Khalīl* which in the context might be a better reading. Lower down Ḥanīfs are mentioned, and of course the term Ḥanīf is connected with Abraham—*al-Khalīl*.
- p. 270 The curious term used to describe the leader of the Najrān deputation, 'aqīb, might perhaps correspond to the South Arabian 'aqīl 'headman'. The functions assigned to their *saiyid* should, I think, be rendered as 'the one who succoured their orphans, who decided on auspicious times for their travel, and who convened them'. Their Bishop, too, was hardly likely to be the person who controlled their schools, but (according to my text, *ṣāhib mudārasa-him*) the person in charge of their studying together (*maṣdar* of Stem III), perhaps then of their reading and studying the *Injīl*.
- p. 355 'Established them in impregnable positions.' (Ar. *alḥaqū-hum al-man'ah*.) *Man'ah* is the quality of being able to protect oneself and one's tribe. It occurs several times in the *Sīrah* in this sense. The term is discussed in *BSOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 591.
- p. 361 Line 2 of the verse—lit. 'I was not blamed'.
- p. 365 Line 8 of the verse. The sense of taking their due fourth is very reasonable here, but it is interesting to note that in South Arabia this root *rb'* also means 'to protect', perhaps on the principle current in Arabia that he who taxes the country must protect it.
- p. 368 The word rendered 'bedsheet' (Ar. *malḥafah*) has been discussed in *RSO*, xxx, 1-2, 1955, 6. It is a length of cotton cloth normally worn loosely over the shoulders, the ends hanging down by the arms. When the tribesman lies down to sleep he covers his whole body and head with it—generally he has no other bedding. In this connexion it may be remarked that there is every indication that the Ḥijāzīs wore then what is South Arabian costume to-day, a waist-wrapper, *malḥafah*, and turban.
- p. 369 'Arabia from north to south.' The original 'from Bosra to Ma'rib' is better retained here.
- p. 383 Paragraph 4, line 2. There is some confusion here, as it was the son Yazīd who was wounded, not the father.

- p. 389 Line 20. The rendering 'You have been a real help by your presence' gives too European a flavour to the text. The sense is really 'You have come to mourn in person' (my text, II, 91). This is contrasted with the others who mourned in their own quarters. In Arabia such mourning is usually a purely formal act, as no real personal attempt at consolation is attempted.
- p. 405 Line 1. The literal translation of *farth* as 'dung' is more picturesque than 'belly'. Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, I, 388, attributes these lines to al-Hudhālī.
Line 32. It is suggested that *al-muwadda'* means, 'ranged in lines', rather than 'dotted with figures'.
- p. 406 Line 5. *Ard al-kharof* has really a technical meaning other than 'land of fear', for it means an area in which there is no security of life and property because of an existing state of war (cf. p. 453).
- p. 412 Line 6. For 'The winds of summer', one should rather understand 'the summer rain-bearing winds'.
- p. 413 Line 16. The phrase rendered 'sliced melons' should read 'colycynths split open'.
- p. 413 Line 24. A *farwah* is a sheepskin coat.
- p. 414 Line 18. Firestones (*radf*) are still used in Ḥaḍramawt, though Lane is evidently not very clear as to the process which seems to be indicated by this verse. A fire is made, and when it is hot, stones are thrown on it. The Bedouin puts his meat to grill on the hot stones after the flames have subsided.
The translation of this verse is dubious. My copy has the variant reading of the footnote, *tanāzalāt*. The line would then read simply, 'A barren year descended, reproaching the people with (its) drought (or barrenness)'. The senses are all taken from Lane, and the metaphorical description of war as a barren year is a common figure in poetic diction. A possible secondary sense might be inferred when one recalls that *shihāb* means a brand or ember, and one might understand the first two words as meaning 'its embers subsided', but there is no support in Lane permitting one to understand *shahbā'* in this sense, though the metaphor of the firestones would be suitably carried on thereby.
- p. 483 A *qibṭiyah* is not a blanket, but an imported piece of white Egyptian linen.
- pp. 516, 548 The translations as 'bag of lard', and 'greasy bladder of lard' cannot apply as lard is pig's fat!
- p. 525 Water-channels are not boundaries in Arabia for the reason that they can alter so quickly. It is the bund and stones set in it as landmarks that form boundaries.

- p. 533 Line 14. The Egyptian edition reads *Mu'ān*.
Line 18. It is suggested that the literal sense of this verse is, 'But nay, by my father, we shall bring them (the horses) to Ma'āb'.
- p. 535 Muḥammad is said to have 'smelt' certain children. This translation is somewhat misleading. *Tashammam* means properly 'to sniff', and in Arabia one may see a father sniffing his child's face in affection, where in Europe the child would be kissed.
- p. 549 The *rajaḥ* verse, though well translated, is perhaps a little misleading. For 'Sanctuary is no more' the literal sense is 'That which is forbidden has now become lawful'. Although in the context the verse refers to the Ḥaram of Mecca it could also be interpreted as referring to the blood of the foe being lawful.
- p. 568 Line 14. 'Ḥaḍan' is according to the classical writers the name of a mountain (see also p. 591) but in the Kawr district in South Arabia al-Ḥaḍn is the area at the foot of a mountain to-day. The verb used in this line, *jallal*, means to cover with black clouds which is significant as it means that the face of Ḥaḍan has been blackened. The allusion is intentional.
- p. 631 Three persons are mentioned as chiefs and leaders of the tribe. My copy mentions *ru'asā' al-qawm wa-shayāṭin-hā*. This would mean, of course, 'the chiefs and mischief-makers', exactly the same phrase as would be used to-day.
- p. 635 *Barṣ* and *judhām* are translated as 'leprosy' and 'elephantiasis', but I have only seen one case of the latter in Arabia. The distinction is probably between white leprosy (so-called) which is common, and true leprosy which is comparatively rare.
- p. 641 The translation does not indicate here that the 'eater of bitter herbs' is really in effect a proper name.
- p. 642 Ibn Ishāq gives an interesting account of a *ḥimā* made by the Prophet for the deputation of Jurash. Professor Guillaume states that *ḥimā* in the sense of 'sacred area' has lost its force here, but this is not likely to be the case. A likely way in which the *ḥimā* could be a safe place for the cattle would be if it came under the protection of Allāh. In this case, whatever else might happen in the way of inter-tribal warfare, it would be a sanctuary. The text here reads with a slight ambiguity. It should read 'he gave them a sanctuary reserve round their town with definite marks, for horses . . .'. These are the landmarks, probably whitewashed cairns, of the *ḥimā*. Were the marks to refer to the cattle, another word would be used.
- p. 676 *Aṭhāl* is more commonly vocalized *Uṭhāl*.
- p. 688 The word *mishāḥ* rendered as 'pickaxe' here and elsewhere is nowadays at least, applied to a mattock.
- p. 757 Line 4 seq. 'Stones have been marked for them . . .'. It would appear that the sense here is, 'I have marked for them (certain)

stones—had they come to them in a morning raid, they would have been like yesterday that is past'. (My copy—II, 93—continues, *Qāla Abū 'Ubaydah, wa-akhadha rasūl Allāh fī wjhihi dhālika qabla rujū'hi ila 'l-Madīnah Mu'awiyah. . .* This seems to differ from Wüstenfeld.) I feel inclined to interpret Muḥammad's saying *supra* as a reference to the boundary stones of the Medinan Ḥaram or some such area. The Prophet might then have meant that if they had violated the territory of Medina, Allāh would have dealt with them.

Additional Notes and Comments

- p. 21 The church site at Ṣan'ā' is still pointed out to this day.
- p. 36 The idol Naṣr in Ḥimyar country is mentioned. In the vicinity of Ramlat Sab'atain there are two names al-Naṣr al-Sharqī and al-Naṣr al-Qiblī which might be connected with this god.
- p. 38 Here it is mentioned that the pagans used to rub themselves against an idol, and on p. 130 the phrase occurs, 'and rub yourselves against the corners of this house'. The same verb *tamassah* is still used in South Arabia to-day when a visitation is performed to a shrine. The pilgrim circumambulates the tomb there, passing his hand over each of the four corner-posts in turn.
- p. 49 The name Ṣūfah is given to a family which performed certain religious functions at 'Arafah. In the South Yemen there are people known under this name at the present time who seem to be regarded as holy. The present writer met one briefly in Ṣubaihi territory. Informants insisted that the Ṣūfis there are not the same as Mutaṣawwifūn.
- p. 62 The interesting verses relating to Zamzam have been discussed at some length, especially the phrase *baina al-farth wa-'l-dam*, rendered as 'It lies twixt the dung and the flesh bloody'. The phrase is repeated again on p. 64. *Farth* or *tharth* means 'the dung of the intestines'. It is a word of considerable interest, and in Ḥadramawt is used in special technical senses which seem relevant here. The well-known Singapore writer 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād states in the '*Uqūd al-almās* (Singapore, 1949-50), II, 12:

اقام بينهم صلحاً في الفرث خمس سنين، والمراد بالفرث عندهم
وعند بوادي حضرموت كلها كل ما يقوم بالدرهم وضده الدم وهو القتل
وفيه ثأر ولا بد . . .

I heard this word applied to the non-tribal classes, merchants, peasants, even *sayyids* because the latter do not now bear arms. In the context here I suggest that it means that Zamzam is common property to both tribesmen and non-tribesmen, i.e. common property of all. Another possibility might be that it was situated between the

quarter of Mecca inhabited by non-tribesmen and that inhabited by tribesmen, but I do not favour this idea. On p. 64 it seems to the reviewer impossible to take line 4 as 'Their voice God hears most graciously', but literally as, 'one who makes a votive offering to a benefactor, makes a votive offering at it (Zamzam)'. This saying has the appearance of being pre-Islamic, and *Mu'im* might conceivably even be a god-name.

- p. 152 The phrase 'this and what Jesus brought have come from the same niche' is full of implications. A lamp niche is meant (*mishkāt*) and herein may lie a reference to such concepts as *al-Nūr al-Muhammadi* and the common Arabian miracle of light being manifested about the saint or his tomb.
- p. 190 It is interesting to find in ancient Arabia, as to-day, a woman who combs the bride's hair. In Arabia she nowadays also acts as an intermediary between ḥarīm women and the outside world.
- pp. 228-9 The verses sung by workmen over their tasks are among the very few ancient non-tribal verses which have survived.
- p. 378 Professor Guillaume poses the question of why *jalābīb* 'leather aprons', or the wearing of them, can be a reproach. The following tentative explanation is offered. In Ḥaḍramawt, when it is found too expensive to buy cloth for a little girl's shift, a piece of leather (which is very cheap) is taken and shredded to form a sort of kilt which the child wears (Miss G. Caton Thompson presented an example to the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology). Lane quotes also *jubbah* with exactly this sense, mentioning that it has amulets sewn on to it—in Ḥaḍramawt to-day the *sitrāh* as it is called has beads, etc., sewn on to it. I therefore understand the allusion to mean that the Meccans killed at Uhūd were too poor to buy cloth, and wore leather to cover their nakedness; in other words they are described as the riff-raff of Mecca.

On p. 577 the verses of 'Aṭīya b. 'Ufayyif are probably to be understood in the same way, and *shāb* is not to be rendered as 'human skin'. One should then render the line literally as, 'Like a maid wearing her mistress's cloak and strutting about wearing a leather skirt (?) (underneath it)'.

- p. 405 In *Le Muséon*, LXVII, 1-2, 1954, 126, the proposition is advanced, based on a correlation of the names of the months with the monsoon seasons, that the incidence of the months such as Jumādā was fixed, but that these month-names had already, before Islam, shifted from the original seasons of the year of which their names are descriptive.
- p. 414 It is interesting to see that phrases of the type, 'as long as the leaves tremble', commonly used in Arabia to-day to conclude poems, were known to ancient poetry.

- p. 451 A labouring ditty is quoted, and it is related that the Prophet came in with the rhyming word of each hemistich, just as is done to-day, but the rhyming word is repeated *after* the verse.
- p. 515 In the interesting share-cropping agreement of Khaibar '*āmala*' would mean 'to share in cultivation' rather than 'to employ'. Of course, in fact, the work would have been left to the Jewish cultivators, while the Muslims shared in the profits.
- p. 523 The *khārīṣ* is, of course, 'the assessor', but in Southern Arabia this word comes to have practically the same sense as 'tax-collector', and it might have this sense here.
- p. 568 Sacred trees upon which weapons are hung are not uncommon in Arabia to-day.
- p. 577 Note 4 suggests an improvement on a verse in the text. One should certainly accept *yarāka* as equivalent to *arāka*. But, the *arāk* tree is not a thorny tree, at least if it is equivalent to the Bedouin *rāk*. The picture immediately presents itself to the writer of camels surrounding the clumps of *rāk* bushes and greedily stripping them of their tender leaves. In this case the picture is very apt.
- p. 589 The note on the road called al-Ḍayqa hardly seems relevant. In Arabia *ḍayqah* is often used for a narrow wādī, perhaps impassable when in flood. One says that such and such a thing is *ḍaiyiq* '*alaiya*', meaning that one finds it oppressive, but this has not the same sense as the English 'a tight corner'.
- p. 590 A note might be added on the pun on Thaqīf producing intelligent children, a play on words dear to the Arab heart.
- p. 641 It is rather difficult to see what light the text here does in fact throw on Robertson Smith's theory of a primitive matriarchy in ancient Arabia, for the statement here seems perfectly straightforward.
- p. 651 In the section on the rights of Muslims over their wives it is important to have a literal translation of the text which runs as follows, 'You have a right over your wives, and they have a right over you; it is their duty that they should not cause anyone of whom you disapprove (or dislike) to tread your beds; and it is their duty not to commit any open unclean act'. The plain sense of the passage, however it may be interpreted, is so, and it is relevant in view of a number of Traditions, and of evidence reported by Ibn al-Mujāwir that the Arabs sent in their womenfolk to the guest, and that they cared little for adultery provided that it was not performed openly. As translated the text disguises the sense.
- p. 659 'Girdle' in Ḥimyarī is said to be *mi'jaza* (Ṭabarī, 1575); cf. the modern *mi'waz*, a 'waist-wrapper'. From the root one would have expected *mi'jaza* to have a similar sense.
- p. 665 It does not seem that the context here can imply that it was an Arab custom to abstain from intercourse during war. The oath

- taken by Zaid b. Ḥārithah to abstain, seems to be merely in earnest of his resolution to raid the B. Fazāra.
- p. 683 *Saqīfah* is rendered as 'hall', but to-day in South Arabia where the word has a long history, a *saqīfah* is a rectangular building of one storey consisting merely of a number of pillars with a clay roof, but open at all sides. This is cool and shady.
- p. 688 Ṣuḥār is given as the name of the place from which the Prophet's grave-cloths came. It is usually Saḥūl in Tradition, a place still known, in the Yemen. It would therefore seem much more likely that this Ṣuḥār was the Yemenite place.
- p. 694 For 'Athm and Yām, the former reading suspected by Professor Guillaume, I think Qitham and Yām should be read, both names of tribes, but at the moment of writing I cannot trace a reference to Qitham. Yām is still a large Yemenite tribe to-day.
- p. 751 Note 568. An Arab woman brought 'some goods' (*jalab*) to sell in the market. This word should certainly be translated as 'sheep' (South Arabic *jalabah*) for it is used in this sense to-day—and is exactly what a Bedouin woman would bring to market.

III

In the translation no special distinction is made between the various classes of Arabian society and there is no consistent rendering of terms which must really be regarded as technical. For the term *saiyid* which is of fairly frequent occurrence I have already proposed a special sense, namely that of spiritual chief, member of a family possessing 'spiritual power'. This quality is expressed as *sharaf* and the possessor of it is known as a *sharīf*. It does not necessarily mean that either a *saiyid* or *sharīf* is not sometimes also a tribal chief. The following examples will give some indication of the position held by possessors of *sharaf* in the technical sense used in the *Sīrah*.

It is stated on p. 540 that a double bloodwit was paid for certain Ashrāf. Nobody of fame and honour (*lahu ism wa-sharaf*—a phrase which might be used to-day in Arabia) listened to the Prophet at the annual fairs (p. 166). It was the Ashrāf who consistently opposed the Prophet. Abū Jahl was a man of *sharaf wa-man'ah* (the latter a term discussed above, p. 143). On p. 365 it is stated that if Muḥammad has slain certain Ashrāf it is better to be dead than alive. On p. 391 for obviously sycophantic motives a *sharīf* gets up to support the Prophet's word at the Friday prayers; a chief as the term is rendered could hardly have the right to endorse Muḥammad's claim to prophethood at a religious rite. On p. 621 two *sharīf* opponents of the Prophet are mentioned. In the Prophet's troops, says the *Sīrah*, were *Ahl Maḥabbah lahum wa-tā'ah fi-mā yad'awna-hum ilaihi li-sharafihim*; a Qur'ān verse was uttered against them. These Ahl Maḥabbah should be compared with the *mad* of the ancient Mukarribs (J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique*, Louvain, 1951, 90-1). Yet

again (p. 665) it is said of a lady that she—*kānat fī bait shāraf-in min qaumiḥā*, belonged to a house of nobility among her tribe. This lady was killed with violence by Zaid b. Ḥārithah, but she must have held some sort of spiritual power. The Prophet caused Rifa'a (p. 671) who had *ism fī Jusham wa-shāraf* (not simply as rendered 'a man of high reputation') to be assassinated. After the Prophet's death Medina is described as the home of the Ahl Fiqh and the Ashrāf, and Professor Guillaume's note that *fiqh* here cannot have the sense of 'law' is confirmed by a source quoted in *The saiyids of Hadramaut* (p. 6).

It was, in fact, to this type of family that Muḥammad himself belonged (p. 655) where Ṭabarī, 1654, is cited, 'I was asked about his lineage and you alleged that it was pure and of your best, and God chooses only a man of the noblest lineage as Prophet'.

Throughout and consistently, *mawlā* is rendered as 'freedman', but this class in itself was to all appearances a protected client class, probably not usually bearing arms, though there are indications to show that a freed slave would of course join the *mawlā* class. The *mawlā* has been ably discussed by Goldziher.

It was, according to Ṭabarī, 1563 (Guillaume, p. 655), the weak, the poor, and young slaves and young women who followed the Prophet (cf. Guillaume, p. 194). The Arabic runs, *al-ḍu'afā' wa-'l-Masākīn wa-'l-Aḥdāth min al-ghilmān wa-'l-nisā'*—*wa-ammā dhawū 'l-Asnān wa-'l-Ashrāf min qaumiḥi fa-lam tattabi'-hu min-hum aḥad*. In South Arabia the phrase *al-ḍu'afā' wa-'l-Masākīn* is a common phrase, meaning 'artisans' and 'peasants' (or 'workers in clay'), both unarmed. *Miskīn* will not mean 'poor', but must be derived from the sense of *sakana* 'to dwell'. It is too early to translate *ghilmān* as 'slaves' and it must mean simply 'boys'. Of the *Ashrāf*, taken either in the restricted sense proposed, those endowed with spiritual power, or in the wider sense of 'nobles', none followed Muḥammad. In *Le Muséon*, LXVII, 1-2, 1954, 170, a text is quoted showing that in present-day Arabia *ḍa'if* (meaning 'unarmed' or 'peasant') is regarded as the opposite of *sharīf*—not, of course, because he is physically weak, but because he does not bear arms, and cannot defend himself, i.e. lacks *man'ah*. There are other evidences in classical texts of this special sense of *ḍa'if*.

The Muslims 'of the lower classes' (p. 143) were persecuted by Quraish; the term used is *mustaḍ'if*. On p. 310 the text runs, 'I am a weak man (*ḍa'if*) and I used to make arrows', but the whole context shows that the antithesis between this man and Abū Lahab is one of *social* degree. On p. 162 a smith, a despised class in Arabia, is a companion of the Prophet, and on p. 179 Quraish jeer at Muḥammad when he is sitting with insignificant companions in the mosque, a smith, 'Ammār (a builder), and a 'freedman'. In the *Ḥadīth*, of course, there are injunctions against sitting with people of the *sūq*, which was, in fact, what Muḥammad was doing.

On p. 200 the 'Abd al-Ashhal *saiyids* resent the Prophet's approach to their *ḍa'ifs*—the action takes place in a palm-garden where one would expect *ḍa'if*

peasants to be working. Those left helpless after the peace (p. 507) must belong to the same class of craftsman and peasant. When Muḥammad approaches Khaibar he meets workers with spades (properly mattocks), and they flee away, for of course they would be non-combatants. The strength of feeling about the impropriety of tribesmen and nobles engaging in crafts is clearly shown (pp. 228-9) at the incident where it would be 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who refused to participate in the work of constructing the Prophet's mosque.

The position of the Jews in Arabian society as depicted in the *Sīrah* is not easy to understand. It seems to be assumed by some orientalisists that all Jews must have been of roughly the same social standing in society at Medina as the Arab tribes. This cannot have been the case, for many Jews were artisans. On p. 363 they are both *marwālī* and *ḥulafā'*, implying that they were protected by the tribes. On p. 93 is mentioned a 'Jewish neighbour' (*jār*) of the B. 'Abd al-Aḥḥal, but it would be more accurate to render this term as a 'Jewish protected man' belonging to the B. 'Abd al-Aḥḥal. Other documents in Wellhausen's *Skizzen* show that Jewish communities elsewhere, merchants, artisans, etc., had treaties concluded with them of a type showing that they were inferior, for instance, to the tribal arms-bearing Christians of Najrān. The question is unresolved, but a possible hypothesis is that there were both arms-bearing Jews of equal standing with the tribes, and those belonging to the despised classes, though in the latter case they might easily stir up trouble between the tribes, just as the Arabian *dallāl* is reputed to do to-day. It seems to the present writer that the Jews regarded Allāh as just another tribal god to whom they were forced to contribute in money or kind (p. 263).

A study of the proper names of persons in the *Sīrah* would be illuminating. On p. 218 Abū Kabsha described as a freedman of the Prophet, is the type of name given in Arabia to-day to a peasant. The note that Abū Saiyārah was in charge of the departure from Muzdalifah rings true when one recalls that *sāyara* and its derivatives in South Arabia mean to escort as a *khafīr* (p. 51). A superficial glance at the lists of names gives the impression that most Muslims who participated in important events were tribesmen and not *marwālī* or *da'īs*, and this, of course, links up with the fact that so little vulgar poetry has survived in ancient Arabia.

The account of the squabbles between various families, doubtless all of the *ashrāf* or *sādah* type, for the honourable and lucrative offices attached to the Ka'bah cannot but impress with its essential truth, though the hard edges of fact have been somewhat blurred and softened by the hand of time. This tale is repeated so identically throughout the peninsula throughout the ages, and not least in the Sharīfian dynasty itself. The ancestor of the holy Meccan families Qusaiy had all the rights and duties of a great South Arabian *mansab*, including the right to 'hand out war-banners' (p. 53) though I am inclined to suspect this rendering, for it seems to me that this banner (*al-liwā'*) was connected with the shrine itself and had nothing to do with war. Even a

tax (*riḡādah*) was paid to Qusaïy so that he might entertain ; this no doubt provided him with his living also. Other little indications, social or linguistic, confirm the narrative of the text, e.g. *jīfan* is still used in Arabia of the bowls of grain which are ground for the guest.

Throughout the *Sirah* the law and practice are those of a tribal society, and these two aspects of ancient Arabian life are so exactly similar to present-day conditions that the same technical terms are used. The system of protection is a well-known fundamental part of tribal law. For instance those who left Abyssinia only returned to Mecca with the promise of protection or secretly (p. 167), and the B. Makhzūm (p. 170) say to Abū Ṭālib that he has protected his nephew Muḥammad but what business has he to protect their own tribesman ? It is for this reason (p. 222) that Abū Jahl makes the interesting proposal that a noble from each tribe should participate in slaying Muḥammad so that the B. 'Abd al-Manāf will be forced to accept bloodwit. On p. 169, a man renounces the protection of a Meccan at the mosque and asks Allāh for his protection, but I cannot believe that this incident could take place before the Medinan period. Allāh's protection in later documents means the protection of the Ḥaram organization of Medina, an ancient Arabian pattern. The success of Muḥammad's new Ḥaram with Allāh as its patron is complete when (p. 647) it is laid down that, if there be a quarrel between men, they are forbidden to appeal to tribes and families, but their appeal is to be to Allāh. They are even to be smitten with the sword if they appeal to tribes and families, though I should prefer to translate this as 'tribes and sub-tribes' (*qabā'il wa-'ashā'ir*).

Typical of tribal law are the heavy compensation paid by Muḥammad for striking a tribesman with a whip (p. 596), the killing of a Jewish craftsman (of the servile class therefore) for grossly insulting a free Arab tribeswoman (p. 751), the fifty-fold swearing (*qasāmah*) still used by tribesmen to-day, the boycott on trade and intermarriage with the Hāshimites and B. Muṭṭalib because they would not restrain Muḥammad (p. 159) from what they no doubt regarded as interference with their rights, the provision that a camel should be sacrificed for each ten men (p. 500), the *tajbīh* (p. 266), a penalty which includes blackening of the face—in recent times for certain offences in Ḥaḍramawt a tribesman had his brow ceremonially slashed with his own dagger. On p. 434 'Āmir lets a man go after cutting off his forelock—to-day this would imply putting very great shame and contempt on the man. Another interesting detail is the new political relationship established by marriage (p. 493), no matter for agreement in present-day Arabia, but a relationship governed by strict rules. The position of women amongst many Arab tribes to-day is rather similar to that implied by the story on p. 213, where a man who migrates to Medina has his wife taken from him by her relations, while his son by her is taken by his own relations.

A term still used in Southern Arabia is *tabarra'*, as on p. 363, where one of the tribal protectors of the Jews came to the Prophet and 'renounced all

responsibility for them in favour of God'. This in the light of present-day custom I should prefer to render, 'declared himself no longer bound by his alliance (*ḥilf*) with them before God and his Apostle'. Similarly (p. 561) the rendering, 'O God, I am innocent before Thee of what Khālīd has done' would be, 'O God, I do not hold myself responsible before you for what Khālīd b. al-Walīd has done'. In tribal law to-day this would mean that Khālīd had in effect been outlawed by Muḥammad, and that the persons whom Khālīd had wronged would not take revenge on the tribal group headed by Muḥammad for the injury committed by Khālīd.

The new renderings proposed here are, it will be readily perceived, minutiae of criticism upon a vast and important work, or arise from very recent Arabian researches. The achievement of its author in presenting Muḥammad to the English-speaking world with a sweet clarity unknown before, will be immediately recognized by scholars and writers as outstanding.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DRAMATIC THEME IN THE STORY OF KHUBAIB B. 'ADIYY AND THE RELATED POEMS

By W. 'ARAFAT

I

WITHIN four months of the battle of Uḥud, two missions sent by the Prophet, the first to certain sections of al-Haun b. Khuzaima, the second to Banū 'Āmir, were set upon and treacherously killed or captured.¹ In the first case the emissaries were six in number. Four were killed, and two surrendered to the attackers, who belonged to the tribe of Hudhail, or properly to Liḥyān, a branch of the same, and were sold to the Maccans. One was killed in revenge for Umayya b. Khalaf and the other, Khubaib b. 'Adiyy, was killed and crucified in revenge for al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir, who, like Umayya, was also killed at Badr.²

In the other incident 40 men were involved including a large number of both the Aus and Khazraj. Among these was al-Mundhir b. 'Amr of Banū Sā'ida, who was the first cousin of Ḥassān b. Thābit on the maternal side. Some sources include also Ḥassān's brother Ubayy or Abū Shaikh b. Ubayy³ and make the number 70 instead of 40.⁴ Ibn Ishāq, however, is more likely to be correct, for there is no mention of Ḥassān's brother in any poems connected with the incident, whether authentic or doubtful, whereas al-Mundhir was mourned.⁵ However, although the men were guaranteed protection by the famous pre-Islamic knight Mulā'ib al-Asinna of 'Āmir, his equally famous nephew, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail, attacked the men with members of the tribe of Sulaim, his own tribe having refused to betray the trust of Mulā'ib al-Asinna. Only one person survived without injury, and was spared, significantly, because he was from Muḍar,⁶ and one other, who was left for dead, later recovered.

These two incidents happened within a very short time of each other, yet

¹ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra* (ed. Wustenfeld, Gottingen, 1858-9), 638-52. Other sources rely mainly on Ibn Ishāq's account. See also Ṭabari, *Annals* (ed. De Goeje), I, 1432 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg, 1867), II, 128-32; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya* (Cairo, 1932-), IV, 67-74; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-aḥbar* (Cairo, 1937), II, 40-3; al-Suhaili, *al-Raud al-unuf* (Cairo, 1914), II, 167-76; al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī* (Bulāq, 1868), IV, 40 ff.

² *Sīra*, 449, 508, 511.

³ *'Uyūn al-aḥbar*, II, 46.

⁴ *ibid.*, II, 44.

⁵ In poem no. xcxv in Hirschfeld's edition of the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (Gibb Memorial Series, XIII, 1910). Unless otherwise stated, numbers refer to this edition throughout the article. The poem is on p. 188 in Barqūqī's edition (Cairo, 1929) and p. 44 in the Tunis edition (Tunis, A.H. 1281).

⁶ *Sīra*, 649.

the number of poems available dealing with the first incident is far greater than the number of those dealing with the second, and the attention received by one victim, Khubaib, was out of proportion to the part he played and the place he held.

No less than eleven poems and two pieces of *rajaz* are quoted by Ibn Ishāq on the first incident, known as al-Rajī', whereas five only are connected with the second incident, known as Bīr Ma'ūna, and of these five one is attributed to a member of the attacking party. With the exception of three pieces attributed to the victims themselves, one ascribed to a non-Muslim, and three lines ascribed by Ibn Hishām to Ka'b b. Mālik, all poems on both incidents are attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit.

Ten of the poems connected with the incident of al-Rajī' are found in Ḥassān's *Diwān*. To these must be added three others, found in the *Sīra* and not in the *Diwān*.

These poems are: nos. XXXIX, LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII, LXXV, XCVIII, CVI, CXX, CXLI, CCII, and *Sīra*, pp. 646, 647.

The following observations can be made concerning this group:

1. Three of these poems, nos. LXXV, XCVIII, CCII, are mere elegies bewailing the death of Khubaib b. 'Adiyy only, or Khubaib and his companions (no. LXXV only). Khubaib was from the Aus, and the group included none from the Khazraj, Ḥassān's tribe.
2. Two others, found only in the *Sīra*, pp. 646, 647, of some length, elaborate the incident in narrative form, and deal with Khubaib and 'Āsim b. Thābit b. al-Aqlah only.
3. These five contain very pronounced Islamic elements.
4. These five are either doubted by Ibn Hishām (the first three) or are not found in the *Diwān* (the other two).
5. One poem, no. XXXIX, is against al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir of Quraish, who just before Islam was involved in the theft¹ of a golden image of a gazelle from the Ka'ba, the receipts from which incident were spent by those who plotted it on women and drink. al-Ḥārith was later banished for ten years, but returned and was killed at Badr. Another person involved in the incident was an 'ally'² of Quraish, Abū Ihāb (or Hujair b. Abī Ihāb) b. 'Azīz of Dārim. He, too, fought at Badr, but escaped. The story is that Abū Ihāb bought Khubaib from the members of the Hudhail tribe to be killed in revenge for al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir who was not only his boon companion but also his half-brother.³ This poem, which recalls the incident of the theft of the image, and taunts al-Ḥārith with it, occurs once more in the *Diwān* as part of no. CCII and an extension of it, although in printing the *Diwān* Hirschfeld cut out this part from

¹ The story of the theft is told in full in the notes to the poem concerned, presumably by Ibn Ḥabīb or al-Sukkārī, in the various editions of Ḥassān's *Diwān*. See pp. 51 ff. in Hirschfeld's edition.

² *halīf*.

³ *Sīra*, 640.

no. CCII to avoid repetition. No. CCII is quoted by Ibn Ishāq (without the part about the gazelle and al-Ḥārith, i.e. no. XXXIX) but is doubted by Ibn Hishām. The full version is the first among the group of poems which Ibn Ḥabīb did not 'dictate',¹ though the latter part of it was among the poems he actually dictated (no. XXXIX). Thus if this fact represents any doubt whatever that existed in the mind of Ibn Ḥabīb, it must have been either concerning the first portion only—that already doubted by Ibn Hishām—or concerning the possibility of considering these two to be parts of one and the same poem.

6. Three poems are either wholly or partly directed against the said Abū Ihāb. CXLII is directed entirely against him; CVI, concerning Khubaib, has a slanderous reference to Abū Ihāb as the person chiefly instrumental in his death, and XCVIII, which mourns the death of Khubaib in tearful and pathetic tones as a martyr, ends with one line addressed to Abū Ihāb asking him where the gazelle was. This line, however, is not to be found in the version given by Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Hishām rightly doubts Ḥassān's authorship of the poem, but nevertheless, the last line is most probably a later interpolation as it represents a sudden and violent change of tone.
7. The rest of the poems are all directed against Hudhail or Liḥyān, in most cases accusing them of treachery, and in two cases mentioning Khubaib by name, while in three cases they mention al-Rajī'. The poems are as follows: LXVI, against Liḥyān, accuses them of treachery and mentions

¹ A note by al-Sukkārī which precedes the last 28 poems in Hirschfeld's edition of the *Diwān* (based on the British Museum MS) indicates the end of the poems which Ibn Ḥabīb actually dictated, and states that 'the remainder I copied out of his own books: he did not dictate it'. The same note is found in the Paris MS and in one of the Istanbul MSS (Ahmet III No. 2613). These three MSS are identical and it is obvious, for reasons which cannot be stated here, that the arrangement of the poems in them represents the original arrangement of Ibn Ḥabīb. Hirschfeld states (Introduction, p. 1) that the note is not found in the St. Petersburg MS, and that the 28 poems are missing altogether from the Berlin MS. The poems are mostly slander, and 21 of them fall into three groups slandering various members of the Qurashite houses of Ḥashim, Umayya, and Asad.

It is difficult to be absolutely certain as to whether Ibn Ḥabīb deliberately withheld the poems, particularly in view of the paucity of the information available about him (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (Gibb Memorial Series, VI, 1906-27), VI, 473-6, for stories concerning his interruption of the dictation of the poems of Ḥassān on discovering Tha'lab among his audience, and again on discovering a certain judge Abū Ṭāhir). The above-mentioned note does not make it certain that the omission was deliberate (contrary to Hirschfeld's assertion, Introduction, p. 1, footnote), but likely.

It will be out of place to discuss this question here, but the following observations point to the possibility of the omission having been the result of doubts entertained by Ibn Ḥabīb himself as to their authenticity:

- (1) The fact that he himself, possibly deliberately, did not dictate them.
- (2) They are omitted altogether from the Berlin MS.
- (3) Six of them must have been omitted from the MS or MSS which were the ultimate source or sources of Barqūqī's edition.
- (4) One (no. CCIV) is not found in any other edition, one is doubted by Ibn Hishām, and a third is merely a repetition of another.

al-Rajī' ; LXVII, against Hudhail, accuses them, among other things, of being thieves ; LXVIII mentions both al-Rajī' as well as Khubaib and their treachery towards him ; CXX mentions Khubaib (twice in one line), al-Rajī', two people who sold Khubaib, by name, and then calls them thieves. Lastly one poem of four lines is found in the *Sīra*,¹ which concentrates, without any reference to or connexion with the present incident, on the disgraceful request Hudhail made to the Prophet. Barqūqī² includes the first line only, and none of the lines are found in any other edition.

From this the following conclusions can be drawn :

1. While much is being made of the incident and of the treachery of Hudhail, there is a central figure round whom everything seems to revolve, viz. Khubaib. Of far less importance is another member of the mission, 'Āsim b. Thābit, who is mourned together with Khubaib in the two poems found in the *Sīra*³ but not in the *Dīwāns*. These two poems are longer than the others, they are obviously the work of one person, they emphasize the legendary part of the story and are clearly of much later date. The rest of the men hardly appear at all, and the names are merely listed in no. LXXV, which is doubted by Ibn Hishām and is the feeblest of all the poems. Otherwise there is no mention of them or even a hint.
2. There must be, therefore, other and later developments than the mere incident itself.
3. It follows, *a priori*, that Ḥassān's connexion with this group may be very slender indeed, or, if we consider merely the variety of style, theme, and tone represented in this group of poems, that they could not all be his work.

Other points must be taken into consideration, but first the poems connected with the other incident, Bīr Ma'ūna, must be considered. These poems are nos. XL, XCIV, CXI.

The first of these poems consists of three lines (two only in the *Sīra*) mourning Nāfi' b. Budail of Khuzā'a who was among the forty. The lines, however, are attributed by Ibn Ishāq⁴ to 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa and are among the very small number of poems accredited to this poet and early follower of the Prophet. Yet it is not in any way clear why he, or Ḥassān, if Ḥassān is the author, should compose an elegy on a man from Khuzā'a when the dead included a number of men from the Khazraj to which they both belonged, as well as from the Aus.

The second poem, no. XCIV, also an elegy, consists of five lines. The poet first asks for tears to be shed generously for those killed at Ma'ūna (l. 1). Next

¹ p. 646.

² See n. 1, p. 28 below.

³ pp. 646, 647.

⁴ p. 651.

he explains that the wailing is for the 'horsemen of the Apostle' who met their death 'as it was fated' (l. 2). They met their end as a result of the treachery of a treacherous people (l. 3). Not until l. 4 does the poet mention al-Mundhir by name, though no other person is specifically mentioned. In the fifth and last line there is again general praise for the fallen. This Mundhir is Ḥassān's first cousin on his maternal side.

The third poem, cxi, quoted by Ibn Ishāq with insignificant variations and a different arrangement of the lines, is an exhortation to Mulā'ib al-Asinna, who had guaranteed the mission safe-conduct, to avenge the insult laid upon him by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufail who, in mockery of Mulā'ib al-Asinna—as the poet puts it—and intentionally, not by mistake, betrayed his trust, and 'mistake is not the same as intention' (l. 4).

Thus, then, two questions arise regarding the person and the incident in this case as compared with the person and the incident in the case of al-Rajī'. As for the person, even assuming that the lines on Nāfi' b. Budail are more probably the work of Ibn Rawāḥa, only one line in one poem is found to mourn al-Mundhir, although he was both the head of the group, and Ḥassān's first cousin.

Compared with this it is surprising to find the large number of poems attributed to Ḥassān on Khubaib and the incident of al-Rajī'. Khubaib not only was no relation of Ḥassān, but was also a member of the Aus tribe. Unlike al-Mundhir, who, authorities agree, was in charge of the expedition, Khubaib was only a member. Nothing else is known of him, and Ibn Sa'd does not include him in his biographies, the *Ṭabaqāt*.

As for the incident, it should in itself be more striking. It involved 40 people, or 70 according to certain authorities¹; whereas al-Rajī' involved six only. The men here were given safe-conduct and were betrayed. They were slaughtered without having either the chance to escape or the alternative to surrender. In the case of the other incident, the men were not given safe-conduct, and although they were faced with superior numbers, they had the chance to fight and were offered the alternative of captivity, though the end was no better for those who chose this alternative. Thus the incident of Bīr Ma'ūna is, in itself, of greater enormity both morally and materially.

The explanation lies probably in the nature of the incident, as seen in later times, and in the poems themselves.

From the poems and from the details of the story as told in the various sources, one can see a clear development in the narrative, an obvious shift of emphasis, a confusion of persons, the introduction and exaggeration of a romantic and legendary element to make the incident more pathetic, as well as a certain measure of the miraculous, and finally, with full elaboration, an attempt at virtually canonizing Khubaib.

As the story is told with the poetic embellishments, we learn that Khubaib was taken to Macca and imprisoned for some time before he was taken to

¹ See n. 3-4, p. 15 above.

execution. A number of details are always emphasized. Khubaib, in prison, was seen eating a large bunch of grapes when grapes were out of season in Macca. Just before his execution he asked for a razor to help clean himself in preparation for death. The woman in whose house he was confined sent him a razor with a small boy,¹ but soon was frightened with the thought that the doomed prisoner might hasten to take vengeance by killing the child. Instead, however, she found the child safe. Some authorities² say he was sitting on Khubaib's knee and the razor was in Khubaib's hand. At the time of execution Khubaib not only prayed two *rak'as* but he recited a long poem in pathetic tones.³ Ibn Hishām fortunately doubts this most doubtful of poems. He was then crucified and stabbed to death, but every word he said is preserved, including the curse he pronounced, as well as the reaction of the bystanders. We are told on the authority of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān himself⁴ that when the curse was pronounced his father threw him on the ground so that the curse should 'slip over' him. Finally, 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damrī passed by the crucified body of Khubaib on his way back to Madīna (or came especially to retrieve the body on orders from the Prophet, according to another version of the story), climbed up, and cut the body loose. It fell with a thud, and when he looked again, it had disappeared and no trace of it had been found 'to this hour'.⁵

Another later confusion which helped to elaborate the story, was the allegation in certain authorities⁶ that Khubaib was the one who killed al-Ḥārith b. 'Amir on the day of Badr. In fact, this Khubaib was not present at Badr, and the person credited with killing al-Ḥārith is Khubaib b. Isāf.⁷ The confusion, however, has the effect of making the story somewhat neater and enhances the dramatic element in it.

It is thus clear that the story of Khubaib received all this attention because of the dramatic element in it. Other, more famous people were among the group, some with valuable service to their credit, including the person who was appointed leader of the group, but they were merely listed in one of the poems, which poem happened to be the feeblest of all, and was doubted by Ibn Hishām's authorities. However, one other member received more attention than the others, though far less than Khubaib. This was 'Āsim b. Thābit b. al-Aqlah.

¹ It is of interest to note that in Ibn Ishāq's version of the story, told on the ultimate authority of the woman herself, who is mentioned by name, the woman states that she sent the razor with 'a boy from the tribe'. Yet although that part of the story is quoted by Ibn Ishāq, and by 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abdullāh b. Abī Najih, 'both of them', Ibn Hishām adds, 'It is said that the boy was her son'.

² e.g. *'Uyūn al-aiḥar*, II, 41.

³ *Sīra*, 643, etc.

⁴ *Sīra*, 641. See also Tabarī and other sources already cited.

⁵ Ibn Ishāq relates this episode in a later part of his work. See *Sīra*, 993.

⁶ See *'Uyūn al-aiḥar*, II, 41, quoting al-Bukhārī.

⁷ See *Sīra*, 507 ff., for a list of non-Muslims who died at Badr. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (op. cit.) makes a point of stating that according to all historians of the *maghāzī* it was Khubaib b. Isāf who killed al-Ḥārith b. 'Amir. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt* (ed. Sachau) II.2, 85.

His story is less dramatic, but it involves a kind of miracle. Earlier at Uhud he had been responsible for the death of two sons of Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa, of 'Abd al-Dār, who was the standard-bearer of Quraish and who also fell in the battle. The mother of these two men, Sulāfa d. Shuhaid, a woman from Madīna, vowed to drink wine in 'Āṣim's skull if she ever had the chance. 'Āṣim, on his part, had vowed never to touch or be touched by a polytheist. When he fell at al-Rajī the men of Hudhail tried to cut off his head and sell it to the said Sulāfa. However, he was protected by a swarm of wasps (or bees), and later, before the men of Hudhail could make another attempt, his body was carried away by a torrent which God sent for the purpose. Thus Sulāfa was disappointed and 'Āṣim was able to fulfil his vow in death as well as in life.¹ This incident is mentioned in two poems only which are not found in the *Dīwān*.² The two poems carry very clear signs of being of later date, and of being the work of one person. Both mention the incident of Khubaib as well as that of 'Āṣim, but one lays a little more emphasis on the incident of Khubaib, the other on the incident of 'Āṣim.

Clearly then it is the martyrdom of Khubaib and the dramatic possibilities involved that helped to establish what amounts, almost, to a cult. Equally clearly it is the element of the miraculous and the possibilities involved that helped to preserve the details of the story of 'Āṣim. The attention and the amount of elaboration each of these two martyrs received is in direct proportion to these possibilities.

It goes without saying that such elaborations are necessarily the work of later generations, and the concentration on these elaborations could only be the result of contemplation when time permitted and occasion required.

II

A close study of the poems themselves, especially those of them more closely connected with these stories, will show that they are of later date and of inferior workmanship.

It has already become clear that the poems in this group offer such variety of verse and of method of treatment that they could not possibly all be the work of one hand.

To take first the three poems on which Ibn Hishām cast doubts, nos. LXXV, XCVIII, CCII³:

The first of these three poems is a feeble effort indeed, and the author is a poor versifier. Line 2 begins the list of the people involved. Marthad is the 'head of the expedition and their commander, and the son of al-Bukair in front of them, and Khubaib'. The name Khubaib produces a faulty rhyme here, which could only be correct by reading Khabīb instead. The padding is

¹ *Sīra*, 567, 639, and all other authorities cited above.

² *Sīra*, 646, 647.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 648 and 644 respectively.

clear in putting 'the head of the expedition' before the name of Marthad, followed by 'and their commander' (Amīr). It is also clear in the phrase 'in front of them'.¹ The last line contains even more instances of the worst possible concoctions:

وَأَبْنُ لَطْرُقٍ وَأَبْنُ دَثْنَةَ فِيهِمْ وَافَاهُ ثَمَّ حِمَامُهُ الْمَكْتُوبُ

'And a son of Ṭāriq, and the son of "Dathna" among them his fated death met him there'.

The introduction of the ل before Ṭāriq and the treatment of the name as a diptote; the mutilation of another name, al-Dathinna,² to fit the metre; the presence of a phrase (فِيهِمْ) and a clause (the whole of the 2nd hemistich), the first in the plural, the second in the singular, which cannot both be properly connected with what went before; and lastly, the word ثَمَّ, a word particularly fitted for padding, should all be noted.

Equally offensive is l. 3. Just as the 'al' usually found in al-Dathinna was dropped to fit the metre, it was added to the name 'Āṣim for the same purpose. It hurts the ear to read the first half of the line, 'And al-'Āṣim who was killed at their Rajī':

وَالْعَاصِمُ الْمَقْتُولُ عِنْدَ رَجِيعِهِمْ

In رَجِيعِهِمْ 'their Rajī' the pronominal suffix is not only unexpected and undesirable, but also cannot be referred to anything in the lines.

It would be a waste of time to offer more instances from this poem which is clearly the effort of a very inferior versifier.

Poem no. xcviii is not as inferior as the previous lines, but it is not the work even of a second-rate poet. The worst instances of padding are clear in the rhyme-words, where practically every one (as well as the phrase before it, in some cases) is forcibly placed to complete the line. The worst instances, perhaps, are in l. 3 where the word الرَّفْقُ is used, and the only indication of its meaning is the root. Then in l. 4, the poet, addressing the murderers, asks them what reply they would make if the Prophet asked them on the Day of Judgment why they killed 'the martyr of God . . .'. 'On the Day of Judgment' is the prose 'translation' of the second half of l. 4:

حِينَ الْمَلَائِكَةُ الْأَبْرَارُ فِي الْأَفْقِ

'When the loyal angels are in the horizon'.

¹ This is the reading in various sources. As the commander of the expedition usually acted as imām the reading *imāmuḥum* could only be accepted as a further instance of padding by the forger-versifier.

² This is the form of the name found in all the sources cited above. See also *Tāj al-'arūs* and the *Qāmūs*.

Little would one expect 'the horizon' but for the cruel rhyme. More important, however, is the implication in those two lines that the Prophet is dead, for his question as well as the retribution has to wait until he meets them on the Day of Judgment. It is not without significance to compare a similar sentiment expressed, according to Ṭabarī¹ by 'a woman of the descendants of 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib' who met the family of al-Ḥusain on their return to Madīna after his death. The woman was weeping and reciting the following three lines:

ماذا تقولون إن قال النبي لكم
ماذا فعلتم وأنتم آخرو الأمم
بعثرتي وبأهلي بعد مقتدي
منهم أسارى وقتلى ضرجوا بدم
ما كان هذا جزائي إذ نصحت لكم
أن تخلفوني بسوء في بني رَحْمِي

'What would you say if the Prophet says to you—"What have you done—you who are the last² of peoples—with my relations and my family, after my death? Among them are captives and bloodstained dead; it was not the return [I expected] for giving you good advice, that you should inflict harm on my relatives after my departure"'.³

It will be noted that the first hemistich in these lines is exactly identical with the first half of l. 4 in the poem now under consideration.

Though other instances can be cited to show structural weakness, only one more will be mentioned which at the same time exposes a grammatical fault. Line 6 is addressed to Abū Ihāb, boon-companion and half-brother of al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir, who bought Khubaib and killed him in revenge for al-Ḥārith.

أبا إهاب فبين لي حديثكم
أين الغزال محلى الدُرِّ والورق

³ O Abū Ihāb, now tell me your (pl.) story; where is the gazelle decorated with precious stones and silver?'

This must be the meaning of the last three words, but strictly speaking, the last two words used in the genitive directly after the epithet 'decorated or adorned' must be translated 'of decorated precious stones and silver'. This latter meaning is clearly inappropriate, and all the stories tell us that precious stones and silver were used to decorate the image. Thus the words 'precious stones and silver' ought to have been governed by the preposition **بِ** or else used as an adverbial accusative. The first alternative would spoil the metre, the second would spoil both metre and rhyme.

The last of the three poems, no. 3011, is of a better standard of verse than the first two, but one can see that the whole treatment is artificial. It is clear that the poet knows nothing whatever about his subject except that he was

¹ II, 283; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 76.

² Perhaps in the sense of 'least'; or it may be a reference to the fact that the Prophet (whose *Umma* they were) was the last of the apostles.

from the Anṣār and that he was involved in this incident. There is complete absence of the personal touch. All the praise given to Khubaib is in general terms and is briefly contained in the second line. In the third line we learn that the poet's eye was roused to tears when he heard that ḥa (Khubaib) was crucified on a wooden trunk. Lines 5 and 6 are a threat and a warning to the offenders that war was imminent, to be waged by 'the lions of Banū al-Najjār' in a great army. This threat a Muslim poet, least of all Ḥassān, could ill afford to utter at that moment when the fortunes of Islam were at a very low ebb. They had just been defeated at Uhud, and almost at the same time as al-Raji', the other more disastrous incident of Bīr Ma'ūna took place. Soon they were to face the severe test of the siege of Madīna. To a poet of a later period, however, all that matters is the incident itself. Nor does it matter to the poet of a later period that Khubaib was from the Aus and that the victims included none from the Khazraj. Thus in l. 2 Khubaib is placed in the middle of the 'Anṣār', and in l. 6 the threat is made in the name of Banū al-Najjār.

Poem no. XXXIX, in the same metre and rhyme, is repeated in the MS as part of the poem just discussed, and the fact that this combination of the two parts is among the poems not dictated by Ibn Ḥabīb¹ may indicate either that he doubted the authenticity of the first part only, or that he doubted the possibility of the two parts being in fact one poem.

The relation is, of course, clear. The lines attack al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Āmir and taunt him with the theft of the gazelle image, only because al-Ḥārith was the person in revenge for whose death Khubaib was killed. The lines themselves, however, are pure *hija*, addressed to al-Ḥārith himself, except in the fourth line when the question as to the whereabouts of the image is directed towards his offspring. In the fifth and last line a curse is flung at his sons and 'their old man', and at the 'old man' and 'his descendants'.

Without its context the poem reads as pure satire directed against an old man who stole the gazelle and thus disgraced himself and his people. There is no indication whatever that the man was killed by the Muslims at Badr, nor is there any connexion with the story of Khubaib. Such connexion is known either from the background or from the other lines (no. CCII) which might be an introduction to it. There is indeed no indication in the lines themselves that the man was dead.

One possibility is that the lines were pre-Islamic satire directed against al-Ḥārith at the time of the offence, ten years before Islam. But the lines lack the emphasis on the sacrilegious character of the offence as it would appear at the time.² The slander in the lines is limited, formal, and, apart from the fact that the offence is clear and unmistakable, pretty general in terms. al-Ḥārith

¹ See n. 1, p. 17 above.

² According to the full story, the impact of the theft on 'religious' opinion in Mecca was severe. al-Ḥārith went into forced exile for ten years, while others less fortunate were severely dealt with. One, Duyaik, had his hand cut off. The instrument used happened to be blunt and he died the following day. The fullest account of the story is in a long note found in all editions of the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, and must be by Ibn Ḥabīb himself or by al-Sukkārī.

is told he could have saved himself the disgrace (l. 1), that he had brought upon himself and his people, disgrace of unprecedented character (l. 2). The 'robber' is then told to return the gazelle for it cannot be hidden (l. 3). The sons of al-Ḥārith are then tauntingly asked where the gazelle was (l. 5), and finally there is a curse on the old man and his descendants (l. 6).

Now al-Ḥārith was not an old man, but a young profligate at the time of the offence, though he was rich and generous and belonged to a strong branch of 'Abd-Manāf. Even at the time of the execution of Khubaib, more than ten years later, his son was but a child, and another person had to hold his hand and the lance and stab Khubaib to death.¹ In any case it is doubtful whether he would be slandered in these terms by a pre-Islamic Qurashite, and it is out of the question that Ḥassān would have known him or even been interested at the time.

It is equally unlikely that these lines were composed during the lifetime of the Prophet. For surely, whatever the motive, neither would the Prophet allow, nor would any of his followers think of slandering somebody for destroying an idol, even though for no lofty motive, when the first and chief aim of Islam was to destroy idols. Also, according to the note to the poem² (in all editions, which means that Ibn Ḥabīb or al-Sukkārī was responsible for it), al-Ḥārith was among those whom the Prophet ordered his followers, just before the battle of Badr, to spare if they met them. Finally, there is no mention of al-Ḥārith in any poems connected with Badr, and no mention of his death or the fact that he was a non-Muslim, etc., in any poems where he figures. The only conclusion is that the interest in him for the poets who supplied the *Sīra* with so much verse does not go beyond the Khubaib episode. Had the poems been composed at the time of the death of Khubaib, even if the interest in the slanderous character of the image episode were overriding, it is most unlikely that no mention would be made of the death of al-Ḥārith at the unforgettable battle, less than two years before.

Only in later times, when the interest in the elevation of Khubaib was paralleled by a similar interest in denigrating every person connected with the incident, however remotely, would it be possible to 'select' an incident which is slanderous in a personal way; and being farther in time from idols, to reproach a person with destroying one. Thus this poem must, with the rest of the poems extolling Khubaib, be considered as most probably a product of much later times than the days of Ḥassān.

Two poems which refer to Abū Ihāb, the other and more guilty culprit, are completely dissimilar in their approach to the subject. One, no. cvi, of four lines, begins by referring to a 'noble hero'³ 'whose maternal uncle is

¹ *Sīra*, 641, etc.

² See n. 2, p. 24 above.

³ Reading *qarm* with Ibn Ishāq. Hirschfeld and Barqūqī (p. 233) have *qarm*, and Barqūqī goes to great pains to justify this reading on the grounds that the poet is considering the person concerned as equal to a whole tribe. The argument does not sound convincing in this case.

"Anas"'. Had he been present, Khubaib would have been met with welcome instead of imprisonment, and would not have been led to execution at al-Tan'im by a worthless person whom 'Udus had disowned, i.e. Abū Ihāb. The last line, according to the version in the *Dīwāns*, contains an encouragement to Khubaib to show fortitude; 'to Paradise the breath returns'.

According to the version in the *Sīra*, an entirely different fourth line is found, which, though addressed to Khubaib, refers to the treachery of his murderers.

Brief reference may be made here to the general inferiority of the verse, the forced diction, and the padding, all of which are apparent in every line, but more particularly in the last three (in the version of the *Dīwān*).

The reference in the first line is, according to Ibn Hishām,¹ to Muṭ'im b. 'Adiyy of the Banū Naufal, who was instrumental in repealing the boycott which Quraish inflicted on the family of Hāshim in the early struggle of Islam, and who, on another occasion, gave the Prophet protection while he visited the Ka'ba.² After that no more is heard of him in the *Sīra*. Aras, according to Ibn Hishām and the note to the poem in the *Dīwān*, was from the tribe of Sulaim, and nothing else seems to be known about him.

On the other hand, the same note in the *Dīwān* indicates that the subject of the compliment was 'Adiyy b. Muṭ'im. Whoever he may have been, however, it seems strange that reference both to the subject of the praise and the object of the slander contained in the lines should be so indirect. Equally significant is the fact that the lines should contain praise to a Qurashite who had nothing to do with the incident at the same time as they revile one of the culprits. It would be unlikely in any case that a Khazrajite poet of Madīna should eulogise a Qurashite, particularly at that time. It is even more unlikely when the praise is apparently given gratis. Again, the explanation clearly lies in the attitude of later generations.

No. CXLi, on the other hand, is direct slander against Abū Ihāb. The three lines are not found in the *Sīra* nor in Barqūqī's edition.³ The first two lines form an attack on this man's father, in one place in indecent terms. The third line taunts him with being a dependant of the family of Naufal. The lines are extremely artificial. The rhyme and both rhyme-words in the first two lines are clearly suggested by the desire to play on the name of the man's father 'Azīz'. Hence the attack had to be concentrated on the father. One need only say briefly that so much artificiality and such inferiority could hardly be expected from a poet of the period of the Jahiliyya, let alone a poet of long standing as Ḥassān was at the time of the Prophet's migration to Madīna, and such deliberate sentiments with no reference to a motive are

¹ *Sīra*, 645.

² op. cit., 247-9, 251.

³ Barqūqī quotes the lines, however, in an appendix containing a few additions from the *Sīra* and the *Aghāni*.

hardly to be expected from a poet of the Muslim camp, at the time of the incident.

One other observation should be made. It is quite possible that the line were addressed to a descendant of the said Abū Ihāb at a later date and on a different occasion.

The remaining four of this group of poems which are found in the *Dīwān* seem to fall into two categories.

Poems LXVI and LXVII are very similar; the first begins by mentioning al-Rajī' and the tribe of Liḥyān and [their] unmitigated treachery. They tell each other to eat their neighbour,¹ 'thus the best man among them and the he-goat are equals' (l. 2). The third and final line tells us that even the he-goat would attain greatness among them.

The second of these two poems, no. LXVII, is directed more generally against Hudhail. 'Had baseness been created a man who could speak to them, he would have been the best of Hudhail whenever he came to them. The sign of their baseness can be seen between their eyes (l. 2). The graves clamour to Heaven when one of them dies (l. 3). They are like hedgehogs, too ashamed to be seen during the day, but come out at night (l. 4).'

Thus these two pieces are sheer reviling of the worst kind, though with little indecency. The other two poems, however, strike a somewhat different note: no. CXX, 'Would that Khubaib were not betrayed by any [one's] honesty, and would that Khubaib knew of [those] people'. 'Zuhair b. al-Agharr and Jāmi' sold him, both of whom have always committed unlawful acts (l. 2). Ye did promise protection, and then acted treacherously, and proved at al-Rajī' to be robbers (l. 3).'

The version in the *Sīra* contains an extra line at the beginning: 'Tell the descendants of 'Amr (the Aus) that their brother was sold by a person who had always followed the path of treachery'. Then follow the same three lines differently arranged in the following order: 2, 3, 1.²

No. LXVIII begins 'Nay by God, Hudhail know not whether the water of Zamzam is clear or impure'. Nor do they gain anything from their pilgrimage (l. 2). al-Rajī' shows their baseness clearly (l. 3), for it was they who deceived Khubaib into accepting their word (l. 4).

The fifth and last line is a little mysterious, and is found only in Hirschfeld's edition (the British Museum MS). The line is addressed to a person called 'Alī who is chided for bringing them close unto him, for 'they have lived without hearts'. A note explains that this is 'Alī b. Mas'ūd of Ghassān, and that he also adopted (حَضَنَ) the tribe of 'Abd-Manāt b. Kināna. Again, Ibn Hishām has an extra line calling them in effect 'he-goats'.

These two poems are of a milder tone than the preceding two. In the

¹ al-Jāhiz interpreted this line in a literal sense, and produced it as a proof that they were cannibals (see *Kitāb al-bukhālā'*, ed. al-Ḥajrī, Cairo, 1948, 216).

² Only Barqūqī adopts the order of the lines as they appear in the *Sīra*.

first of them the poet expresses regret at Khubaib's ignorance of their intentions, and does not in fact do much more than remonstrate with them. In the second they are reviled mildly in negative terms, and the slander in the third and fourth lines is extremely feeble compared with what was meted out to them in the preceding two poems. Both poems show inferiority, the latter in a greater degree.

Thus these two pairs of poems express different attitudes and different methods. They could not be the work of the same person. If any of them have any claim to the authorship of Ḥassān, they must be the first two. They have force and they are of better style. At least there is not much that can be offered to disprove Ḥassān's authorship except the general background already discussed. If Ḥassān did not actually compose any poems on al-Rajī' or Khubaib in particular, these two could be of later date and on another occasion where a reminder of Hudhail's previous treachery would not be out of place.

Lastly there is the poem of four lines on p. 646 of the *Sīra*. This is not found in the *Dīwāns* except for the first line which is quoted in Barquqī's edition only.¹

The poem tells us that Hudhail asked the Apostle of God to allow them a monstrous sin, thus going astray in their request (l. 1). They asked something 'their Apostle' would never give to them, and were consequently the disgrace of the Arabs (l. 2). You would never find a member of Hudhail calling for something noble (l. 3). Woe to them! They wanted a monstrous sin, and to make lawful something which is unlawful in 'the Books' (l. 5).

al-Mubarrad² says that the Hudhail had asked the Prophet to legalize adultery for them. He then adds that the form *sālat* (with a long vowel instead of hamza) of the verb 'to ask' is 'not of Ḥassān's dialect, but of that of others'.

Ibn Hishām makes no comment, and there is no indication that Ibn Ishāq quoted the lines for any reason but the fact that they provided a suitable addition for the poems against Hudhail. The lines have no apparent connexion with the incident of al-Rajī', and most probably have a different context.

Little more need be said about the few pieces quoted in connexion with the incident of Bīr Ma'ūna. It must be stressed that the two lines on Nāfi' b. Budail are also attributed by Ibn Ishāq to 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa, yet in view of the paucity of the surviving poetry and the fact that the victims in this incident included many Khazrajites, it is difficult to credit either Ḥassān or Ibn Rawāḥa with these lines on a Khuzā'aite.

The five lines which make up no. xciv³ are of a somewhat different character. They begin with an exhortation to the eye to weep profusely—that ubiquitous sign of the forger's work in the poetry of the *Sīra*. The lines are poor verse and do not indicate any personal knowledge of the subject. Particu-

¹ p. 67.

² *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, Leipzig, 1864, p. 288.

³ *Sīra*, 651.

larly significant is the fact that the poem contains no more than a passing reference to al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, and yet he was Ḥassān's first cousin.

There remains one more piece ¹ of four lines attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, exhorting Mulā'ib al-Asinna to avenge the insult he suffered when the emissaries who were travelling under a promise of protection from him were attacked. Three other lines ² slandering the treacherous attackers are attributed to Ka'b b. Mālik.

III

It seems the inescapable conclusion that attention was concentrated on the Khubaib episode, and that the dramatic possibilities of this episode were fully exploited in later days. The question is, by whom?

The later Anṣārīs could be suggested. Certainly after the battle of al-Ḥarra in A.H. 63, they 'fell into humble place', as Ibn Qutaiba put it,³ and the long poems ascribed to some of them, but mostly to Ḥassān ⁴ prove that they made every possible use of the Anṣār's services to Islam in order to bolster up their fallen social and political position. Yet it is noticeable that no mention is made of Khubaib in those long poems.⁵ In their psychological state, they preferred to boast of positive achievements.

Another possibility that can be discounted is that persons with a grudge against Hudhail or certain members of that tribe might be responsible. It is possible that some of the verse, particularly those pieces which contain pure slander with no reference to the incident now under consideration, might have resulted from personal enmity, and reference has already been made (see n. 2, p. 28) to the view of al-Mubarrad concerning the authorship of the lines slandering Hudhail for asking the Prophet to legalize adultery for them. However, two arguments can be urged against the possibility of the whole elaborate story, including the verse, having been intended as an attack on Hudhail. In the first place the story is far too elaborate and the poems too many. More important is the fact that the emphasis on the treachery of Hudhail is really subsidiary to the main theme which is the martyrdom of Khubaib.

Narrators are more likely to be responsible, but the emphasis placed on the details of the story and the special character of the story itself strongly suggest that there must be a deeper motive than the exploitation of the dramatic and the

¹ No. cxi; *Sīra*, 650-1.

² *Sīra*, 652.

³ *al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa*, ed. Rāfi'ī (Cairo, 1904), 347.

⁴ Such poems are nos. vi, vii, ix, x, etc. A study of these poems in the *Diwāns* proves late authorship and bears out fully Ibn Qutaiba's assessment of the situation.

⁵ On the other hand the poet al-Ahwas, a descendant of 'Āsim b. Thābit b. al-Aqlah, boasted of the miraculous protection afforded to his ancestor by the wasps. (See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, iv, 40.) The line concerned is:

وَأَنَا أَبْنُ الَّذِي حَمَتْ لَحْمَهُ أَلْدَبَّةٌ رَقَّتْ لِحْيَانِ يَوْمَ الرَّجِيعِ

pathetic for the benefit of the audience. There is special emphasis on a certain type of martyrdom, not death in battle, but martyrdom where treachery and cruelty characterize the killer, and helplessness and fortitude characterize the victim. One side is so completely virtuous and in the right and the other has a sacrilegious past and present. It was perhaps Shī'ites or narrators with Shī'i tendencies who saw the parallel between the killing and crucifixion of Khubaib and the sufferings of the various descendants of 'Alī. Seen in this light the details of the elaborate story, which had a very limited historical basis, take full significance, including the miraculous disappearance of Khubaib's body and the story that Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was present at Khubaib's execution.

A DRAWING OF THE FATIMID PERIOD

By D. S. RICE

(PLATES I-VI)

UNDER the patronage of the enlightened Fatimid caliphs (A.D. 969-1171) there flourished in Egypt a vigorous and refined art. The sumptuous palaces with which they had adorned their capital Cairo have vanished without trace, but the remains of their religious architecture, the magnificent gateways of Cairo's Fatimid wall (which have escaped destruction), together with the enthusiastic descriptions of contemporary travellers enable us to imagine the splendour of their court.

Of the applied arts produced during this period, more has escaped the holocaust and systematic looting which followed the downfall of the dynasty.

A fair number of ceramics, wood-carvings, ivories, rock-crystals, textiles, and metal works have come down to us and enable us to define the Fatimid style. It is a charming and highly distinctive style which owes much of its attraction to the large measure of freedom which artists and craftsmen enjoyed during the reign of this dynasty. Their arabesques, animals, epigraphic bands, and human figures are nearly always drawn, carved, and painted with immense *brio*—there existed no inhibition in the portrayal of living forms. Perhaps the most attractive qualities of the Fatimid artists are their sense of realism which is never petty, and their subtle, unerring feeling for the specific potentialities of each medium.¹

While we are reasonably well informed about the so-called minor arts, our knowledge of Fatimid painting is sadly limited. The richest material is not found in Egypt, but on the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina, built for Roger II in A.D. 1144 at Palermo.² In Cairo itself only scanty fragments of frescoes have been recovered from the ruins of a bath which has been dated to the eleventh century A.D.³ Manuscript-illustrations of the period are even rarer. Several fragments found in the Fayyum are now in the Archduke Rainer Collection in the National Library at Vienna.⁴ A frontispiece from an unknown work in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo,⁵ and another in the Sherif Sabri Collection,⁶

¹ There is a great need for an exhaustive study of the art of the Fatimid period; cf. Zak Muhammad Ḥasan, *Kunūz al-fāṭimīyīn*, Cairo, 1937; R. Ettinghausen, 'Painting in the Fatimid period: a reconstruction', *Ars Islamica*, ix, 1942, 112-24.

² U. Monneret de Villard, *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Roma, 1950.

³ Zakī Ḥasan, op. cit., pls. 3-5; G. Wiet, *Album de l'exposition d'art persan*, Cairo, 1935, pls. 52-3.

⁴ Th. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic book*, London, 1929, pls. I-IV.

⁵ G. Wiet, 'Un dessin du XI^e siècle', *BIE*, xix, 1936-7, 223-7, 2 pls.

⁶ G. Wiet, 'Une peinture du XIII^e siècle', *BIE*, xxvi, 1944, 109-18, 2 pls.

have been published and ascribed to the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively.

A rather crude, large drawing in the British Museum—too large (21 × 31.5 cm.) probably to have been a manuscript-illustration—is said to have come from Fustat. It depicts a battle scene between Muslims and Crusaders in front of a castle, and has been dated to c. A.D. 1160.¹

Another large, loose-leaf Fatimid drawing, artistically much superior to the preceding, which has received practically no attention so far, may here be examined in some detail.² The single sheet of buff paper, torn at the edges and measuring 28.5 × 18 cm. (pls. II–III) is said, on good grounds, to have been found at Fustat and now belongs to a private collection.

The drawing which fills practically the whole surface of the sheet shows a thick-set, short-legged female figure in the nude, holding a six-stringed lute in her left hand and a stem-cup full of crimson liquid in her right. A tray, on which are a bottle and a pitcher half filled with similarly coloured liquids, occupies the upper left-hand corner of the page. Close to the woman's right arm is a tall, free-standing vase with flowers.³

But for some items of jewellery, the lady is entirely nude. Her hair is held together by a narrow ornamented cloth band knotted on the left side, its ends fluttering in a wavy line behind the head and filling the upper right-hand corner of the sheet. A fringe of unruly curls escapes from under the head-band. Long lovelocks frame the full face and descend to the level of the ear lobes. Four heavy plaits fall over the woman's shoulders and flanks and reach down to her knees. The face is round, the eyebrows are bushy, the eyes almond-shaped and large, the nose which is slightly hooked flattens out at the nostrils. The upper lip is short. The arms are heavy and long in relation to the stocky legs. The breasts are flat and pear-shaped and remarkably small when compared with the rest of the anatomy. The feet are small, the hands on the large side. Legs and feet are shown in profile, the trunk frontally, the face in three-quarters view.

The drawing (if one disregards the somewhat distorted proportions) is expert and confident. The figure was first sketched in red and then drawn in black ink. In some instances the crisp, black line does not follow the red sketch—as, e.g., in the raised right hand. In other instances the black contours are completely absent, as in the oval of the face or the abdominal skin-fold at the level of the navel. On the other hand, the accessories such as the flower vase, the lute, the glass vessels, and the tray seem to have been executed in black ink only, without preliminary red guide lines. There are traces of

¹ B. Gray, 'A Fatimid drawing', *BM Quarterly*, XII, 3, 1938, 91–5, 1 pl.

² A photograph, taken before the creases of the sheet were smoothed out, was reproduced by the late Zaki M. Hasan, *Al-fann al-islāmī fī miṣr*, I, Cairo, 1935, p. 124, pl. 36, where it was described as a man holding a cup and dated to the ninth century.

³ The fact that the vase has been squeezed into such an awkward position near the figure seems to indicate that the paper was not originally much larger on this side.

whitish pigment which was used for colouring the body, and a light crimson wash indicates the liquids in stem-cup, bottle, and jug.

I was recently able to study this important drawing at leisure and to take panchromatic (pl. II) and infra-red (pl. III) photographs. The latter have brought to light a number of details not ordinarily visible, because in places the layer of fine dust which adheres to the surface of the drawing could not be removed for fear of damaging it.

On the basis of the infra-red photographs it was possible to prepare the



FIG. 1

sketches given in figs. 1-2 and to recognize the tattoo marks which embellish the figure. These are (starting from the head) a V-shaped sign between the eyebrows, two small marks on the cheeks: a dot surrounded by a circle of dots on the right cheek, and a flame-shaped design on the left (fig. 1). The tattooing of the root of the nose, the asymmetrical marks on the cheeks, and the ornament above the breast (fig. 2b) can all be seen in several Islamic countries to this day.¹ They have a decidedly magical and prophylactic character and offer powerful protection against the evil eye. The extensive tattooing of the hands and feet is largely ornamental (fig. 2 a, c, d) and assumes the shapes of gloves and socks. The lower abdomen of our figure, from the iliac spines to the pubes, is tattooed with incisions forming parallel lines. This last type of tattooing is of

¹ cf. W. Smeaton, 'Tattooing among the Arabs of Iraq', *American Anthropologist*, XXXIX, 1937, 57; E. W. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London, 1871, I, 48 ff. For the ornament tattooed above the breast cf. the Fatimid lustre dish in the Louvre, G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, vol. I, p. 186, fig. 335.

great antiquity in Egypt. It was first noted in 1899 on the mummy of the priestess Amunet of the XIth dynasty and later on mummies of two dancers of the same dynasty found at Deir al-Bahrī by an archaeological mission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹ An unpublished 'reconstruction' of one of

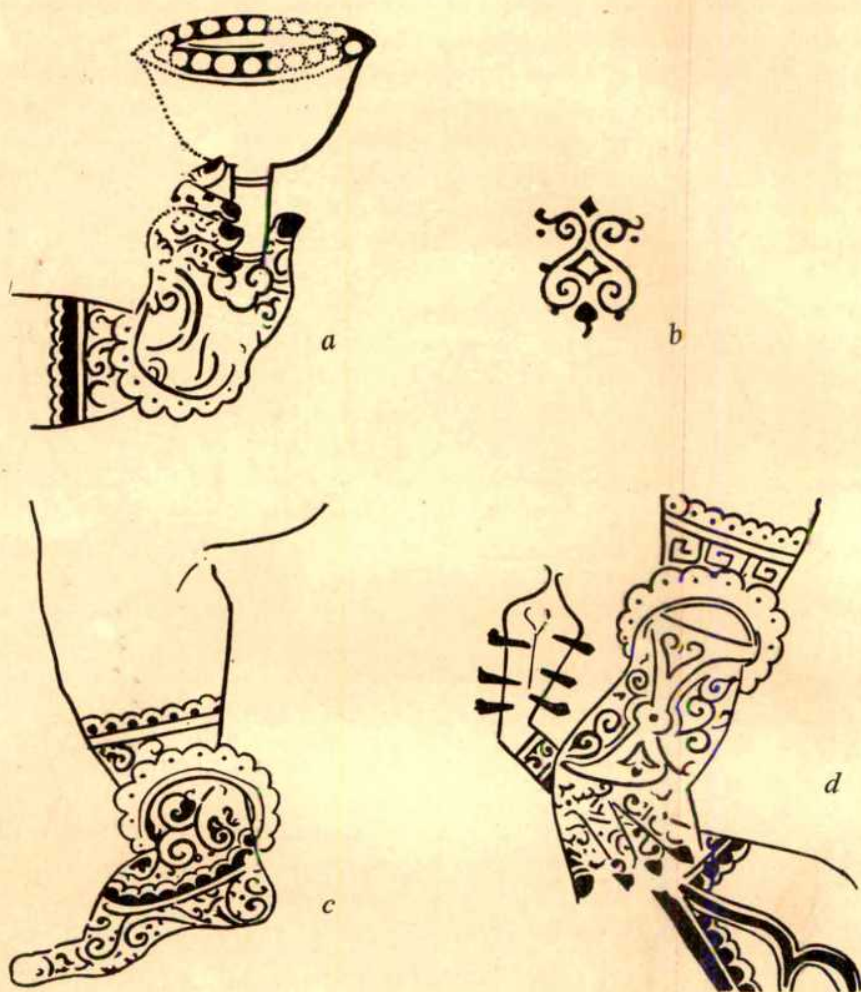


FIG. 2

the dancers is given here on pl. iv, by kind permission of Mr. W. Hayes, the Curator of the Egyptian Department of that Museum. There is also evidence that the tattooing of the lower abdomen is practised in certain regions of North Africa to this day.²

¹ cf. L. Keimer, *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne* (= *Mém. de l'Institut d'Égypte*, LIII), Cairo, 1948, 6 ff., and pl. iv.

² cf. J. Herber, 'Tatouage du pubis au Maroc', *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires*, No. 9, 1922, 37-47.

The whole series of tattoo marks (with exception of the V-shaped sign between the eyebrows) can be seen in stylized versions on two bone statuettes which I do not hesitate to ascribe to Egypt (where they were found) and to the Fatimid period. Similar statuettes (which were probably dolls) have been found in large numbers. The majority are Coptic and plain, with only a few incisions to mark eyes, nose, and mouth.¹ But the two specimens, from a private collection, reproduced on pl. I are decorated with black pigment. They have a scalloped hair style, bushy eyebrows, long love-locks, asymmetrical tattoos on the cheeks, stylized marks on the breasts, abdomens, thighs, and 'feet'. The ornaments on the necks of the figurines seem to stand for jewellery.

But the closest parallel for the dating of our drawing is a famous lustre-painted dish in the Museum of Islamic art, Cairo (pl. v a-b)² (Reg. No. 13080). This shows a reclining female figure nude to the waist (fig. 3). In her raised right hand is a six-stringed lute, very similar in shape to that on our drawing, and with an identical design on the sound box. Instead of a cup, the figure on the ceramic dish clutches three blossoms. The bracelets and necklaces worn by the standing figure of the drawing and the reclining figure on the dish are identical. Other points of resemblance are the long love-locks, the bushy eyebrows, the heavy braids of hair, the round heavy chin, and the small pear-shaped breasts. The knotted head-band with the trailing ends can be seen on the figure of the attendant in the ceramic dish. The lustre-painted dish in Cairo, which is shown in its original and 'restored' condition (pl. v a-b), is undoubtedly Fatimid. On the rim is a line of spidery Kufic script. The letters fail to form a satisfactory sentence but it is clear that they are written backwards as in a mirror-script. One can recognize with fair certainty the words *baraka* and *liṣāhibihi* 'blessing' 'to its owner'.³ The character of the script suggests a date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

The ornamental tattoo marks on the feet and hands of the standing lute-carrying nude on our drawing which were traced with the help of infra-red photographs (fig. 2 a, c, d) may also be compared with the designs on a Fatimid gold ornament in the Museum of Islamic Art (fig. 4) which is usually dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

Further parallels can be seen in the paintings of the Cappella Palatina ceiling (A.D. 1144). The composition of our drawing is designed to fill the whole rectangular surface of the sheet. The figure occupies most of it by itself while the accessories account for the rest. The lute, the tray, and the loosely trailing head-band fill three corners, and the raised right foot of the nude lady the

¹ J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Cat. Gen. des Antiquités Égyptiennes), Cairo, 1904, p. 201, Nos. 8868-81, pl. XVIII and the parallels listed there.

² I am giving in pl. v a the fragment of the dish as it originally reached the Museum. In pl. v b the restored dish in its present condition is given; an intermediate stage of restoration can be seen in A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, London, 1941, pl. 27b.

³ For similarly reversed Kufic inscriptions on ceramics cf. V. A. Kratchkowskaya, 'A propos de l'épigraphie d'un plat à lustre métallique', *Ars Islamica*, iv, 1937, 468-71.



FIG. 3

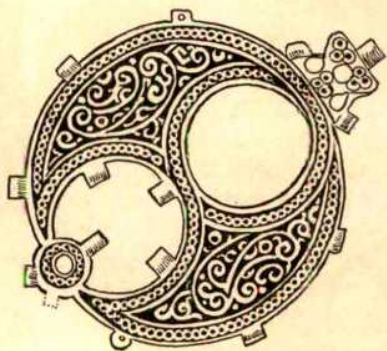


FIG. 4



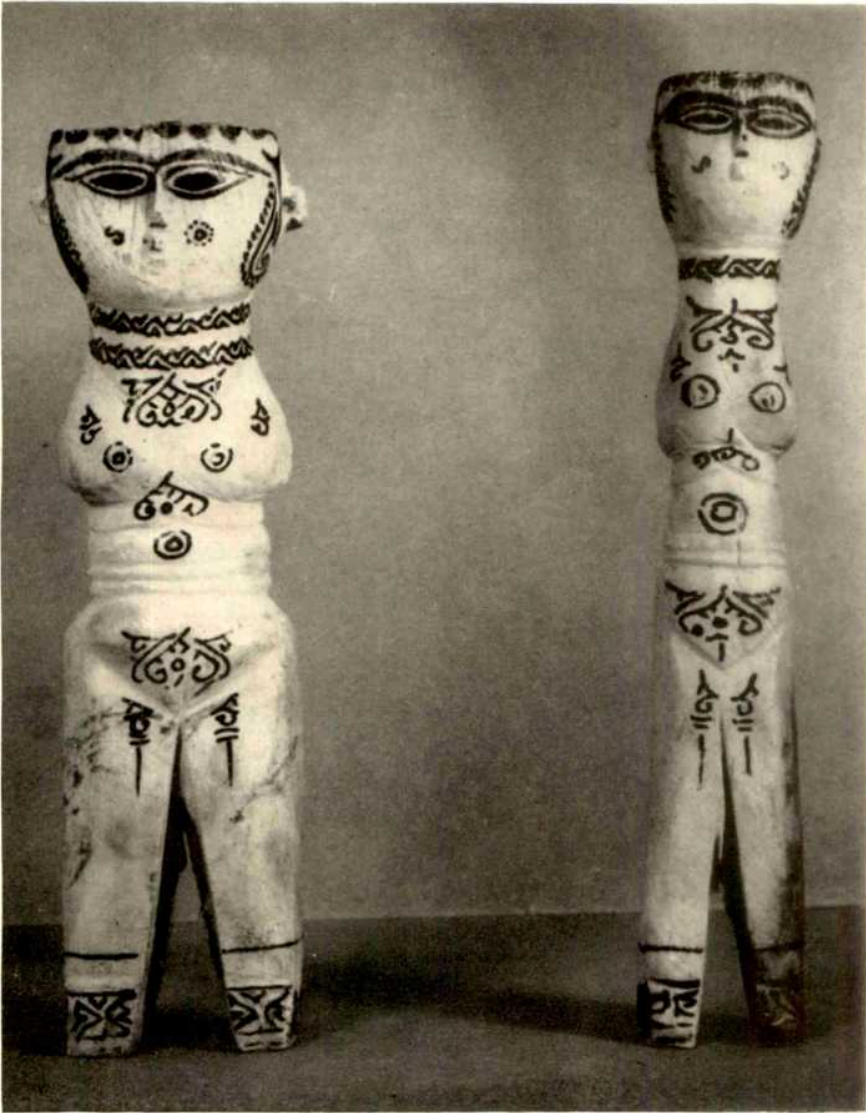
LUSTRE-PAINTED DISH LATE NINTH-EARLY TENTH CENTURY. DIAM. 30 CM.
MUSEUM OF ISLAMIC ART, CAIRO

(a) ORIGINAL FRAGMENT. (b) AS AT PRESENT RESTORED



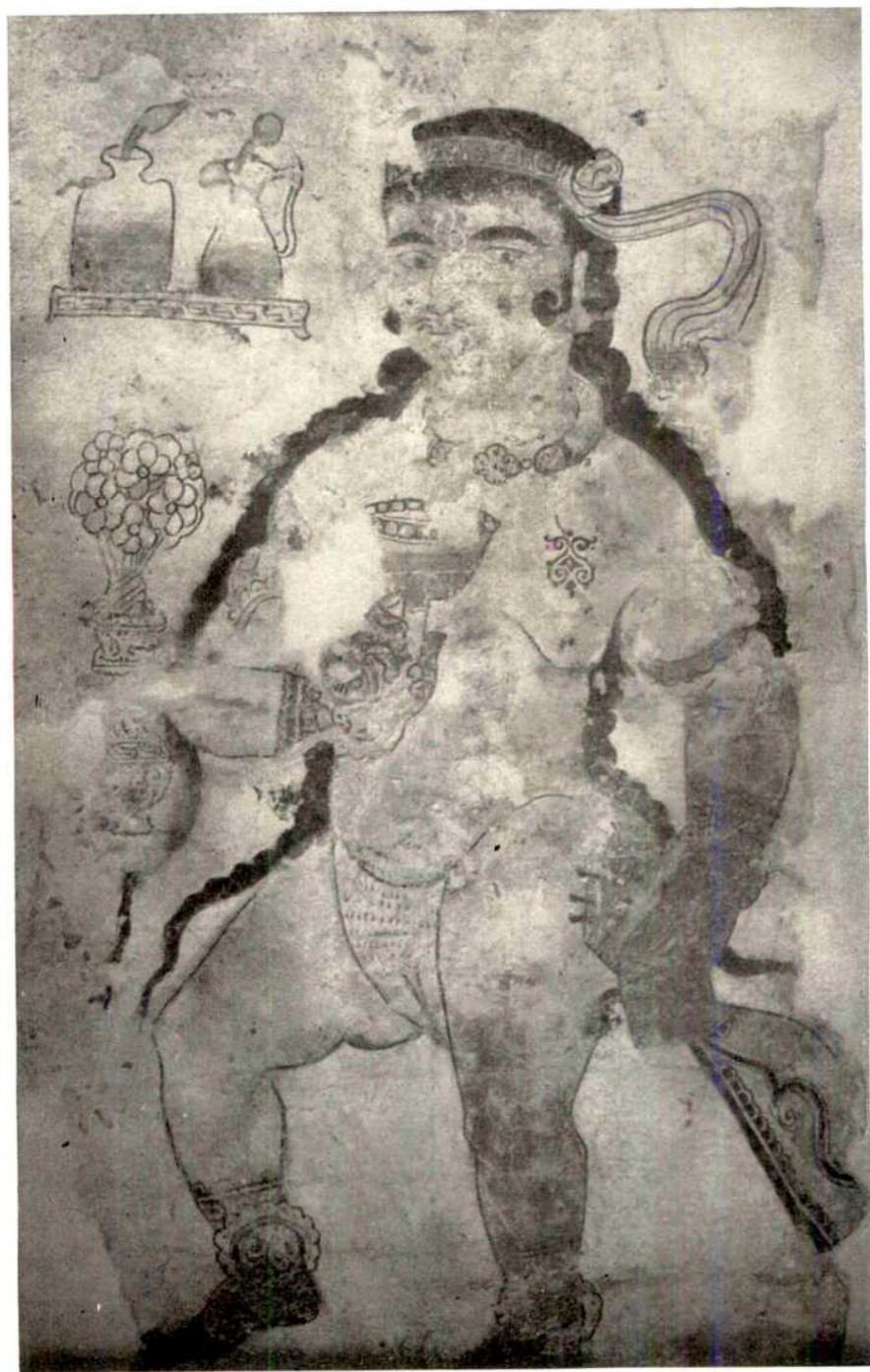
Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

ASTROLOGICAL FIGURE FROM MS ARABE 2775 FO. 82

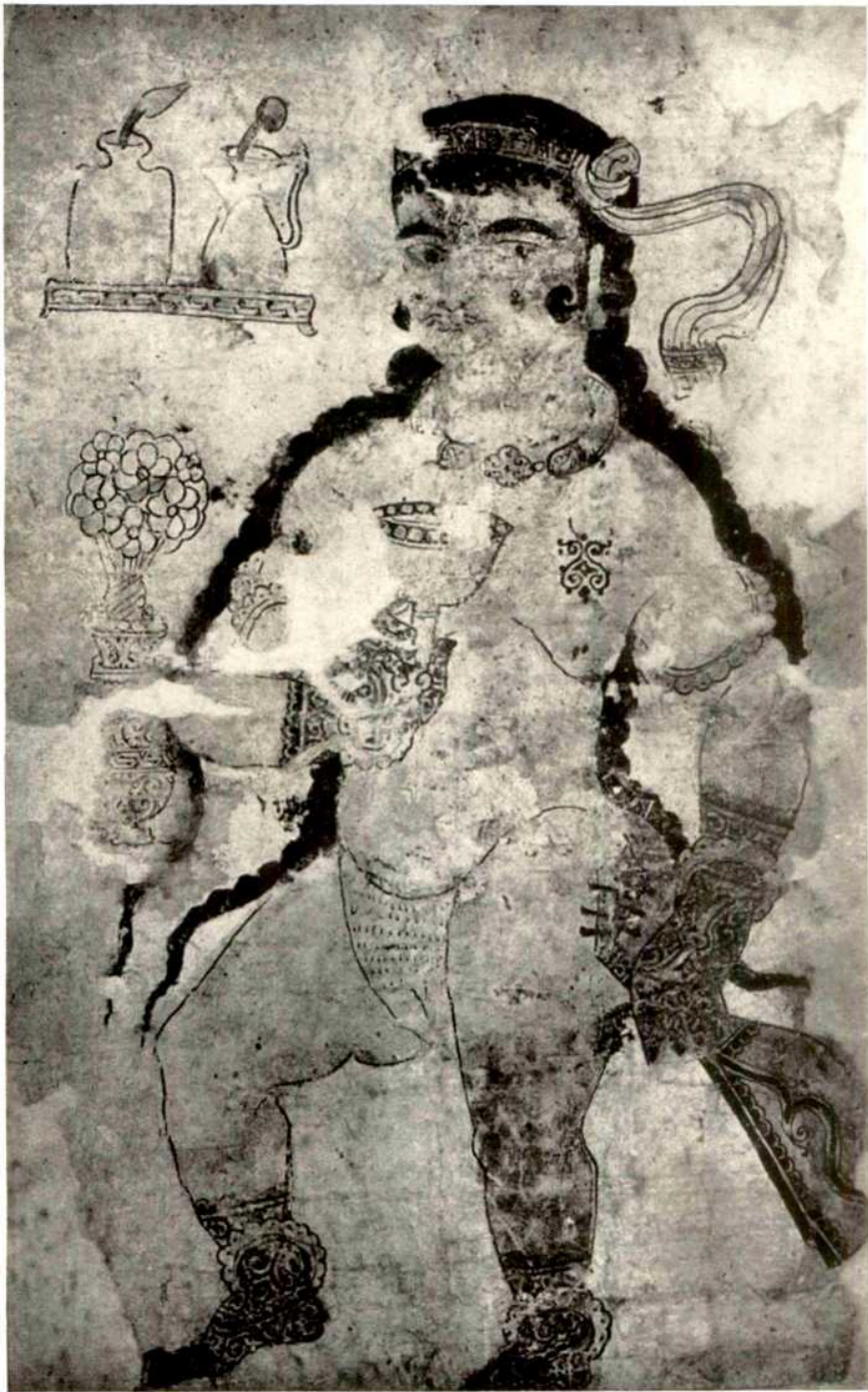


TWO FATIMID BONE FIGURINES. PRIVATE COLLECTION

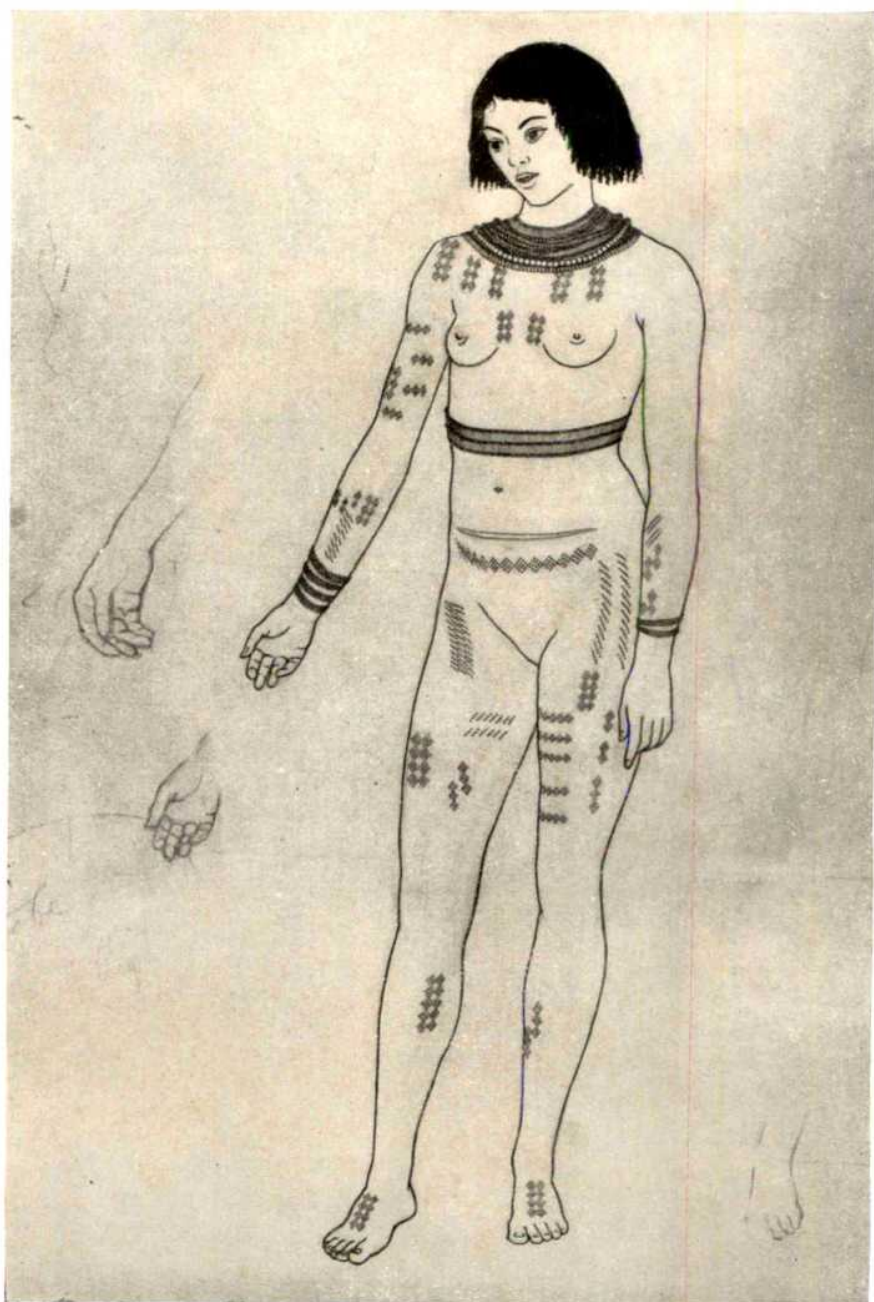
PLATE II



FATIMID DRAWING. PRIVATE COLLECTION. PANCHROMATIC PHOTOGRAPH
[BSOAS. XXI]



THE SAME BY INFRA-RED PHOTOGRAPHY



Courtesy the Egyptian Dept., Metropolitan Museum of Art

TATTOOED DANCER OF THE XITH DYNASTY

fourth. A similar arrangement may be observed in some oblong panels of the Cappella Palatina. These are filled by large human figures occupying practically the whole available space, with ewers and drinking vessels filling the upper corners of the panels; some vessels have stalks of (aromatic?) plants protruding from them as in our drawing.¹ In the Sicilian paintings we also find the six-stringed lute² and some of the female faces show the familiar round contours, the long lovelocks, and signs of tattooing³ as well as head-bands like that worn by our nude.⁴

All the indications are that the drawing is closely related to the Cairo lustre-painted dish and probably a little earlier than the Palermo paintings. Its dimensions (28.5 × 18 cm.) and the absence of any trace of script on the verso seem to rule out that it was intended to be a manuscript-illustration. Could it have been a sketch for a fresco? This is most likely. Nude figures are far from unknown in Islamic wall paintings, as witness the frescoes of Qaṣayr 'Amra⁵ and Samarra.⁶ And between these two sets of early eighth and early ninth century paintings we now know the semi-nude Umayyad stucco figures from Khirbat al-Mafjar.⁷ There is no need to recall that in Egypt the Tulunid Khumārawaih (A.D. 884-96) adorned his 'Palace of Gold' with statues of his favourite singing girls,⁸ and that the Fatimid vizier al-Yāzūrī (A.D. 1050-8) organized a competition between the Egyptian painter al-Qaṣīr (al-Qaṣair) and his Iraqi rival Ibn al-'Azīz which had for its subject the illusionist rendering of a singing girl.⁹

We also know of another Fatimid vizier who decorated his wine-hall with curious automata. Al-Afdāl Shāhānshāh (ob. A.D. 1121) had eight statues of singing girls, four white, made of camphor and four black, made of amber. They wore splendid clothes and were bedecked with jewellery. When he trod on the threshold of the chamber they bowed, and when he entered it and sat down they straightened out.¹⁰

In this context one is also reminded of an anecdote concerning the poet al-Mutanabbī (ob. A.D. 965). He was the boon companion of Badr ibn 'Ammār who also entertained an ugly, one-eyed fellow called Karawwas. This Karawwas was jealous of al-Mutanabbī's extraordinary gift for improvising poetry. In order to shame the poet he prepared a dancing doll with long hair. Clutching a bouquet in her hand and lifting one leg like a real dancer, this doll could be

¹ Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, figs. 178, 180, 182, 184, 201, etc.

² *ibid.*, fig. 202.

³ *ibid.*, figs. 180, 187, 207, 208, 220.

⁴ *ibid.*, figs. 190, 205, 210, etc.

⁵ A. Musil, *Kusejr 'Amra*, Vienna, 1907, pls.

⁶ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, pls. xvi, xx-xxi, xxv.

⁷ R. W. Hamilton, 'The sculpture of living forms at Khirbat al Mafjar', *QDAP*, xiv, 1950, pl. XLIII.

⁸ Maqrīzī, *Khaṭat*, Cairo, 1858, i, 316.

⁹ *ibid.*, 318.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Muyassar, *Akhbār miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo, 1919, 58.

wound up and made to turn about until it came to rest in front of one of the guests, who would have to drain his cup and improvise some verses. That this stratagem failed to defeat al-Mutanabbī is clearly shown by the lines included in his *diwān*.¹

The lute player is a stock-in-trade motif of the courtly scenes which are so frequently found in Islamic art,² and we see the lute in the hands of both male and female entertainers. The female lute player, however, is also the symbol of the planet Venus³ and appears in innumerable vessels of all kinds either as a 'planet figure' or with the two zodiac signs of *Taurus* and *Libra*. But in all these representations the lute-playing Venus (or the dancing-girl who is one of this planet's 'children') is fully clothed. A curious nude parallel to our drawing is found in an unpublished MS on the properties of stones attributed to Ḥunain ibn Ishāq.

This MS (BN arabe 2775) was described by J. Ruska⁴ in 1919 who proved that it was not a work of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, but a hermetic treatise on 'planet-seals'. On folio 82 (pl. VI) the seal concerning Venus is shown and the following prescription added: '... take a stone called *shaqīlā*,⁵ engrave on it the picture of a naked Venus who is leading Kronos behind her on a chain. He gazes at her and a soldier with a sword is behind him'.⁶ Under the feet of these figures one was to engrave some magic signs and in conjunction with certain concoctions the stone became a powerful tool for attracting people's affections; women in particular could never resist its appeal. The paper and script of MS BN arabe 2775 are almost certainly of the thirteenth century A.D. The illustrations are considerably later and rather crude, but they are undoubtedly based on much earlier models. The figure of Venus especially shows striking similarities with the Fatimid drawing under discussion. The astrological image has the same large eyes and bushy eyebrows, the same long love-locks and heavy plaits. Even such a detail as the scalloped bracelet worn above the elbow is identical and the dots on the lower abdomen look very much like tattooing.

Whether it depicts a planet-figure or a wine-drinking, lute-playing

¹ Mutanabbī, *Diwān*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, Cairo, 1944, 146 ff.

² cf. E. Kuhnelt, 'Der Lautenspieler in der islamischen Kunst des 8. bis 13. Jahrhunderts', *Berliner Museen*, 1951, 29-35.

³ cf. F. Saxl, 'Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident', *Der Islam*, III, 1912, 162. For some examples see D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris, 1956, pp. 18 ff.

⁴ J. Ruska, 'Griechische Planetendarstellungen in arabischen Steinbüchern', *Sitzungsberichte d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1919, 1-50. I am indebted to Dr. O. Kurz of the Warburg Institute for calling my attention to this MS.

⁵ شَقِيلَا also سَقِيلَا 'Indian stone', Syr. *hawān*, according to Ruska, op. cit., p. 43, n. 1, probably the onyx.

⁶ The illustration does not follow the text very closely. The warrior is behind Venus. Kronos is in front of Venus not led behind her. One would have expected, as Ruska (op. cit., 44) pointed out, Ares not Kronos in this connexion.

**dhōnā*,¹ connected therefore with Old Indian Rigvedic *dhānās*, plur., 'grain, corn', with adj. *dhānyā-*, familiar to the present day in NIndo-Aryan, thus in Marāṭhī *dhān* (from *dhānya-*) 'grain', but also specialized as 'rice'. The word is widely attested in Iranian, Avestan, and Khotanese *dānā-*, Manich. Sogd. ḏ'n, **ḏān*, Zor. Pahl. *dān*, *dānak*, *dāng*, NPers. *dānah*, *dāng*, Armen. loan-word *dang*, Yidya *-lāno* in *alāno* 'pomegranate' (from **ha-dānā-* or **ādānā-*). Old Persian has **dānakā-* attested in Greek *δαράκη* and Elamite *da-na-kaš* used for a measure and a coin.²

The original IE **dhōnā-* can be equated either as *-ō-* form to a base *dhē-* with *-nā-* suffix or as *-ō-* form to a base *dhen-*. In the second case the form would be like Lit. *kūopa* 'group' and Greek *κόπη* 'handle', Iran. *kāp-* in Zor. Pahl. *kāpēn* 'dowry'.³

Such a base *dhē-* or *dhen-* meaning 'to grow' or the like seems to have left few traces. Possibly Hittite *tiessar* 'forest' represents **dē-* from **dhē-* with the collective suffix *-essar*, as in *alel* 'flower' and *alalessar* 'garden'.⁴ The *dhen-* may have survived in Old Ind. *dhānvan-*, *dhānu-*, *dhānus-* 'bow' with Germanic OHG *tanna* (from **danwō*, IE *dhonu-*) 'fir-tree, oak'.⁵

Let. *duona*, later *dona*, 'crust, end of a loaf' corresponds in form to Lit. *dūona*, but has developed further in meaning. For 'bread' Lettish has *maize*.

The second word is Lit. *mieža-* from older **meiža-* in the adj. *miežainis*, and in *miežia-* in the noun *miežys*, *miežis* by IE *-jo-* suffix.⁶ These words mean 'grain of barley' and in the plural *miežiai* 'barley'. Lettish has the same in *miezis* and plur. *mieži*. The word has thus been narrowed in meaning. The reverse treatment befell Lit. *jauai* used for 'grain, corn' beside the older meaning 'barley', as in Old Ind. *yāva-*, Avestan *yava-* 'grain', NPers. *ṣau* 'grain of barley', but Oss. Dig. *jāu*, Iron *jāu*, *jeu* 'millet'.

The derivative with *-o-* grade in the base occurs in Let. *māize* 'bread' and (with *oa* from Baltic *ai*) in Old Pruss. *moasis* 'barley'.

The base is thus Indo-Eur. *meiǵ-* (or *meiǵh-*, since Lit. *ž*, Let. *z* are ambiguous as to aspirate).

The agricultural context of these two words Lit. *dūona* and *miežys* brings them into proximity in C. Donalaitis's poem 'Pavāsario linksmybės' 'Joys of spring'. Line 585 has

Sė-k miežiūs pupās grikiūs su didele saūje

that is, 'sow barley, beans, and buckwheat with a great handful'.

¹ E. Fraenkel, loc. cit., 75 ff., emphasized that Lit. *-uo-* came from Indo-Eur. *-ō-*.

² References are Khotanese in *Saṅghāta-sūtra* and *Jātaka-stava*; Manich. Sogdian in W. B. Henning, *Manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 124; Old Persian in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallexikon*, and G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury tablets*, p. 132; Yidya in G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 190.

³ *BSOS*, VI, 1, 1930, 70; *Transactions Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 146 ff.

⁴ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 80-2.

⁵ J. Pokorny, *Indog. etym. Wb.*, 234.

⁶ No etymology is offered in E. Fraenkel, *Lit. et. Wb.*, s.v.

⁷ Edited by G. H. F. Nesselmann, p. 147.

Line 591 reads

ai, kaip daug jie mums per metą skālsina duonos

that is, 'ah, how much they make bread to abound for us during the year'.

They coincide also to translate the Greek (Jn. vi, 9) ἄρτους κριθίνους 'barley loaves', thus in the Lithuanian Gospel translation of 1701 *penketa dūnōs miežiū*, recently *penkis miežainios duonos*; in Lettish *piecas miežu maizes*.

Note now the following māntra-verse of the Rigveda in a poem dedicated to the Marúts (5.53.13)

*yēna tokāya tānayāya dhānyām
bījam vahadhve āksitam
asmābhyam tād dhattana yād va īmahe
rādho viśvāyū saūbhagam*

that is, 'Wherewith you (Marúts) bring in a vehicle inexhaustible seed of corn, for progeny and for offspring, that give us; which we request¹ as your all-enlivening gift, good fortune'.

Here then we have *dhānyām bījam* the 'seed consisting of grain, corn', in Geldner's translation 'Saatkorn'. As the Avestan has *dānā-* and *mīz-* (*mīzān*, *mīšti-*), and as Lithuanian has *duona* and *miežys*, so the Rigveda has *dhānās*, *dhānyā-*, and *bījam*. The view expressed in the earlier discussion of *miṣṣa-* that Rigvedic *bīja-* was from an older **mīja-* with replacement of *m-* by *b-* seems to be justified.

The form with *b-* exists also in Iranian in Sogdian and Parāčī. Buddhist Sogdian has *βyz'k *βīzaka-* 'seed'.² Thus in Dhuta 97 occurs *γw βyz'k LA rwδt* 'the seed does not grow'; ibid. 153-4 *βyz'k γwm'yδ rwδt* 'the seed grows immediately'. It occurs alone also in P 6.49 *βyz'k LA 'spit'* 'the seed is not perfect'. Elsewhere it is found with *wyγ *yēz* 'root' (asyndetic or with 't'), thus in P 10.21 *wyγh't βyz'k nš'yδt'k* 'the root and seed were planted', Dhuta 75 *prw wyγ't βyz'k wyč'wyt'k mē'yγ mrtymy* 'the great man expert in root and seed', ibid. 78 *prw wyγ βyz'k sk'm'k βwt* 'he is foolish in root (and) seed', ibid. 54-5 *βykp'rčyk γr'ywγ wyγh't βyz'k* 'root and seed of the external body', 259 *ZKw wyγh't βyz'k 'βškrī* 'pursues, practises the root and seed', 267 *prw wysprw wyγ βyz'k z'wr 'spik βwt* 'in all power of root and seed is perfect'. Parāčī has *bīz* 'grain, corn'. If for an at present unknown reason *z* has been replaced by *š*, even the doubtful NPers. *bšf*³ and Balōčī *bšf* could be placed with these Sogdian and Parāčī words.

2

The importance of the Baltic languages for the elucidation of Indo-Iranian

¹ For *īmahe*, Wolfgang Schmid, *Indogerm. Forschungen*, LXII, 3, 1956, 219 ff.

² H. Reichelt used 'Heilmittel', as if Avestan *bīš* were concerned.

³ Rejected by P. Horn, *Neupers. Etymologie*, xix, n. 1, quoted in the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vaējah-*.

was shown recently¹ in connexion with Let. *niju* 'I make, churn, make a circular movement' which is used of making butter. The word is not cited from Lithuanian.

For this word we have Lettish present, 1 sing. *niju*, Inf. *nīt* 'to make a circular movement' and in *sviēstu nīt* 'to churn butter'.²

It would seem now desirable to regroup the relevant words.

1. Old Ind. *náyati*, *nīlá-* (a) 'lead, conduct', (b) 'lead' water in conduits; *netra-* 'clyster pipe' in medical use.

Khotanese *nīyāde* occurs in the *Jātaka-stava* 31 r 3 *rrum nīyāde hāṣṭa* 'they put in oil'. The adverb *hāṣṭa* 'thither' indicates a verb of motion. Hence such a meaning as 'conduct a liquid' would serve. Khotanese *parṇaīndā* 'they touch' in the story of the blind men may come either from *nay-* or *nā-*.

2. Old Ind. *nay-*, *ne-*: *nī-* 'to beat, churn' butter in *nava-nī-* and *nava-nīla-* 'fresh butter'.

Let. *niju*, *nīt* is 'beat, churn, stir', *sviēstu nīt* 'to make butter'. Lettish has also *panīnas*, *panījas*, *nuonījas* 'buttermilk' as a product. Khotanese *nīyaka-* 'fat, butter' and Balōči *nēmag* 'butter', Wakhī *parṇac* 'a churn' show the same nuance of meaning. Comparable with the Lettish *panīnas* 'buttermilk' we find Khotanese *ñye*, *ñe* 'whey', Yidya *ñīya* and related words.³ The Persian *panīr* 'cheese' brings in the solid. Here may belong the Khotanese *pyñamḍai* in the *Jātaka-stava* 27 r 3 'compact' like the *ratna vajra* 'diamond'. In Old Indian we have also the *netra-* 'string to start the churning stick'. This too is the place to name Old Ind. *nīra-* 'water' and *nīvara-* 'mud, water' as perhaps containing the same base in a generalized meaning of 'any liquid'. But in Iranian occur both *nā-* and *snā-* familiar with the meanings 'swim, float, flow, wash' (like the synonymous base *pley-*) as in Ossetic *nāka* 'swimming' and *āsnād* 'washed', and by formation like *pā-*: *pā-* could provide suitably for the two words.

From these two bases I should, however, now separate the Ossetic Digor, Iron *nam-*: *nā-* 'beat, knead, stamp' and Dig. *inājun* 'to winnow'. For the conjectured form in Indo-Eur. -s- further information on *naiš-* is to hand but must be treated elsewhere.

Here I may note three further Baltic data of interest to Indo-Iranian studies.

1. Lithuanian has *kópti*, Lettish *kápt*, to express movement from one level to another. Thus we find Lit. *kaip užkopai, taip iš nukópki* 'as you went up, so come down'. Similarly Let. *nūokápt* 'to descend' and *uzkápt* 'ascend'. Without preverb the verb means 'rise'. This use is thus like the Old Engl. *stigan* 'go, reach, rise, descend' beside Greek *στέχω*, or of Old Ind. *nīpatati* and *utpatati*.

¹ W. Wüst, PHMA, II, 27 ff., happily called attention to *niju*.

² J. Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, 571, compared the Old Indian *nava-nīla-*.

³ Quoted in *Indian Linguistics*, xvi, 1955, 116 ff., and *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 70.

In Iranian we have *kap-* 'to fall' in Mid. Parthian *kf-*, *kṣt*, and Zor. Pahl. *kaft* 'fell'. An adjectival derivative occurs in Khotan. *kuham*, Mid Parth. *kfun*, Mid. Pers. *qhuon*, NPers. *kuhan*, *kuhnah* 'old'.¹

In the Iranian *kap-* 'fall' we have the short *-a-*; in Lit. *kop-*, Let. *kāp-* the vowel is long. The difference is like that in Old. Ind. *kāsate* 'appear' beside Avestan *kas-*, Oss. *kāsun*.

2. Lithuanian has similar double meaning in *lipù*, *lìpti* 'to rise, descend', Let. 3 sing. *līpa*, *līpt* 'rise'. Thus we find Lit. *lìpti* & *mēdì* 'to climb a tree' and *lìpti žemèn* 'to descend'. Derivatives are Lit. *lāiptai*, plur., 'stairs', *liēptas* 'path, small bridge'.²

Its value to Indo-Iranian lies in the fact that here we have the base of Rigvedic *ríp-*: (3.5.5) *pāti priyām rípó ágram* and (10.79.3) *rípá upásthe*. Sāyana translated by *bhūmī* and *prthivī*. It occurs parallel to *rúp-* and clearly means something elevated. By connecting *ríp-* with Lit. *lip-* we have a basis for this meaning.³

3. Important for Indo-Iranian interpretation is also Lit. *nókti*, Let. *nākt*. The basic meaning was 'reach, arrive'. Thus we find Lit. *nókti* 'to ripen' (like NPers. *rasūdan* 'arrive, ripen') and *pranókti*, *panókti* 'overhaul, overtake' beside Let. *nākt* 'come', *ie-nākt* 'enter', *ie-nākties* 'to ripen', *panākt* 'overtake'. These assure a base **nāk-*. From a similar **nak-* we can trace some Iranian words with the sense of 'extension' (from which 'extend up to, reach' is derived). Ossetic *nāx-* in *nāxstār* can be well taken to mean 'extension, open space'. It occurs in *rānāxstār un* 'to betake oneself' and in *fānnāxstār* with *kānun* and *kānyn*. The word *stār*, with adjectival *stāron*, *stājron*, refers to a man on expedition or wandering in difficult ways. In Miller's dictionary we have the *Nārti stārtā*, and in a translation of the Russian Igor poem we have the *stārtā* for the 'heroes' on a foray.⁴ In the first component *nāx-* of *nāxstāron* we have reference to the place of the wandering or foray.

The same **naxa-* is to be seen in the first component of Mid. Pers. *načyr*, Mid. Parth. *načyr-* 'wild animals, quarry, hunting' in the Šāhpuhr I inscription as part of the title of the *načērpāt* 'hunter' (Persian line 30, Parthian 24). This I would now explain as containing **naxa-čarya-* 'moving about in the expanse, open spaces, the wilds'. It is equivalent to the Avestan *ravasčarāt-* rendered by Zor. Pahl. *frāxv raftār* 'ranging widely'.⁵

¹ 'Asica', *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 30; W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 84.

² E. Fraenkel, *Lit. et. Wb.*, s.v., combines this *lipù* 'rise' with *limpti* 'to stick', which are more satisfactorily kept separate in the *Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache*.

³ Thus correct the remarks on *ríp-* in my paper in the *Liebhenthal Festschrift*, p. 10. Since *lip-* exists we need not posit a base **rei-p-*.

⁴ *Kādag Igory staryi*, edited by L. Gazzāty, 1956, p. 39.

⁵ I had earlier, *BSOAS*, xiii, 1, 1949, 122-3, tried to find in this *načyr* the word *nakti-* 'night', as Bartholomae had done previously, and had taken the form to be *načēh-*, assuming the Turfan Mid. Pers. *načēhr* to contain *-ēhr* from *čēhra-* 'origin'. The *-h-* before *-r-* is absent in the many other forms of the word. With the discovery of *nax* 'expanse', the second component was clearly from *čar-* 'range'. From *čarya-* would come *čēr*, later *čvr*. It is intended to give fuller details elsewhere.

The earliest trace of this word *naxčir* is in a Hebrew text from the Dead Sea, the 'War of the sons of light against the sons of darkness', if the texts are rightly dated before A.D. 70. Then we have the Šāhpuhr I inscription and the Kroraina *načira-*.

The uncompounded word *nax* has continued to enjoy a wide use in Pamir dialects. It is simplest in Yidya *nax* 'floor' which can easily be recognized as an 'extended place'. In Orošorī the *nōx* is a 'sleeping platform'. In Yidya *nax-daru* 'roof-beam' we have *nax* 'roof'.

The presence of *-x-* from older *-k-* is part of a widespread feature in early Indo-Iranian where occur Old Ind. *rātha-*, Avestan *paθ-* in *paθana-* 'wide', Old Ind. *sākhāy-* 'friend', Old Pers. *kaufa-* 'hill', Avestan *kaofa-*. Later again occur Sogd. *tyyh* 'river' and Oss. *tāx* 'flow'. The OInd. *nāka-s* 'visible sky' and *nāksatra-* 'situated in the expanse of the sky', used of the sun and the stars, show the *-k-* as in Baltic.

These additional contacts of Indo-Iranian and Baltic give some assurance that the two previous proposals, on Lit. *žāras* 'row, line, section', Let. *zars* 'knot', and Lit. *kuliū, kulti* 'to thresh', were not isolated.¹ It was proposed to see a cognate of Iran. *zar-* 'move' in the first word, and a connexion of Old Ind. *khālas-s* 'threshing-floor' in the second term.² If the Armenian *kal* 'threshing-floor' is a loan-word from Iranian the *-al-* from *-āl-* may indicate an older *-arn-*. This is the change noted in the place-name Armenian *Karnoy k'atāk* (Erzurum) which became *Qālī-qalā* in Arabic. Similarly Zor. Pahlavī and NPersian *dālman* 'eagle', is Avestan *zarenumainiš*. In Ormurī *mlīč* 'apple' compared with Pašto *mana* 'apple', and *sukal* 'hedgehog', Avestan *sukurēna-* show the same change.³ Ossetic has both *-rn-* and *-l-* together in Dig. *Gārnāgon* and Iron *Gālāgon* 'spirit of the winds'.

3

It is now possible to add something to the interpretation of Bud. Sogd. *'mydry *amiši-* or **amiše-* attested in *'mydry pt'yēh*.⁴ This was explained as the equivalent (in feminine form like Bud. Sansk. *devatā*) of *naivāsika-* 'genius inhabiting a place'.

In the corresponding text from Agni-*viṣaya* the *mša-* of *mšapant-* '〈*senā*〉*dhi-pati*', an almost certain bilingual supplement, signifies '*senā*, group, troop'. We now have expert interpretation of Agni *miši* and *mišā*.⁵ For Agni *miši*, Kuoi *mišši* the meaning 'Gemeinde' or the like is offered. In Agni 251 b 4 we have *ymatunt miši sne lyutār wināsam nāš slāncālyi pis-saṅkšim krop* 'the wise

¹ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 61; *Indian Linguistics*, xvi, 1955, 115 ff.

² W. Wüst holds to the same connexion PHMA, II, 56.

³ *JRAS*, 1953, 115, n. 4; *Zoroastrian problems*, 230. For Ormurī, G. Morgenstaerne, *Ethym. voc. Pashto*, 73. H. Hübschmann, 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen', *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 288.

⁴ *BSOAS*, xviii, 1, 1956, 35; xix, 1, 1957, 49 ff.

⁵ W. Couvreur, in his review of P. Poucha, *Institutiones linguae tocharicae*, in *La Nouvelle Ohio*, vii-viii, 1955-6, 71.

community supreme I praise, I, with anjali, the gathering of the Bhikṣusangha'. The word *miṣā* is attested in 62 a 1 *ymatunt miṣā pis-saṅkṣim wināsamās mrāo* / / / 'the wise community of the Bhikṣusangha we reverence, head <touching earth>' (as in 11 a 1).

All the four words can thus be associated: 'mydry, *ṛ-ṣa-*, *miṣi*, *miṣṣi*, *miṣā*.

As a parallel to the form *-pant-* from Iranian *pati-* 'official, master, in charge of' it is possible to cite the *hapax legomenon* Kuci *amākṣapānta*, voc. sing. to a stem in *-e*, hence *-pate*. This word is published with the rendering 'O charioteer' conjectured from the context.¹ With this *amākṣa-* 'chariot, wagon' I propose to combine the *maš-* of Khotanese *mašpā-* (in Ch. 00266.68 less carefully written *mašapa*), nom. sing. *mašpa*, loc. sing. *mašpya* 'road', with the inflexion of an *-ā-* stem. Since the word for 'road' has been derived from Old Ind. *rātha-*, Avestan *raθa-* 'chariot' in Old Ind. *raṭhyā-*, Avestan *raθya-*, Sogd. *ṛ'δ*, **rāθ-*, Zor. Pahl. *rās* (*-s* for *-h* from older *-θ-*), NPers. *rāh*, we may have in this first component *maš-* a later form of **amaša-* with palatalized *-š-* replaced by *-s-*, as we know it, for example, in the Khotan. *hālśti*, Old Pers. *arštī-* 'spear' cited above. The treatment of initial *a-* is like that in Old Pers. *āwādkṛs* beside Sogd. *kyn'k* 'sword' and in Khotanese *nāta-* 'amṛta' from **anauša-* (Avestan *anaoša-*), in Uigur from Sogdian *nōš*. In the second component *-pā-* we have a form corresponding to older *-pātā-* attested in *āspātā-* 'refuge', loc. sing. *āspeta*, later without *-t-* in the compound (*Jātaka-stava* 9 v 2) *hatsq-āspe* in which I see **āsa-* 'place', in Avestan *asah-*, OInd. *āsā-* and Pašto *ōs-*, with **pātā-* from *pat-* beside *pant-* and *paθ-*, Latin *pateo*, Greek *πετα-*. The juncture is comparable to the Old Khotan. *bīśpadā* 'first of all'.

This Kuci *amākṣa-* is thus an Iranian loan-word connected with the Homeric *ἀμαξα*, and (with spiritus asper) Attic *ἀμαξα*, which is used of the wagons of the northern nomads. Pindar² spoke of the *ἀμαξοφόρον-τον οἶκον* of the Scythians.³ Homer and Pindar know the *ἀμαξιτός* 'highroad'.

The meaning of Sogd. 'mydry' *senā*, 'group' separates it from Khotanese *miṣṣa-* 'seed, field'. But as indicated earlier,⁴ the original form is the same **miāša-*. The base, however, will be *mais-*: *mis-* 'to combine'. Thus the word can be joined with Avestan *misvan-* (Širōzah 2.30 *misvānem gātūm*), Zor. Pahl. *giwāk ī hamistān*, *hamistakān* 'the place where two types are combined'.

Here too it seems likely that forms with *b-* for the *m-* were developed. Thus Khotan. *hambisa-* 'heap, mass' may have arisen from **ham-naisa-* by replacement of *-mm-* by *-mb-*. Similarly Ossetic Dig. *āmbes*, Iron *ānbīs* 'half, middle' from 'combined' with *-mb-* as in Dig. *molum*, *āmbolum* 'win at play', Iron *būlyn*, *āmbūlyn*. The same can be seen in Dig. *rimāxsun*, *ni-māxsun*, *āmbāxsun*

¹ W. Couvreur, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 208, 1954, p. 86.

² Loeb edition, *Fragment* 105.3.

³ For such wagons, see Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon*, s.v. *Wagen*.

⁴ *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 52.

'to hide', Iron *nymāxsyn*, *āmbāxsyn*. This belongs to a base *marz-* and *barz-* 'to keep'.¹ Note that the replacement of *-rs-* from Old Iran. *-rš-* by *-xs-* conjectured in the earlier discussion can be confirmed by reference to Iron *kūrm-ārsytā*, *kūrm-āxsdžytā*, Dig. *kurm-āsītā* 'blind bears' as the name of a game like 'blind-man's-buff'. Here the word *ārs*, Iron plur. *ārsytā*, appears in three spellings as *ārs-*, *āxs-*, and *ās-*.

Addendum to *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 41 ff. Important to the meaning of Indo-European *ai-* is also Kuci and Agni *en-* 'to teach' translating Sansk. *śās-*. If listed, as in the *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 392, with *on-* 'begin', participle Agni *āwu*, the *en-* represents *e-* with nasal present suffix. The expected participle would be **āyu*. The form *en-* coincides with Greek *aiv-*. I have noted two corrigenda: *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 50, Yidya *lāmo* has *-o* from *-ā*, not *-aka-*; *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 59, under no. 7, read *šrg* in place of *šgr*.

¹ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1956, 116.

ON THE THEORY OF TWO VASUBANDHUS¹

By PADMANABH S. JAINI

SINCE the publication of Professor J. Takakusu's 'Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha' in the year 1904,² several scholars have made attempts to determine the date and works of Vasubandhu. The problem is beset with several difficulties. Tradition gives three dates (A.N. 900, 1000, and 1100) based on different reckonings of the Nirvāna era. Vasubandhu, himself a Sautrāntika, is the author of the celebrated Vaibhāṣika work, viz., the *Abhidharma-kośa* (and its *Bhāṣya*), and is at the same time credited with the authorship of several major works of the Vijñānavāda school. The problem is rendered more complex by the mention in Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā* of an elder (Vṛddhācārya) Vasubandhu, leading to a recent theory of two Vasubandhus advocated by Professor E. Frauwallner.

Paramārtha gives two dates for Vasubandhu. In his 'Life of Vasubandhu' he gives A.N. 1100, and in his commentary on the *Madhyānta-vibhāga* (of Maitreya) he gives A.N. 900. Takakusu favoured A.N. 1100 and proposed A.D. 420–500 as the period of Vasubandhu. In 1911, P. N. Péri, after a thorough investigation of all available materials on the subject, proposed A.D. 350.³ Over a period several scholars, notably Professor Kimura, G. Ono, U. Wogihara, H. Ui, and many others, contributed their views on this topic, which were summed up in 1929 by J. Takakusu,⁴ who again tried to establish his previously proposed date of the fifth century A.D. Since then the problem received little attention until in 1951 Professor Frauwallner published his monograph on Vasubandhu.⁵

Professor E. Frauwallner's views can be briefly stated as follows :

1. Of the three dates current in tradition, the first, viz. the A.N. 900, points to a time prior to A.D. 400, the last two, viz. the A.N. 1000 and 1100, refer to one and the same date, viz. the fifth century A.D. Thus there are only two dates for Vasubandhu.

2. These two dates refer not to one but to two persons bearing the same name. One Vasubandhu (the elder—fourth century A.D.) is the Vṛddhācārya Vasubandhu mentioned in the *Vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra, and the other Vasubandhu (the younger—fifth century A.D.) is the author of the *Abhidharma-kośa*.

¹ This paper was read before the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, 1957.

² *T'oung Pao*, Serie II, Vol. v, 269–96.

³ 'À propos de la date de Vasubandhu', *BÉFEO*, XI, 1911, 339–40.

⁴ 'The date of Vasubandhu', in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, 79–88.

⁵ *On the date of the Buddhist master of the law Vasubandhu* (Serie Orientale Roma, III), Roma, 1951.

3. Paramārtha in his 'Life of Vasubandhu' confuses these two and hence the difficulty of determining the date of Vasubandhu.

4. This biography can be divided into three distinct parts :

(i) Legend of the name of Vasubandhu's native city Puruṣapura, his father, the Brāhmin Kauśika, and of the three sons Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, and Viriñcivatsa.

(ii) Account of the council in Kāśmīr, arrival of the Sāṅkhya teacher Vindhyavāsin, and defeat of Buddhamitra the teacher of Vasubandhu. Vasubandhu's composition of the *Paramārthasaptatikā* in refutation of Vindhyavāsin. The composition of the *Abhidharma-kośa*. Saṃghabhadra's challenge to Vasubandhu for a disputation, declined by the latter on account of his old age.

(iii) Asaṅga's conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyāna. Vasubandhu's Mahāyāna works and death.

Of these the first and last sections deal with Vasubandhu the elder, the second part deals with Vasubandhu the younger.

5. From this it follows that Vasubandhu (elder) the brother of Asaṅga is not the Kośakāra Vasubandhu (younger). It is the elder Vasubandhu who was converted from Sarvāstivāda to Mahāyāna by Asaṅga. This is supported by Chi-Tsang's commentary on the *Śatasūtra*, where (this elder) Vasubandhu is said to have composed 500 Mahāyāna works (in addition to 500 Hīnayāna works composed by him prior to his conversion) and hence given the nickname of 'Master of the Thousand Manuals'.

The younger Vasubandhu, the author of the *Paramārthasaptatikā* and the *Abhidharma-kośa*, belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school, but leaned more and more towards the Sautrāntika school.

This in brief is a summary of Professor Frauwallner's thesis. The conclusion that would logically follow from his thesis is that the Kośakāra Vasubandhu was not a Mahāyānist and consequently, not the author of the Vijñānavāda works credited to him. These would necessarily have to be the works of the elder Vasubandhu, the brother of Asaṅga. But Professor Frauwallner avoids such conclusions by stating that the accounts of the life of Vasubandhu 'either do not give any information at all about these works, or mention them in passages where the two Vasubandhus are confused with each other' (p. 56).¹

In this paper I propose to present some new evidence that throws some doubt on Professor Frauwallner's thesis and confirms the older and universal tradition about the conversion of the Kośakāra Vasubandhu to Mahāyāna, and his authorship of at least one work belonging to the Vijñānavāda school.

My evidence is based on the manuscript of the *Abhidharma-dīpa* (together

¹ In his recent work *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus* (1956), Professor Frauwallner includes the *Vṃśatikā* and the *Triṃśikā vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* under the heading of 'Vasubandhu der Ältere', but is still hesitant about the ascription of these works: 'Meiner Ansicht nach ist Vasubandhu der Jüngere ihr Verfasser, doch kann diese schwierige Frage hier nicht weiter erörtert werden' (p. 351).

with a commentary—the *Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti*), discovered in the Śhalu monastery in Tibet by Pandit Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in the year 1937. He brought back photographs of this work, which are treasured in the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna.¹

The MS discovered is incomplete. The last folio is numbered 150. The whole work might not have contained more than 160 folios. Of these, only 62 have been found. It contains two works, viz. the kārikā text (the *Abhidharma-dīpa* ²) and a prose commentary (the *Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti* ³). The work belongs to the Kāśmīra Vaibhāṣika school and appears, from internal evidence, to have been written either during or immediately after the time of the Kośakāra Vasubandhu. The name of the author is not mentioned in the work, but it is my conjecture that it was written by a rival of Vasubandhu, either Saṅghabhadra or one of his disciples.

The *Dīpa* and also its commentary (the *Vṛtti*) closely follow both in contents and in presentation, their counterparts, viz. the *Abhidharma-kośa* ⁴ and its commentary (the *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya* ⁵) of Vasubandhu. Of the 597 kārikās of the extant *Dīpa*, more than 300 have their parallels in the *Kośa*, and in many cases appear to be imitations of the latter. The *Vṛtti* has about 50 large passages almost identical with the *Bhāṣya*, 32 of which are directly borrowed from the latter. Thus to a large extent, the *Dīpa* and the *Vṛtti* are written in imitation of the *Kośa* and the *Bhāṣya*.

But what is more interesting to us is the fact that the extant *Vṛtti* contains 17 hostile references to the Kośakāra (without mentioning the name Vasubandhu) criticizing his Sautrāntika views and at times accusing him of entering the portals of Mahāyāna Buddhism. I quote here a few such passages from the *Vṛtti* :

- (i) *Idam idānim abhidharma-sarvasvaṃ Kośakāra-śā-smṛti-gocarātitaṃ vaktavyam.* (Fol. 37b.⁶)
- (ii) *Kośakāraḥ tv āha—'sarva-sūkṣma-rūpa-saṃghātaḥ paramānuḥ' iti. Tena saṃghāta-vyatiriktaṃ rūpaṃ anyad vaktavyam . . .* (Fol. 43b.⁷)
- (iii) *Siddhā sabhāgatā. Kośakāraḥ punaḥ tām Vaiśeṣika-parikalpita-jāti-padārthena samīkurvan vyaktaṃ pāyasa-vāyasayoḥ varṇa-sādharmyaṃ paśyati.* (Fol. 47a.⁸)
- (iv) *Atra punaḥ Kośakāraḥ pratiśānūte—'sacittikeyaṃ samāpattiḥ' iti . . . Tad etad abauddhiyam.* (Fol. 47b.⁹)

¹ I am grateful to the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute for entrusting me with the work of editing this MS. It will soon be published in the Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Patna.

² Henceforth called *Dīpa*.

³ Henceforth called *Vṛtti*.

⁴ Henceforth called *Kośa*.

⁵ Henceforth called *Bhāṣya*.

⁶ In this bold line the *Vṛtti* criticizes the Kośakāra for his omission of a topic dealing with cessation of *dhātus* through various stages of *anāsrava-mārga*.

⁷ See Pousan's *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, chapter II, kā. 22, and Yasomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā*, p. 123 (ed. U. Wogihara).

⁸ See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, chapter II, kā. 41a, and *Vyākhyā*, pp. 157-8.

⁹ See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, chapter II, kā. 44d, and *Vyākhyā*, p. 169.

- (v) 'Samādhibalena karmajaṃ jīvitāvedhaṃ nirvartya āyur samskāra-dhiṣṭhānam, āyur na vipākaḥ' iti Kośakāraḥ. Tatra kim uttaram iti? . . . Vaitulika-sāstra-praveśa-dvāram ārabdhaṃ tena bhadantenety adhyupeksyam etat. (Fol. 49a.¹)

In these passages the Kośakāra is criticized for his Sautrāntika views on the theory of atoms and the three *citta-viprayukta-samskāras*, viz. *sabhāgatā*, *nīrodha-samāpatti*, and *āyur*. We may particularly note the last passage where the Kośakāra is said to have begun entering the portals of the *Vaitulika-sāstra*. The term *Vaitulika-sāstra* clearly refers to Mahāyāna scriptures. Asaṅga in his *Abhidharma-samuccaya* identifies *vaitulya* with *vaipulya* and explains the latter term as *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*,² which undoubtedly belongs to Mahāyāna.

This is the first allusion to the Kośakāra's leanings not only towards Sautrāntika but also towards Mahāyāna Buddhism.

While dealing with a controversial question related to perception (whether the eye sees an object or the mind sees it) the *Vṛtti* quotes the following passage from the *Kośa-bhāṣya* and says:

*Tatra yad uktam Kośakāreṇa 'kim idam ākāśam khādyate. Sāmagryāṃ hi satyāṃ dr̥ṣṭam ity upacāraḥ pravartate. Tatra kaḥ paśyati' ti?*³ *Tad atra tena Bhadanteṇa sāmagryāṅga-kriyā[paharanam?] kriyate. Abhidharma-saṃmohāṅkasthānenātmāpy ar̥kito bhavaty ayoga-sūnyatā-prapātābhismukhyatvaṃ pradarśitam iti.*

The view of the Kośakāra quoted by our *Vṛtti* is what the *Kośa* gives as a Sautrāntika view. In the *Vṛtti* the Kośakāra is identified with the Sautrāntika. He is censured for his ignorance of *Abhidharma* and also accused of heading for the precipice of *ayoga-sūnyatā*.

The term *ayoga-sūnyatā* should put at rest any doubt about the real affiliations of the Kośakāra. The term certainly refers to a Mahāyāna doctrine.

In the fifth Adhyāya of the *Dīpa*, a fundamental principle of the Sarvāstivāda school, viz. the reality of the past and future elements, is discussed in opposition to the Sautrāntika arguments advanced by the Kośakāra in the fifth Kośa-sthāna of his *Bhāṣya*.⁴ After dealing with the Sautrāntika, the *Vṛtti* criticizes the Vaitulika. He is described as *ayoga-sūnyatā-vādin* maintaining

¹ See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, chapter II, kā. 10a, and *Vyākhyā*, p. 104.

² *Vaipulyaṃ katamat? Bodhisattva-piṭaka-samprayuktam bhāṣyam. Yad ucyate vaipulyam tad vaidalyam apy ucyate vaitulyam apy ucyate.* (Ed. P. Pradhan, p. 79.)

³ cf. 'Opinion du Sautrāntika.—Quelle discussion dans le vide! Le Sūtra enseigne: "En raison de l'organe de la vue et des visibles naît la connaissance visuelle": il n'y a là ni un organe qui voit, ni un visible qui est vu; il n'y a là aucune action de voir, aucun agent qui voit; ce n'est que jeu de causes et effets. En vue de la pratique, on parle à son gré, métaphoriquement, de ce processus; "L'œil voit; la connaissance discerne". Mais il ne faut pas se prendre à ces métaphores. Bhagavat l'a dit: il ne faut pas se prendre aux manières de dire populaires, il ne faut pas prendre au sérieux les expressions en usage dans le monde'. *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, chapter I, kā. 42.

⁴ See *L'Abhidharma-kośa*, chapter V, kā. 17-19.

that nothing (i.e. the past, present, and future) exists,¹ and is, therefore, condemned as an annihilationist (*vaināśika*).²

The main Vaitulika doctrine criticized in the *Vṛtti* is the *niḥ-svabhāva-vāda*,³ which is common to both the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika schools. Both these schools are *sūnyavādins* in a real sense and would appear, to that extent, as Vaināśikas to a Realist Vaibhāṣika.

The term *ayoga-sūnyatā* is not found in the traditional lists of 18, 19, or 20 kinds of *sūnyatās*⁴ or in the Mādhyamika or the Yogācāra treatises. The *Vṛtti* does not explain the term. If this *vāda* could mean the doctrine of non-applicability of all predications, especially of *ātman* and *dharma*s (*ātma-dharmopacārah*),⁵ then it would be equivalent to the *niḥ-svabhāva-vāda*, accepted by both the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools.

The passages quoted above from the *Vṛtti* indicate, in the view of the Vaibhāṣika, that the Kośakāra, even in the *Kośa-bhāṣya*, shows signs of more and more leanings towards Mahāyāna Buddhism. This in itself does not prove his conversion to Mahāyāna, but certainly indicates his inclination towards it. In the light of these findings we may now turn to further evidence which seems to anticipate his conversion and confirm his authorship of a Mahāyāna work.

After dealing with the *niḥ-svabhāva-vāda* of the Vaitulika, the *Vṛtti* again turns to the Kośakāra and says: 'The Vaitulika, apostate from the *Sarvāstivāda*, says: "We too advocate (imagine) three *svabhāvas*". To him we should reply: "The world is full of such illusions which please only fools. Rare are those imaginations that catch the hearts of the learned". These three *svabhāvas* imagined by you have been already rejected. Such other illusions should also be thrown away. This is one more occasion where the Kośakāra shows his ignorance of (the doctrine of) Time.'⁶

Three significant statements in this criticism may be noted: (i) The

¹ *Tatra Sarvāstivādasyādharma-trayam aṣṭi . . . Vibhajyavādināṃ tu, Dārśāntikasya ca pradeśo vartamānādharma-samjñakāḥ. Vaitulikasūnyatā-vādināḥ sarvaṃ nāśanti. . .* (Fol. 108a.)

² *Yah Sarvāsti-vādātthyah . . . sadvādī. Tad anye Dārśāntika-Vaitulika-Paudgalikāḥ . . . Lokāyatika-Vaināśika-Nagnāta-pakṣe prakṣepavyāḥ.* (Fol. 108a.)

³ *Vaitulikāḥ kalpayati—*

*Yat pratiṣṭha-samutpannam
tat svabhāvaṃ na vidyate/*

Yat khalu niḥsvabhāvaṃ nirātmaṃ hetuṃ pratiṣṭha jāyate tasya khalu svabhāvo nāsti . . . Tasmād alāta-cakravan niḥsvabhāvatvāt sarva-dharmā nirātmanā it. Tatra praty apadīṣyate. . . (Fol. 111a.)

⁴ See Professor T. R. V. Murti's *The central philosophy of Buddhism*, Appendix.

⁵ I am indebted to Professor T. R. V. Murti for suggesting this interpretation of the term *ayoga-sūnyatā*.

⁶ *Atra Sarvāstivāda-vibhāṣit Vaituliko nirāha—vayam api trin svabhāvaṃ parikalpayiṣyāmaḥ. Tasmai pratipakṣavyāḥ*

*Parikalpāḥ Jagad vyāptam
mūrkhā-cittānurañjibhāḥ/
Yas tu vidvan-mano-grāhī*

Te khalv ete bhavakalpātāḥ traya-svabhāvāḥ purvam eva pratipūḍhāḥ. Evam anye' py asat-parikalpāḥ prokṣrayiṣyāḥ. Ity etad aparam adharma-sammohānkanā-sthānam Kośakārakasyeti. (Fol. 112a.)

Vaitulika is called here *sarvāstivāda-vibhraṣṭiḥ* (one who has deviated from the *Sarvāstivāda*).

(ii) A reference is made to the doctrine of *tri-svabhāva-vāda*.

(iii) A reference is made to the Kośakāra in a manner which shows his responsibility in the formulation of this doctrine.

Of these, the last two statements most probably refer to the *Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa*,¹ a work of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school, credited by tradition to Vasubandhu. It consists of 38 kārīkās and marks the culminating point of the development of this doctrine found in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* and in the works of Maitreya and Asaṅga,² the chief founders of the Yogācāra school. The first statement saying that the Vaitulika deviated from the *Sarvāstivāda*, may be a general statement, referring only to the belief of the Vaibhāṣika that the Vaitulika branched off from the more orthodox Sarvāstivāda school. But read in the context of the above passage, it appears certain that the *Vṛtti* is alluding to the conversion of the Kośakāra to Mahāyāna Buddhism.

This in brief is our main evidence confirming Paramārtha's account of the Kośakāra Vasubandhu's conversion to Mahāyāna and his authorship of several Mahāyāna works. It does not contradict the fact of two (one elder and the other younger) Vasubandhus. The Vṛddhacārya Vasubandhu certainly existed, as is clear from the statements of Yaśomitra. He may well have been the author of a commentary to the *Abhidharma-sāra* of Dharma-sī and also author of many Mahāyāna works.

But we certainly are not justified, in the light of the evidence of the *Dīpa*, in limiting the activities of the younger Vasubandhu to Hīnayāna alone, in crediting him only with the authorship of the *Kośa* and thus relating the last part of Paramārtha's biography to the life of Vasubandhu the elder. The date of the Kośakāra Vasubandhu and his relation to Asaṅga, however, still remains unsettled. But the confirmation of his authorship of the *Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa* might well lead us to accept the tradition preserved in Paramārtha's 'Life of Vasubandhu'.

¹ Sanskrit text and Tibetan version edited by Sujitkumar Mukhopādhyāya, Visvabharati, 1939.

² See parallel passages collected by S. Mukhopādhyāya in the *Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa*.

BHARATA'S CONCEPT OF SĀDHĀRANA

By N. A. JATRAZBOHY

MANY of the concepts of Indian music commonly prevalent in Bharata's time, and expressed quite succinctly in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, have subsequently been confused by later writers. Even now, several modern writers are still in some doubt as to the nature of the ancient parent scales, the *sa-grāma* and the *ma-grāma*. The fundamental difficulty hinges around the location of the *svara* (note) in relation to its *śrutis* (component intervals). Contrary to Western practice, the interval is considered to precede the note, so that the four *śrutis* of *sa* are located between *sa* and the *ni* below it. Thus the *sa-grāma* with its *śruti* values $4^s3^r2^s4^m4^p3^d2^n$, and its *sa* located between the first and second intervals, is a scale roughly equivalent to the Western D mode. The second of the parent scales, the *ma-grāma*, differs from the *sa-grāma* in that the *pa* is lowered by one *śruti*, as clearly stated by Bharata in the prose following śloka 25, chapter 28, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*,¹ and subsequently by Śārṅgadeva in ślokas 2 and 3 in *prakarana* iv of his *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*.² This does not mean, however, that the *ma-grāma* is a scale with an imperfect fifth. Both Bharata and Śārṅgadeva acknowledge that the progression of notes and *mūrccanās* begins with *sa* in the *sa-grāma* and with *ma* in the *ma-grāma*.³ Thus the scale of the *ma-grāma* begins on *ma* and its *śruti* values are $4^m3^p4^j2^n4^s3^r2^s$, which, contrasted with the *sa-grāma*, has a major third and is roughly comparable to the Western G mode.

In addition to these two parent scales, there are two other parent scales nearly as important, which can be deduced from Bharata's writings. They involve the use of a new note, the major seventh, which has not yet appeared in either of the two *grāmas*. This is explained by Bharata in his section on *sādhārana*. He says, 'it (*sādhārana*) is the phenomenon of *antara-svara* (intermediate note)'.⁴ Later in śloka 33 he continues poetically, 'like the merging of seasons, when in the shade it is cold, and when in the sun one sweats. Neither has the spring not come, nor is it entirely winter'.⁵ *Svara-sādhārana* is then,

¹ *Madhyamagrāme tu śruty-apakṛṣṭaḥ pañcamah kāryah.*

(*Bharatanāṭyaśāstra* (Kashī Sanskrit Series, No. 60), 318.)

² *Ṣaḍjagrāmah pañcame svacaturthaśrutisaṃsthite*

svopāntyaśrutisaṃsthe 'smin madhyamagrāma iṣyate.

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara* (Adyar Library Series, No. 30), 99-100.)

³ *āsām ṣaḍjaniśādhādhavatapañcamamadhyamagāndhāraraṣabhaḥ ṣaḍjaḥ 3me.* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, prose after śloka 28.)

madhyamagrāme tu . . . āsām madhyamagāndhāraraṣabhaṣaḍjaniśādhādhavatapañcamah. (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, prose after śloka 30.)

madhyamasthānasthaṣaḍjena mūrccanārabyate 'grimā.

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I, iv, śl. 12.)

madhyamadhyamam ārabhya sawetṛi mūrccanā bhavet.

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I, iv, śl. 13.)

⁴ *sādhāranaṃ nāmāntarasavaratā.* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, prose before śl. 33.)

⁵ *chāyāsu bhavati śītam pravato bhavati cātapaśhasya*

na ca nāgato vasanto na ca nihṣeṣaḥ śīśirakālāh.

(*Nāṭyaśāstra*, śl. 33, p. 321.)

a sharing of the *śrutis* of a *svara* with its preceding *svara*, thus creating a new *svara*.

According to Bharata, there are two *sādhāraṇas*, *kākalī* and *antara*. 'What comes about by the shifting upwards of *ni* by two *śrutis* is *kākalī ni*, not *sa*. *Sādhāraṇa* is brought about by the having of two *śrutis* in common. Similarly the *antara-svara* is called *ga*, not *ma*.'¹

Originally *sa* and *ma* have four *śrutis* each, and *ni* and *ga* two. After these changes, *sa* and *ma* each have two *śrutis*, and *ga* and *ni* four. The new notes created are *kākalī ni* (major seventh in the *sa-grāma*) lying between the original *ni* and the *sa*; and the *antara ga* (major seventh in the *ma-grāma*) lying between the original *ga* and the *ma*. By virtue of the *sa* sharing (*sādhāraṇa sa*) its *śrutis* with *ni* the *kākalī ni* is created. Therefore, *sādhāraṇa sa* implies *kākalī ni*. Similarly, *ma* sharing its *śrutis* with *ga* (*sādhāraṇa ma*) creating *antara ga*, *sādhāraṇa ma* implies *antara ga*.

Bharata's statement that *svara-sādhāraṇa* is the intermediate note is self-evident in this case, but has a further ramification which will be dealt with later.

After a sentence on *jāti-sādhāraṇa* (the fusion of *jātis* (modes) having a common *aṃśa*), Bharata returns to *svara-sādhāraṇa* with the comment, '*svara-sādhāraṇa* is two-fold, one in each *grāma*. How? In the *śaḍja-grāma*, the *śaḍja-sādhāraṇa*; in the *madhyama-grāma*, the *madhyama-sādhāraṇa*. The point is that the *sādhāraṇa* note is a *svara-viśeṣa*.'²

It is apparent that by *sa sādhāraṇa* Bharata is referring to the same intermediate note, *kākalī ni*; and by the *ma sādhāraṇa* to the *antara ga*. This *kākalī ni*, implicit in the *sa sādhāraṇa*, can only be used in the *sa-grāma*; and the *antara ga*, implicit in the *ma sādhāraṇa*, in the *ma-grāma*. The *sādhāraṇa* is a *svara-viśeṣa*, a special note which, contrasted with *antara-svaras* (intermediate notes, accidentals) has a permanent nature. Normally the *kākalī ni* and the *antara ga*, as *antara-svaras*, can be used only sparingly and in passing. But these same notes when known as *sa sādhāraṇa* and *ma sādhāraṇa* are *svara-viśeṣa* and replace the original *ni* and *ga* as permanent notes in the scale. The two *grāmas* and their *sādhāraṇa* forms, taken from a common tonic, are listed below.

<i>Sa-grāma</i>	C	D	E ^b	F	G	A	B ^b
	4	3	2	4	4	3	2
<i>Sādhāraṇa sa-grāma</i>	C	D	E ^b	F	G	A	B ^b
	2	3	2	4	4	3	4
<i>Ma-grāma</i>	C	D	E	F	G	A	B ^b
	4	3	4	2	4	3	2
<i>Sādhāraṇa ma-grāma</i>	C	D	E	F	G	A	B ^b
	2	3	4	2	4	3	4

¹ *tatra dvīśrutiprakaśanān nīṣādādyaḥ kākalīśaṇjño nīṣādo na śaḍjah. dvābhyām antarasvaratvāt sādhāraṇatvaṃ pratīpadyate. evaṃ gāndhāro 'py antarasvarasāṇjño gāndhāro na madhyamaḥ. (Nāṭyaśāstra, prose, p. 321.)*

² *svarasādhāraṇam dvividhaṃ dvaiḥgrāmatkycm. kasmāt? śaḍja-grāme śaḍjasādhāraṇaṃ madhyama-grāme madhyamasādhāraṇam. sādhāraṇo 'tra svaraviśeṣa iti. (Nāṭyaśāstra, prose on p. 321.)*

There is, of course, a good logical reason why Bharata limits *kākalī ni* to the *sa-grāma* and *antara ga* to the *ma-grāma*. If the *antara ga* (major third) were to be used in the *sa-grāma*, it would, in effect, create the *ma-grāma*. Bharata was fully aware of this as is indicated by the prose after śloka 32, in which he says, 'by tuning the *ga* (of the *sa-grāma*) two *śrutis* up, that note assumes the character of the *dha* (in the *ma-grāma*) and the ambivalence of the two *grāmas* is brought about'.¹

Bharata clearly states that *sa sādharāṇa*, *kākalī ni*, may not be used in the *ma-grāma* as a *svara-viśeṣa* or permanent note (see p. 56, n. 2). Although he does not give a reason it is easy to infer that the *kākalī ni* in the *ma-grāma* would introduce the augmented fourth which is not one of the *sādharāṇas*, but only appears in the *mūrcehanās* (secondary modal scales) and in the *jātis* (modes) derived from them.

Bharata continues, referring to the *svara-viśeṣa*, 'this applies to both *grāmas*, but the latter is called *kaiśika*, on account of the subtlety required in performance'.²

This statement, however, has led later writers, notably Śārṅgadeva, to the conclusion that *kaiśika* is a different kind of *sādharāṇa* which can be applied to the *sa* in the *sa-grāma* and the *ma* in the *ma-grāma*, creating *kaiśika ni*, and incidentally another new note *sādharāṇa sa*; and *kaiśika ga* (sometimes called *sādharāṇa ga*), and the incidental note, *sādharāṇa ma*. This *kaiśika-sādharāṇa* differs from the phenomenon of *antara-svara*, while still retaining Bharata's criterion of the *sādharāṇa*—the intermediate note of two *śrutis*.

Śārṅgadeva says, 'When *ni* puts itself on the first *śruti* of *sa*, and *ri* takes the last *śruti* of *sa*, then it is called *sa sādharāṇa*'. He continues, 'When *ga* puts itself on the first *śruti* of *ma*, and *pa* takes the last *śruti* of *ma*, it is called *ma sādharāṇa*. *Ma sādharāṇa* is always in the *ma-grāma*'. And then, 'As a phenomenon both *sādharāṇas* are called *kaiśika*, on account of their being as fine as the tip of a hair'.³

Consequently Śārṅgadeva recognizes two modified forms of *ni*, *kaiśika* with three *śrutis*, and *kākalī* with four *śrutis*; and two modified forms of *ga*, the *sādharāṇa ga*, with three *śrutis*, and *antara ga* with four *śrutis*.⁴

¹ *divyadharmamūrcehanāsiddhiḥ tatra dvīśrutiprakarṣād dhaivatīkṛte gāndhāre mūrcehanā-grāmayor anyataratvam; tadvaśān madhyamādayo yathāsankhyena niśādādīn-atvam pratipādyante. (Nāṭyaśāstra, prose after śl. 31, p. 320.)*

² *īti śaḍjasādharāṇam evam madhyamagrāme asya tu prayogasaukṛtīyāt kaiśikam nāma niṣpadyate. (Nāṭyaśāstra, prose after śl. 33, p. 321.)*

³ *niśādo yadi śaḍjasya śrutīm ādyām samābrayet
rsabhas to anīmām proktam śaḍjasādharāṇam tadā.
madhyamasyāpi gapayor evam sādharāṇam matam
sādharāṇam madhyamasya madhyamagrāmagam dharuvam.
sādharāṇe kaiśike te keśāgravadanuvatah.
(Sangīta-ratnākara, I, v, ślokas 7, 8, 9.)*

⁴ *kaiśike kākalīve ca niśādas tricatuḥśrutīh
sādharāṇe tribhūtiḥ syad antarāte catuḥśrutīh
gāndhāra vī
(Sangīta-ratnākara, I, iii, ślokas 45 and 42.)*

In diagrammatic form Śārṅgadeva's *sa sādharāṇa* and *ma sādharāṇa* would appear as follows :

	<i>Kākalī</i> n										<i>(Antara)</i> g											
<i>Sa-grāma</i>	n		s		r		g			m		p		d								
<i>Śrutis :</i>	22	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
<i>Sādharāṇa</i>		n		s				r		g				m				p		d		
<i>Sa-grāma. Kaiśika</i>																						
	<i>Antara</i> g										<i>(Kākalī)</i> n											
<i>Ma-grāma</i>	g						m		p			d		n		s		r				
<i>Śrutis :</i>	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Sādharāṇa</i>		g		m				p				d		n		s		r				
<i>Ma-grāma. Sādharāṇa</i> <i>(Kaiśika)</i>																						

This ingenious reconstruction has, however, several musical failings. In the first place, it involves a microtonal shift of the tonic which is not consistent with any modal scheme. Furthermore, the resulting scales have neither the perfect fourth nor the perfect fifth and would undoubtedly require extreme subtlety to perform and probably even more subtlety to appreciate.

It is not surprising, then, that Śārṅgadeva can find no use for these two particular *kaiśika* notes and makes no further reference to them. Henceforth, by *sādharāṇa* he refers to *kākalī* and *antara* and uses them profusely in his calculations of *mūrechanās* and *tānas*.

Bharata's concluding comments on *sādharāṇa* are somewhat enigmatic. He says, ' its use is confined to *jātis* in which *nī* and *ga* are sparingly employed '. Then in the following śloka 34, ' One must always use *antara-svaras* only in ascent and sparingly ; but specially never in descent. If it is done in descent—whether much or little—these accidentals dominate the character of the *jāti* and *śruti*-relationship.¹

Here Bharata seems to be drawing the distinction between *antara-svaras*, accidentals, and the *svara-viśeṣa*, something more permanent than mere accidentals. The use of *sādharāṇas* as accidentals is confined to the modes in which ordinarily *nī* and *ga* are used sparingly. *Kākalī* and *antara* may be used either as accidentals or as *svara-viśeṣa*. If used as accidentals, they must be used in ascent only. Once used in descent they become *svara-viśeṣa* (permanent), in which case they may be used as often as one wishes, because the character

¹ *asyālpānisādagāndhārāsu jātiṣu prayogaḥ. (Nāṭyaśāstra, prose before śl. 34.)*
antarāsvarasamyogo nityam ārohaṣaṃbravaḥ
kāryas tv alpo viśeṣeṇa nāvarohī kadācana
kriyamāno 'varohī syād alpo vā yadi vā bahuh
jātirāgam śrutim caiva nayante tv antarāsvarāḥ.
(Nāṭyaśāstra, śloka 34, 35.)

of the mode will have changed. Intermediate notes, as accidentals, bring out the charm of the mode and the subtleties of intonation.

Bharata's mūrchanās tend to support this interpretation of the *sādhāraṇas* as musical scales using the phenomena of *kākalī* and *antara* respectively. It should first be recognized that, just as the *ma-grāma* differs from the *sa-grāma* in the internal relationships of the *śrutis*, so do the two *sādhāraṇa* scales differ from each other, as well as from the *sa* and *ma-grāmas*. That is to say, they are not modal derivations of the same scale. The minor second, the minor sixth, and the augmented fourth are not found in the parent grāmas or *sādhāraṇa* grāmas but appear only in the modal derivations (viz. the mūrchanās).

As the *sādhāraṇa* scales are parent scales they must have modal forms as mūrchanās or *jātis*, and in Bharata's section on mūrchanās he says, 'The fourteen mūrchanās have four forms each: they can be *saṁpūrṇa* (complete, heptatonic), *ṣaḍava* (hexatonic), *uduvita* (pentatonic), or *sādhāraṇa*'.¹ About the *sādhāraṇa* mūrchanās he says, '*sādhāraṇa* mūrchanās of the two grāmas can be of two kinds; those which take the *kākalī* *sādhāraṇa* and those which take the *antara* *sādhāraṇa*'.²

As previously indicated, *kākalī nī* can only be applied to the *sa-grāma* and *antara ga* only to the *ma-grāma*, thus making fourteen *sādhāraṇa* mūrchanās; one for each of the seven notes of the *sa-grāma*, using *kākalī nī* instead of the original *nī*, and one for each of the seven notes of the *ma-grāma*, using *antara ga* instead of the original *ga*.

Śārṅgadeva also recognizes that the *sādhāraṇas*, *kākalī nī* and *antara ga*, are used in the forming of mūrchanās, but his mūrchanās differ from Bharata's and this suggests that Śārṅgadeva did not fully understand the distinction between Bharata's two grāmas, nor the position of *sādhāraṇa* in Bharata's system.

Śārṅgadeva says, 'There are four types of mūrchanās; *śuddha*, with *kākalī*, with *antara*, and with both. Thus there are fifty-six'.³

Śārṅgadeva's 56 mūrchanās (unadorned modal scales consisting of a simple ascent and descent) are derived in the following manner: one beginning on each of the notes of the *sa-grāma* and *ma-grāmas*, making 14; one beginning on each of the notes of the *sa* and *ma-grāmas* using *kākalī nī*, making a further 14; one beginning on each of the notes of the *sa* and *ma-grāmas* using *antara ga*, another 14; and one beginning on each of the notes of the *sa* and *ma-grāmas* using both *kākalī nī* and *antara ga*, making 14 more and bringing the total to 56.

Thus, according to Śārṅgadeva, there are four different varieties of

¹ *sādvoduvitasañjñitāḥ pūrṇāḥ sādhāranakṛtās ceti caturvidhās caturdaśa mūrchanāḥ*. (Nāṭyaśāstra, prose before śloka 31.)

² *sādhāranakṛtās caiva kākalīsamalanakṛtāḥ antarasvarasamyuktā mūrchanā grāmayor dvayoh*. (Nāṭyaśāstra, śloka 32, p. 320.)

³ *caturdhā tāḥ prthak śuddhāḥ kākalīkalitās tathā sāntarās tad dvayopetāḥ śatpañcāśad itītāḥ*. (Sangīta-raśnākara, I, iv, śloka 16.)

mūrcchanās in the *sa-grāma* and four more in the *ma-grāma*. The four varieties of the first mūrcchanā (*uttaramandrā*, beginning on *sa*) of the *sa-grāma*, and the four varieties of the first mūrcchanā (*sauvīrī*, beginning on *ma*) of the *ma-grāma*, reduced to a common tonic, are listed below.

ŚĀRṄGADEVA'S MŪRCCHANĀS

(See *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, 296)

	<i>Sa-grāma</i>								<i>Ma-grāma</i>							
	(s r g m p d n)								(m p d n s r g)							
<i>Suddha</i>	(1)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3	(2)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3
<i>with Kākalī</i>	(3)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3	(4)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3
<i>with Antara</i>	(5)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3	(6)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3
<i>with both</i>	(7)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3	(8)	C_4	D_4	E_4	F_4	G_4	A_3	B_3

Śārṅgadeva does not seem to be aware that the *sa-grāma*, using the *antara ga*, is in effect the basic *ma-grāma* scale—as acknowledged by Bharata himself (see p. 56, n. 1; mūrcchanās numbers 5 and 2 in the diagram above); and the *sa-grāma* using both *kākalī ni* and *antara ga*, is in effect the *ma-grāma* with *antara ga*, or *sādhāraṇa ma-grāma* (mūrcchanās numbers 7 and 6 in the diagram above). Thus these two varieties (mūrcchanās numbers 5 and 7), making 14 mūrcchanās in all, are repetitious. The fact that they do not begin on the same pitch is of no real consequence in this system as no fixed pitch is recognized. Furthermore, the use of *kākalī ni* in the *ma-grāma* is introducing the augmented fourth in the basic, first mūrcchanā, a phenomenon which Bharata at least, has specifically avoided by restricting the use of *kākalī ni*, as a *svara-viśeṣa*, to the *sa-grāma*. Thus a further 14 mūrcchanās, derived from the varieties numbered 4 and 8 in the above diagram, may be said to have a rather questionable basis. In fact only 28 of Śārṅgadeva's 56 mūrcchanās have validity in accordance with Bharata. Śārṅgadeva has used these 56 mūrcchanās as *mūlā-kramas* (starting sequences), from which he has computed the number of possible *kūṭa-tānas* (progressions of notes), using one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven notes. Here again, one finds that Bharata's principles have been violated. There are many thousands of these *kūṭa-tānas* which are duplicated, albeit at a different pitch. In Bharata's system, the emphasis is always on a change in the internal relationship, never just on a matter of pitch. In addition, many more thousands of Śārṅgadeva's *kūṭa-tānas* are built up on the starting sequence having the augmented fourth; this also, as has been indicated before, has no justification in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

As a final indication that Bharata considered the *sādhāraṇas* as fixed, permanent notes which affect the internal relationships of the two parent grāmas, Bharata begins his section on *jātis* with the comment, 'Three *jātis* go together with *svara sādhāraṇa*, namely, *madhyamā*, *pañcamī*, and *ṣaḍjamadhyā*'.¹

¹ *svarasādhāranagatās tiro jneyās tu jātavaḥ
madhyamā pañcamī caiva ṣaḍjamadhyā tathaiiva ca.
(Nāṭyaśāstra, śloka 36.)*

From this it can be deduced that all the other *jātis* were derivations of the two parent grāmas and that these three *jātis* were the only derivations of the *sādhāraṇa* grāmas. As in ślokas 38-40 Bharata clearly indicates to which of the two grāmas each *jāti* belongs, it is thus reasonably simple to establish the scale from which each of Bharata's 18 *jātis* have originated.

In Bharata's time the concept of the two grāmas and the *sādhāraṇas* was a living reality. In all probability the grāmas and *sādhāraṇas* were theoretical devices to enable the comprehension of the modes, and to establish some system which would not only cover the existing modes but would be an aid in deducing new ones. It was these derived modes, the *jātis*, which were actually used in performance and not the parent scales. The *jātis* were not merely scales, as were the mūrchanās, but had prescribed methods of ascent and descent, pivotal notes, starting and ending notes, as well as several other characteristics. The *rakti*—power to charm—brought about by these adornments, was and still is, the primary consideration in this music.

From Bharata's writings on the practical aspect of Indian music, one notices several points of similarity in these modern days which suggest a tenacity of musical tradition. Subsequent developments have augmented the system without ever having changed the basic structure. Yet the implications of the system of the grāmas, the *sādhāraṇas*, and the *jātis*, had already been forgotten by Śārṅgadeva's time (thirteenth century).

KUTTĀ: A CLASS OF LAND-TENURES IN SOUTH INDIA

By J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

ONE of the most important problems faced by the administration in the early days of British rule in India was how to ascertain and distinguish the different types of land-tenure prevalent there. It was obvious that a great variety of rights existed by custom in respect of land, and when the government proposed to collect revenue it was essential to know from which party or parties it could be expected and in what manner and proportions it should be levied. The task was completed by elaborate local inquiries,¹ but very little help was anticipated or received from legal textbooks in Sanskrit, which might have been expected to provide information upon so obviously fundamental a subject. But here and there details which throw light upon medieval practices are to be found in the books, and these seem to connect tolerably well with the results of the inquiries made during the nineteenth century. An instance of this seems worthy of quoting, not merely for its comparative rarity and for the juristic skill exhibited by the author, but chiefly because of the intrinsic interest of one of the tenures in question, which has a high curiosity-value and is probably of a species confined to India.

The most interesting of a set of passages is found in the *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* ('Civil law section') of the gigantic digest called *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* (c. A.D. 1500–25) attributed to the Emperor Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati.² *Arthasāstra-viśārada Vidyālaṅkāra* Dr. R. Shama Sastry printed this section in the Mysore Sanskrit Series in 1927, and the first extract is to be found on pp. 281–3. But since he did not abstain from printing some gibberish as well as some more or less obvious mistakes it is necessary to print a clearer version of the passage before proceeding to a translation.³

Towards the end of the subsection entitled *Dattāpradānikam*, or 'Non-delivery of Gift', when he is considering the meaning of the prohibition of gift of *sāmānyādi-dravya*,⁴ 'assets in which more than one person has an interest, and the like', he turns to the general proposition that an owner of an inferior interest might donate the asset in question with the assent of the owner of the

¹ An example of the fruits of such work may be seen in C. P. Brown, *Three treatises on Mīrāsī right*, Madras, 1852.

² P. V. Kane, *History of dharmasāstra*, I, Poona, 1930, 410–14; on the true authorship of the work see further P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian literary history*, I, Bombay, 1953, 423 and seqq.

³ A rapid comparison will reveal the orthographically minor corrections; but it is necessary to place on record that the learned editor prints without comment at p. 282, l. 16, the following (corresponding to a part of the third sentence of the second paragraph of the extract given next): *nivṛttau praeritāyām gururabhyruddheyaḥ pravayāḥ pratyruddheya ityādyupanīḍadharmānām*

⁴ A prohibition laid down by Brhaspati, quoted *ibid.*, 277.

superior interest. This apparently unobjectionable theory is countered by an opposite argument to the effect that the owner of the inferior interest could not convey more than the same inferior interest (if so much, of his own volition) and that the assent of the owner of the superior interest could not clothe him with a power which only the latter possessed in his own right.¹ Assuming that this last theory was sound our author was reminded of a practical difficulty. There existed in his own part of India (Āndhra-Orissa) a peculiar tenure called *kuttā*.² The tenant of the *kuttā* might, and perhaps often did, run the risk of forfeiting his tenure for breach of its conditions and/or—and here was an immediate problem—for transfer of the land to a third party. Similarly the owner might wish to transfer his own title, but would this be valid? How was this tenure to be coped with? First of all one must decide into what category of relationship it should be placed. Our author proceeds as follows:

loke kuttākhyo vyavahārah. mūla-svāminas sakāśād gr̥ha-kṣetrādikaṁ gr̥hītvā, tad-upacayāpacayaṁ karutikasya mayaiṣa sōdhavyāv iti pārībhāṣikas samasti. aparāṇ ca kuttākhyo mūla-svāmīna aurdhva-darśikādikaṁ tat-kṛtam ṛṇaṁ ca tadāya-gr̥ha-kṣetrādīnā nivartya saṁśodhya cāvaśiṣṭam asti cet grahītavyaṁ, nāsti cen māstv iti pārībhāṣikah.

*sa ca kuttākhyā upacaya-padābhilāpyas: tasyopacayākhyā-pārībhāṣikatven-
aupādhika-svātva-saṅkramopādhītiyā, etat-prakarāṇe ṛṇādānākhye vivāda-pade
gopyādy-adhikāre 'ntarbhāva evāstv iti cet, maivam. ṛṇādānākhyam vivāda-
padam śodhya-mocya-koṭi-dvayāvalambanena pravṛttam; śodhiyam abandhakam*

¹ This is the view attributed to Lakṣmidhara and others by the *Sarazvatī-vilāsa*, *ibid.*, 281.

² The word is plainly Dravidian. Tamil has *kuttakai* 'lease', 'rent': Mr. J. R. Marr kindly found an instance in classical Tamil where a grove was leased as a shrine. Compare the Telugu *gutta* in the same senses; in Kannada *guttā* is given by Kittel (correcting Wilson's *gutta*: *A glossary of revenue and judicial terms . . . by H. H. Wilson . . .*, London, 1855, 191) in the sense of *guttiḡe* 'farm', 'monopoly', while *guttiḡe* was used in medieval times to mean 'assessment' upon a land-holder, and is given by Kittel as meaning, in addition to the above, 'rental on land'. For the initial voiced plosive see Burrow, *Dravidian studies* 1, *BSOAS*, ix, 3, 1938, 711 and seqq. Compare the Kannada form *gutte* and the Marāṭhī *guttā* and *gūtā* (Wilson, *ibid.* cit.): is this Kannada form a back-formation from Marāṭhī? Malayālam has *kuttaka* and *kuttata* according to Wilson, *op. cit.*, 305. Gundert gives meanings suggesting 'monopoly'. The conviction that the word is Dravidian is by no means diminished by the possibility of the Nēpālī *guthi* (Turner, *Nēpālī dictionary*, 143) being ultimately derived from the same source (see p. 68, n. 1 below). The *Hindī Śabdasaṅgar*, 1, 1916, gives as a dialectical word *guttā*, which appears identical with the Marāṭhī word in the senses of 'a leasing of land' and 'rent'; while Platte (*Dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindī and English*, 1884) adds the meanings 'monopoly', 'contract', and 'farm'. He suggests a derivation from the Skt. root *grath*. So far the sense of 'lease' or 'rent' heavily predominates, with a distinct revenue context, which might, of course, be a secondary development. More interesting and more relevant perhaps may be the material in Oḍiyā. G. C. Praharaṅ (*Pūrnachandra Oḍiā Bhāṣākośa*, 11, 1932) gives *kuta*: 'appraisal of the produce of a field, tree, or tank'; *kuta* (or *gūtā*) *debā/nebā*: 'to give/take a lease of a land or tree under a system of appraisal'. It might seem probable that whereas the element of contract or lease now or until recently predominated, in Āndhra-Orissa of the sixteenth century the word *kuttā* evoked primarily the notion of offering and assuming a future responsibility after appraising the probable income from the land demised.

ṛṇam; mooyam sa-bandhakaṃ gopyādi-prakṛtikam; evaṃ dvi-prakāram ṛṇādānā-khyaṃ vivāda-padam. loke upacayāpara-paryāya-kuttā-rūpasya śodhya-mocya-rūpa-prakāra-dvayāsambhavāt. kiñ ca ṛṇādāne uttamārṇa-gata upacayaḥ, kuttātmake tv adhamārṇa-gata iti na tatṛṇantarbhāva aupacayikasyeṭi.

apara āhuḥ:—gopyādāv antarbhāvo vācya iti. Devadatta-kṛtarnāpākarane jāte prakṛta-vivāde mocanīya-viśayaṭā 'sti. kiñtu yāvaj-jīvānuṣṭeya-piṭṛ-kriyā-karanasyādhi-rūpeṇa svi-kārāt tan-mukhena na vimocyatvaṃ. upanayana-saṃskārasyādhyāpana-kriyāṅgatvena tan-nivṛtṭyā nivṛttaṃ pravṛttānāṃ gurur abhyuttheyaḥ pravayaśaḥ pratyuttheya ityādy upanīta-dharmānāṃ yāvaj-jīvānu-vṛttes tan-mukhenopanayanasyāpi yāvaj-jīvānuvṛtti-vat, maivam, prakṛtasya vyavahārasyāhīta-dravya-viśayatvābhāvāt. pratyuta pākṣikāpacaya-bhāra-sahīta-tvād ādhan tadabhāvāt, kuttākhyasyaupacayikasya ṛṇādāne 'ntarbhāvayitum aśakyatvāt.

dattāpradānike 'ntarbhāvo nyāyyaḥ. dattāpradānikaṃ caturvidhaṃ dānam avalambyāvatiṣṭhate: dattam adattan ācyaṃ adeyaṃ ceti dānamārgaś caturvidha ity uktam prak. dattan dvividham: sopādhiṃ nirupādhiṃ ceti. kuttātmakan dānam sopādhiṃ iti kṛtvā sopādhiṃ datta-rūpatvenaupacayikasya tatṛṇāntarbhāva iti rahasyam. Devadattasyarnāpākaraṇaṃ tad-uddeśa-prasakta-deva-piṭṛ-kriyā-karaṇam vā viśayī-kṛtya pravṛttam aupacayika-viśayan dattāpradānike 'ntarbhavati.

This may be translated as follows :

In practice we have a transaction known as *kuttā*. A man takes a house or lands and so on from their original owner and both the profit and the loss therefrom accrue to the tenant-in-*kuttā*, i.e. must be borne by himself, and there is a special contractual term to this effect. Moreover—the technical definition of this right proceeds—the tenant, with the aid of the house, lands, and so on, carries out the funeral and subsequent religious rites appertaining to the original owner of the property and pays off the debts which he has incurred, and if any balance remains over he may appropriate it, while if there be none it cannot be helped.

It may be suggested that this *kuttā* ought really to appear in that section among the topics of litigation dealt with in this chapter which treats of Non-payment of Debt, where we deal with the rights of mortgagees in possession for custody and other varieties of mortgagees,¹ on the ground that the word

¹ Mortgage (*ādhi*) could be of two principal sorts, *gopya* 'to be kept' and *bhogyā* 'to be enjoyed'. In the case of the former the land was lost to the owner if he did not repay the amount borrowed with interest at the stipulated time, if any, and the mortgagee had no right over the income from the land unless this were specially stipulated. See also below, p. 76, n. 1. In the case of the latter no interest had to be paid, since the creditor took the profits of the land in lieu of interest. See Kane, op. cit., III, Poona, 1946, 427 and seqq. Kane does not deal with this *kuttā*. Assuming for argument's sake that the transfer of land in the *kuttā* is in the nature of a pledge, and thus only an alienation of a subordinate interest in the soil, one may inquire how it might conceivably enter within the definition either of *gopya* or *bhogyā*. The incidents of the tenure as we are told them point rather to the latter type than to the former,

'profit' is employed in describing it, and therefore it possesses the character of a transfer of Property which is qualified by the technical term relative to profit.¹ But this is not so. The section on Non-payment of Debt proceeds upon the basis that there are two alternatives: debts to be paid and debts to be released. A debt which is 'to be paid' is an unsecured debt, while a debt 'to be released' is a secured debt of the nature of a possessory mortgage for custody and so on²; consequently the section called Non-payment of Debt has a double aspect. But in practice neither aspect of either sort, secured or unsecured, is present in the form of the *kuttā*, which consists in the risk of making a profit, or its reverse. Moreover, in Non-payment of Debt the profit accrues to the creditor,³ while in the *kuttā* it accrues to the debtor. Consequently the party entitled to the profit cannot be treated in that section. This is my view.

Others hold the view that the *kuttā* is comprehended within a mortgage in possession for custody or some other type of mortgage. In a normal lawsuit, when debts incurred by X are paid off, the question of releasing securities which he granted may well arise: but when land has been *taken* by way of security for the performance of ancestral worship to be continued as long as the taker's life lasts, there can for that very reason be no question of releasing the security.⁴ One might indeed object that this is quite comparable with the fact that in a sense even the rite of the thread-ceremony persists throughout life simply by reason of the life-long continuance of the duties proper to one who has been invested with the sacred thread, such as standing up to greet the teacher and standing up to show respect for elders,⁵ duties which persist in and from the

but the true *bhogyādhi* was connected with an advance in cash to the owner, and could be terminated upon his tendering the same amount at or after an appropriate interval: neither feature is present here. But since the transfer was connected with the transferee's promise, and the transferor impliedly promised not to resume the property so long as the transferee did not repudiate his obligations, the element of pledge might well be thought to be present.

¹ The reason given for suggesting that the *kuttā* is a kind of pledge or mortgage is that the tenant's tenure consists in his right to take a profit. One might object that in *gift* also the donee is expected to 'make a profit'. But what our author means is that the tenant has undertaken to *pay out*, and is induced to do so by the chance of 'making a profit', just as a moneylender will accept a mortgage when there is a high probability of his earning thereby.

² This has already been discussed in the *Sar. vii.* at pp. 221 and seqq.

³ The party who advances money: if the mortgage he takes is a *bhogyādhi* it follows that all the profits are his in any event; but even if it be a *gopyādhi* any increase in value of the mortgaged land accrues to the creditor-mortgagee should the owner fail to repay the loan with interest. In the *kuttā* the party who is here called the debtor is the tenant, who has undertaken to make payments after the original owner's death.

⁴ The tenant takes the land as a security (if at all) for his reimbursement, having in view a more or less heavy expenditure on the owner's death. Who can release this security? After all, the duties which he engages to perform do not terminate during his own lifetime—and the question whether his heirs have to continue the religious rites indefinitely is left open. If we inquire whether the heirs of the original owner (if they can be traced) can settle with the tenant and redeem the land, we must be met with the answer that the original contract is broken thereby, and in fact the practical difficulty of making such a settlement is nearly insuperable.

⁵ See for example Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtya-kalpāturu*, *Brahmacāri-kānda*, Baroda, 1948, 188, 192.

moment when the thread-ceremony ceases and which actually persist by reason of the cessation of the thread-ceremony, by virtue of the fact that that sacrament forms a portion of the rite which consists in the duty of teaching the Veda to the initiate.¹ But this would be a mistake, since in the institution in question there is no suggestion of assets being mortgaged. On the contrary, since the tenure carries with it the liability of a contingent loss—a feature which is absent in either kind of mortgage—it is impossible to include within the purview of Non-payment of Debt the party entitled to the profit in the case of a *kuttā*.

Inclusion within the scope of Non-delivery of Gift is, however, consistent with logic. Non-payment of Debt is founded upon a basis of the four-fold Gift. We have already seen that, 'The way of Gift is four-fold: "given", "ungiven", "givable", and "ungivable"'.² 'Given' is itself two-fold: conditional and unconditional. If we assume the *kuttā* to be a conditional gift the mystery is solved³: the party entitled to the profit is included in this section by virtue of the gift made to him having been conditional. When the party entitled to the profit is involved in any issue in which we are concerned with the payment of X's debts or the due performance of divine or ancestral rites in conformity with X's instructions the section to consult is Non-delivery of Gift.

From this passage we gather that it was a practice in our author's region and period for persons who were, no doubt, in poor health or destitute of capital, and who had no sons or grandsons (legitimate or adoptive) or sons-in-law upon whom they could depend to work their land, to maintain them, and to see to the payment of their debts, the repose of their souls and the maintenance

¹ The objector's argument (which is acceptable so far as it goes) is ingenious. He says in effect, 'I agree that the security is incapable of release, but what of that? The situation of your tenant, whose duties arise potentially from the moment of the transfer and, when they materialize, go on for the rest of his life, is not unlike that of a Brahman boy who has received the sacred thread. The latter acquires at a definite point of time a set of duties which gradually unfold, and which he could neither come to know nor be burdened with until then. He can never be released from these duties, some of which are irksome or irrational, since they depend from the status which he voluntarily acquired at his initiation. But his duties are none the less of the nature of obligations, and the relation between the *guru* and his *upaniṣṭa* is (at any rate in theory) one of reciprocal and permanent indebtedness: the *guru* must teach the Veda to the pupil and even when he has finished this task his relationship lasts for the rest of their lives and even beyond those limits. So with the tenant-in-*kuttā*'. It is argued that the tenant's relation to the owner is none the less that of debtor and creditor for the impossibility of the 'security's' being released.

² The quotation is really a syncope of Nārada, vii, 2: *Dharma-kōśa*, *Vyavahāra-kānda*, Wai, 1938, 798a; qu. *Sar. vi.*, 277, as from Manu.

³ *iti rahasyam*: one should resist the temptation to translate: 'So says the *Rahasya*', for no work of that name likely to have a bearing on the subject is known to have been available at this period. The Hindu law of gifts did not hesitate (as did the Islamic law) to contemplate gifts subject to a condition, and the gift of an absolute estate subject to a defeasance clause was perfectly valid: there is a splendid example in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, iii, ed. J. F. Fleet, London, 1888, 235, and see also *Pulamuthu Pillai v. Azhaku Pillai*, (1930) 46 Travancore L.R. 227.

of the necessary regular oblations to gods and ancestors,¹ to give a part or the whole of their lands to strangers (who should not be without the necessary qualifications in point of caste) subject to an undertaking by the latter to 'see all square with them' at and after their death.² Of course such a transaction must be a speculation on the part of the donee. It is true that he is the owner of the land in all but name, but its profits cannot always be anticipated correctly. He cannot be sure in advance how deeply indebted the original owner will be at his death, even if he can make a fairly accurate estimate of the annual cost of the religious ceremonies which will encumber him. If he decides that working the land himself is not the best course to follow, and wishes to lease it to a third party, is this consistent with his tenure? Our author says almost in so many words that it is not: for although he is owner by the conditional gift, the original owner, the donor, retains so much of his ownership as will serve to prevent alienations in fraud of the stipulations and to recover (vicariously, in the person of the donor's heir) the whole property for default in performing the conditions. There are thus two owners, the property is *sāmānya*, and the tenant-in-*kuttā* (Skt. *kanṭhika*) cannot alienate validly even with the original owner's assent: the act must be that of the original owner himself. As for the latter, so long as the transaction is a *gift*, he cannot transfer his interest (albeit encumbered) to a third party.

The conditional gift operates at once, and the donee can draw profits from the land donated without being obliged to wait for the donor to die and for the conditions to become binding upon him. Since these encumbrances seem remote, not being in vigour at the time of the transfer, and since the size of the pecuniary burden is doubtful and, while hypothetical, fluctuating (to however little an extent), grounds certainly exist for wondering why anyone should have supposed that such a transaction was a mortgage. It is at once evident that if it *were* a mortgage a right of transfer might remain with the owner.

Now South India and Ceylon are familiar with a phenomenon (which may be peculiar to that part of the world) according to which the sale outright of ancestral property is so obnoxious to its owners, however impoverished they may be, that they will go to any lengths to avoid it.³ When they cannot

¹ That such duties still weigh heavily upon the minds of those who anticipate dying without close relatives to follow them is proved by the facts in *Lekshmi Pillai Karthiyayam Pillai v Narayani Pillai Easwari Pillai*, A.I.R. 1955 NUC (Travancore-Cochin) 3482, a case which is of peculiar value in our present context. The tenant-in-*kuttā* was plainly *not* adopted, or the whole transaction would have been pointless, but that there was some kind of customary adoption (i.e. not legal in the *śāstric* sense) in such cases cannot be ruled out. Reference may also be made to *Gopinath Shetty v. Santhamma*, [1956] 2 M.L.J. 38.

² For an instance of a deed of gift partly in consideration of past services and partly to secure payment of debts and maintenance of the donor in the Kandyan Provinces in 1872 see *Kandy D.C. No. 70480* in J. M. Perera, *A collection of select decisions of the Supreme Court on points of Kandyan law* . . . , II, Colombo, 1892, 91-2.

³ Perhaps the best example is the mortgage known as *Peruverithon* described in C. Ramachandra Aiyar, *A manual of Malabar law* . . . , Madras, 1883, at pp. 3E, 136; but compare the perpetual lease (see ch. VIII of the same work) and the mortgage known as *Jemmpanayom* (see *ibid.*, 38, 138).

work it they lease it, and since the concept of the lease seems to have just missed occurring to the Northern Indian jurists of ancient times, probably on account of the historical priority of the concept of, and the astounding proliferation of the variety of, mortgages, what we should call a lease used to be given (subject to what is said below) by way of mortgage or under the guise of a kind of mortgage.¹ The status of mortgagor neither was, nor is, considered contemptible or deserving of pity, and when the owner exacted a premium from his tenant as a condition precedent to the latter's occupation of the land, he was content to think of this as a debt secured by mortgage. Mortgages properly so called were in any case almost invariably possessory. What we should call a deposit to secure regular payment of rent, or 'rent in advance', Indian jurists called a debt incurred by the owner on the security of his land, and the relationship of owner and tenant was described as that of debtor and creditor. It was natural, therefore, for the Indian lawyer of the pre-British periods to think of every tenant as a mortgagee in possession, who might retain part or the whole of the profits from his tenure in lieu of interest on the premium (or mortgage amount, according to the viewpoint), and in most cases in practice, should the tenant have stipulated (for example) to pay over half the crop to the owner year by year for a twelve-year term, the lawyer would view the tenant as a mortgagee bound to make regular additional advances to the mortgagor upon the security of the land and its yearly produce.

In the case of this *kuttā*, however, the condition subject to which the land was held was a condition which only in certain instances would be financially advantageous to the tenant. In those instances indeed he might be called *aupacayika*, 'the party entitled to the profit', and in this capacity he was indistinguishable from a mortgagee in possession whose advance upon mortgage had not been paid promptly but had been promised at and after the death of the mortgagor. Our author quite properly notices that he will be a debtor, if choice must be made from the alternatives, and certainly not a creditor. Of course the fact that the amount borrowed (assuming the donor to be a borrower) was unascertainable until the death of the borrower made no difference to the validity of the comparison. But the risk of loss did make a difference. The tenant-in-*kuttā* stood a substantial chance of not 'breaking even', especially if he had to maintain his own family out of the income from the lands. And where in fact he lost in carrying out his obligations (and he could be forced

¹ Material on this subject may be sought in C. Ramachandra Aiyar, op. cit., in chh. vi and vii, where *kānam*, and *orri* (otherwise *ottu*), the two basic types of mortgage are investigated, followed by a discussion of *kuzhi-kānam*, *kutti-kānam*, and *verumpattom* leases. G. D. Patel, *The Indian land problem and legislation*, Bombay, 1954, deals with the subject briefly at pp. 313 and 345 and seqq. See also A. C. Mayer, *Land and society in Malabar*, Oxford, 1952, ch. 4. On the *ottu* in Ceylon see H. W. Tambiah, *The laws and customs of the Tamils of Jaffna*, Colombo, 1950, ch. xx, and the same author's *The laws and customs of the Tamils of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1954, 48 and seqq., 71. On the position at Kandyan law see F. W. Hayley, *A treatise on the laws and customs of the Sinhalese* . . . Colombo, 1923, 503 and seqq. For a modern investigation of the legal implications of the various types of mortgage in Malabar see N. K. Rajaraja Varman *Thirumalpad v. K. K. Krishnan Nair*, [1956] 2 M.L.J. 46. Distinguish 'mortgage by lease'.

to carry them out on pain of forfeiting the estate) his similarity with a mortgagee broke down. He was in fact making one or more gifts in return for another; the land could not be a security in the ordinary sense of the word (for in taking a qualitatively unlimited interest in it at the time of the transfer he had exhausted its capacity to satisfy him); and there was no means by which the heirs of the donor could pay off the encumbrance and thus reacquire, or 'redeem', the property. His interest was in effect what we should call an absolute estate subject to a condition subsequent, an estate defeasible upon failure to perform the services stipulated for by the demisor.

The present writer would be most grateful if any reader who knows of instances of such a tenure, whether it be from ancient, medieval, or modern India or in any other part of the world, would kindly bring them to his attention.¹

If we had only the foregoing passage to rely upon we might be inclined to suppose that *kuttā* meant only a special kind of relationship between demisor and demisee, according to which the former made over the corpus of the property and the latter agreed to pay the debts and perform the religious rites required by the demisor. We should then be at a loss to account for the fact that the word *kuttā* appears, in various forms,² in modern Indian regional languages of the Peninsula without any suggestion that the transaction referred to has either a religious object or the satisfaction of the demisor's creditors as a normal component term. On the contrary we are obliged to explain how it is that the word, in whichever form it appears, is used to mean a lease, and apparently that kind of lease which obliges the tenant to pay in advance the rent for the season or period stipulated, or to pay at stipulated intervals an amount previously agreed upon as the value of his tenure, while retaining all the direct income of the lands (or other exclusive right demised to him) for himself, without obligation to account to the demisor, though perhaps liable for (legal) waste. It is quite extraordinary that in Sanskrit legal literature no word for 'lease' has so far been identified, and no word has been discovered in the printed *smṛtis* which could possibly cover the type of transaction alluded to in the regional languages referred to above. One was ready to accept (as stated previously) that the Northern Indians, Āryans or sub-Āryans, had not inherited the concept of lease and that when it was required the previously emerging concept of mortgage was made to serve all the purposes that were required. But it remained to be marvelled at that even in South India, where very substantial sections of the population have for centuries drawn their living from inferior tenures of the soil, no trace of a discussion of their legal position

¹ Professor J. Brough has kindly drawn to the author's attention the institution known in Nēpālī as *guthi* and in Nēwārī as *guthi* which, to his knowledge amongst the Nēwārs at any rate, enables land to be 'tied-up' (perhaps as some sort of *fideicommissum*) for generations amongst the settlor's descendants in order that its income might be exclusively devoted to defraying the cost of *brāddhas* and other religious ceremonies in which the settlor would have a vicarious interest. That this institution has some ulterior similarity with the *kuttā* cannot be denied.

² See above, p. 62, n. 2.

could be found in the *sāstric* texts. In fact the *kuttā* supplies the key, and the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* supplies the general background as well as the peculiar details set out above.

The passages are to be found at pp. 161–6 of the edition of 1927¹ and their unique interest, legal and lexicographical, demands their republication along with the curious passage we have just examined.² They demonstrate that *kuttā*, for all its absence from the Sanskrit dictionaries, was in the sixteenth century the word for 'lease', and they outline the juristic basis of lease as then understood. They go further, and point out that the word *kuttā* was believed by the ancient commentator Bhāruci to have been used by the *smṛti*-writers Gautama and Viṣṇu, and was expounded by him. Bhāruci is believed to have been a South Indian writer, and his work (except for a commentary on Manu) has been lost for many years. It is fairly certain that his work on Manu³ does not include the matter which the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* copies out for us, and we are once again given cause to reflect upon the undoubted fact that the author of that work quotes more frequently than any other *dharma-nibandha* compiler from *smṛtis* which are not quoted elsewhere. The crucial texts cannot be traced. This casts some suspicion upon the genuineness not merely of the references to Bhāruci, but upon the whole discussion, since if the texts of Gautama and Viṣṇu which are relied upon are indeed spurious the technical *sāstric* quality of the passage is negligible, and it will not suffice to pass the blame on to Bhāruci. On the other hand the practical importance of such a discussion in a work specially commissioned by one of the great emperors of the eastern half of the Peninsula, a work intended for use, and doubtless gaining wide notoriety in its own day, cannot be underestimated, and it is for this reason that the present writer feels encouraged to offer an explanation (however far-fetched it may seem) for the curious fact that the discussion hangs upon texts which cannot be traced.

There is good reason to believe that Gautama's text was received in a fuller form than is now extant⁴; the same may well have been the case with Viṣṇu.

¹ These passages, buried in parts of the digest where few would expect to find them, were pointed out to the present writer by his pupil, Mr. P. W. Rego.

² The passages were reprinted in the *Dharmakośa*, ubi cit., 107–9 under the unlikely heading of *darśanopākrama*. This reprint, which falls far below the standard of caution and supervision commonly used in that publication when selecting published and unpublished *sāstric* material for inclusion, bears all the mistakes, large and small, of the Mysore edition and actually adds, through mistaken zeal, a couple more of its own. The present writer hopes that the text which he prints below avoids the difficulties raised by these defective copies, but he cannot certify that the original text of the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* has been definitively restored.

³ A mutilated copy of a *Manu-sāstra-vivaraṇa* by Rjuvimala (alias Bhāruci) was identified by the late Dr. T. R. Chintamani and has been acquired for eventual publication by the present writer.

⁴ Vijñāneśvara quotes Gautama as saying that Property is taken by birth; no one, not even in the seventeenth century in Bengal, could trace the original, and it is always cited as 'Gautama, in Vijñāneśvara'. The *Sar. vil.* refers to Gautama on p. 277 to the effect that improper gifts fail to create Property: the *sūtra* he quotes cannot be found either in Maskari or in Haradatta. Yet both of these were Southern authors, and Maskari is very old, being quoted in Viśvarūpa. *Per contra* for Gautama's text *upattayaiva* cf. Medh. on M, ix, 156.

Bhāruçi, whether in his researches on Manu or in an independent work on Viṣṇu, would have had material available to him which was in many senses more antiquated than was available to the commentators and digest-writers of the twelfth century and after. His texts of Gautama and Viṣṇu may well have been pruned before transmission to later centuries,¹ and it was always a permissible practice to eliminate *sūtras* which could not be explained in a sense agreeable to current authorities—a practice which was much more common before the *smṛtis* acquired almost superstitious authority. Bhāruçi was at least eight centuries and possibly almost a millennium older than the compiler of the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*; his work was very lengthy and detailed, and such works were doomed to comparatively rapid extinction. A copy was available (? at second hand) to Vijñāneśvara (c. A.D. 1125), but not to Varadarāja (c. A.D. 1200) nor to Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Smṛti-candrikā* (c. A.D. 1250). In fact the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* is the only work which makes constant, and obviously first-hand, reference to that ancient and valuable authority. A reason why these texts of Gautama and Viṣṇu, though present in Bhāruçi, should have dropped out of their original collections may not be far to seek. It has long been suspected that Gautama was a *smṛti*-writer patronized chiefly in the South. The reference to the *kuttā* may have been inserted into his text, as doubtless other insertions were made, during the period when his text was far from settled and he was being acclimatized to the South. Northerners, who could for long claim an exclusive right to determine the genuineness of *smṛti*-texts, could not understand what this *kuttā* was, and ejected the supposititious *sūtra*. The same may well have happened to Viṣṇu, but there an additional inducement to reject the texts was present. As we shall see, the tenant in a 'without-profits' *kuttā* was allowed the benefit of an implied term in his contract that one-quarter of the profit over and above the rent due or paid in advance belonged to the tenant. This provision may well have been satisfactory in the ninth century A.D., when perhaps the pressure of population upon the land was much less heavy than it afterwards became, but would have been inappropriate in an age when the landlord could afford to insist that all losses should be borne by the tenant, and would exact a rack-rent, while the best that the tenant could do to protect himself was to stipulate not for a fixed rent, but for a share in the income, whatever it might turn out to be. In a tenants' market, at a period when, as we shall see Bhāruçi saying, the motive behind the institution of *kuttā* was to enable the owner to obtain some income from land which he could not farm himself, it was natural that the owner, desiring to secure good farming, should say, 'Take the balance, if any, for yourself'. He might well feel inclined to approach the matter from another angle, to demand all the profits beyond a fixed amount, but to fix that amount high, and to stipulate for a generously low rent. Viṣṇu's implied term served to encourage good farming in a tenants' market, and protected owners who were in no position to stipulate for a high rent. But in

¹ This is the view which Kane accepts: op. cit., I, 70, n. 113; 286.

a landlords' market the tenant was not able to beat down the rent stipulated for, and the possibility that he would be left with a balance after meeting his own expenses would be remote. If then the law demanded that three-quarters of the net income also should be handed to the landlord, the economic rent would become almost impossible to fix, since it would be a pure speculation what the tenant's quarter might amount to. Hence the offending parts of the *smṛti*, if not capable of being interpreted into innocuity, suggested their own deletion.

At pp. 161-2 the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* was discussing the effect of an *āsedha*, a word which is often translated 'arrest', but which also means 'attachment' (pending trial of an action), and had been commenting upon the question as to the proper reading of a text of Nārada on the function of this process, when reference to the *kuttā* in quite general terms is found :

ato Bhāruci-vyākhyānam eva samyak, Viṣṇu-vacanāmurodhāt. nanv evam ayuktam, Viṣṇu-vacanāmurodhābhāvāt; tathā ca Viṣṇuḥ 'āseddhuḥ phalam evāsedhya' iti — maivam. bhavatā Vaiṣṇava-vacana-tātparyāparijñānāt. tat-tātparyan tu likhītāsedhāt phalāsedhanam balavat. sarveṣāṃ phalārtham eva pravṛtteḥ. phalāsedha-karaṇe tat-pūrva-kṛtā likhītādyāsedhā aprayojakā eveti tat-prābalya-jñāpanārthavāt tad-vacanasya iti. tathā ca Gautama-sūtram 'phalāsedhaḥ kauttika-vat' iti. tasyārtho vivṛto nibandha-kāreṇa — atra dvitīyārthe vaiṣṇ; kauttikah kuttā-jñānah, yathā āsedha-viṣayah. evam sarvatra phalam evāsedha-viṣaya iti. yathā kauttikah kuttā-kāreṇa gṛhīta-pāribhāṣikārthāviriktopacita-dravya-svikāra-daśāyām āsedhyah. evam sarveṣu vyavahāreṣu phala-svikāra-daśāyām āsedhah kartavya iti. phala-svikāra-daśāyām phalam evāsedhyam, na sva-rūpam iti tātparyam. kauttika-grahānam tu kuttā-viṣaye itara-vyavahāra-vat pūrva-kālāsedhā na santi, kintu kuttāyām phalam evāsedha-viṣaya iti tāvan-mātra-viśeṣa-jñāpanārtham ity avagantavyam.

This may be translated as follows :

Hence the explanation of Bhāruci is correct, since it is conformable to the text of Viṣṇu. If you reply that this solution is unsatisfactory, since it does not actually conform to Viṣṇu's text, and because what Viṣṇu says is, 'The income alone belongs to the attaching party after his attachment', I must disagree : for you have not really grasped the meaning of Viṣṇu's text. Its meaning is, on the contrary, that an attachment of the income takes precedence over an attachment by written notice.¹ Naturally, since all such proceedings are instituted with the object of obtaining access to the profits. In other words the

¹ On the different sorts of attachment the *Sar. vil.* has spoken on p. 160. Kane, op. cit., III, 290-2, gives an account of the institution with references. Neither the *Sar. vil.* itself nor its most substantial Southern predecessor, the *Smṛti-candrikā* (ed. Gharpure, Bombay, 1918, II, 29-31), speaks of *likhītāsedha*, literally 'written attachment'. It is not impossible that the word means 'attachment of the kin's detailed in Nārada, I, 48', but the likelihood that it means attachment by a written notice not to depart out of the village, not to dispose of the property, and so on seems on the whole greater. Vācaspati-miśra, *Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi*, ed. and trans. L. Roeder, Ghent, 1958, is most disappointing on this subject.

purpose of that text is to inform us that where there has been an attachment of the income prior attachments by written notice or by other methods are quite useless, on account of the greater efficacy of the former method. And Gautama's *sūtra*, 'Attachment of income occurs as in the case of a *kaṭṭika*',¹ is on the same point. The author of the Digest² has explained its meaning as follows: 'Here the ending *vat* ("as") is to be understood in the accusative sense.³ *Kaṭṭika* means a tenant-in-*kuttā*,⁴ that is to say one who may be the object of an attachment. Thus in all cases it is the income which is the object of attachment. For example a tenant-in-*kuttā* may be subjected to attachment by way of interception of assets accruing over and above the amount stipulated for in the terms he accepted with his tenure. Similarly in every sort of litigation attachment is to be made by way of interception of the income'. The expression 'by way of interception of the income' implies that income alone is to be attached and not the actual corpus itself. But the expression *kaṭṭika* is to be understood as brought in to convey this distinction alone, namely that in the case of a *kuttā* there can be no prior attachments, as would be possible in other types of litigation, but in respect of a *kuttā* nothing can be the object of attachment but the income.

Although this passage does not tell us more about the meaning of the *kuttā* than we know already (from the passage dealing with the question whether *kuttā* is a mortgage or a gift), it was perfectly rational to explain that where a tenant does not own the corpus, and becomes the defendant in an action, whether brought by his landlord or a stranger, the latter cannot obtain an attachment of anything beyond such portion of the income as is left over when the landlord's rights are satisfied. In our *kuttā* for payment of debts and performance of religious rites, the part of the income available for attachment will be that over and above the cost of those two quasi-charges upon the property. Much more light on the central concept of *kuttā* is available from a passage on pp. 163-6, where the compiler digresses into a discussion on a *kuttā*-deed as a document of title, and its evidential value:

Kuttā-lekha-bala-vicārah. nanu likhitādinām prāmāṇyam āgama-nirūpaṇa-dvārā. āgamābhāve tat-prāmāṇyam praśīhīla-mūlatayā dṛḥham na bhavati.

¹ Not traced in Maskari's or Hardatta's versions of Gautama.

² Who this is is uncertain. It may well be Bhāruai (though not in his work on Manu), or possibly Halāyudha?

³ Otherwise the expression might mean nothing more than that a *kaṭṭika* could attach.

⁴ One must resist the temptation to translate *kuttā-pradātā* (= *uttama*, we are told) 'landlord', and *kaṭṭika* 'tenant'. Whereas the latter would not be strikingly inaccurate, as the rights of a *kaṭṭika* are undoubtedly those of a tenancy of a sort or sorts, the owner or demisor may be of wider kinds than are indicated by the English word 'landlord'. On the whole, while the general discussion may employ the English words in a non-technical sense, it seems better in the translation of our source to remain as close to the apparent sense as possible. The 'author of the Digest' glossed *kaṭṭika* as *kuttā-jivikah* and Bhāruai (see below) as *kuttōpajivi*; these are synonymous, meaning 'one who derives his living from a *kuttā*'.

āgamās tu keṣāñcin mate sapta. tathā ca smṛtiḥ 'sapta vittāgamā dharmyā' iti. Gautamādīnām mate tu riktha-kṛaya-saṃvibhāga-parigrahaḍhigama-prati-graha-nirveśādayo 'ṣṭa-vittāgamā iti. Bhāradvāja-mate tu parivṛtter api vittāgama-rūpatayā nigāḍitavāt tayā sārddhan nava-vittāgamāḥ. eteṣāṃ madhye kuttākāra-kārta-paribhāṣitārthasyāparigaṇanād āgama-prakāra-nirūpanāśaktau kuttā-lekhasya tad-ārūḍha-sākṣiṇāṃ ca daurbalyaṃ prāptam. 'anāgaman tu yo bhukte bahūny abda-śatāny api, cora-dandena taṃ pāpan dandayet pṛthivī-patiḥ' iti smṛteḥ, āgama-sūnyāyā bhukteḥ pramāṇa-koṭi-niveśābhāvaḥ pratiyate. yat tu bhogāgamayoḥ sāmyaṃ Bṛhaspati-vacanāt pratiyate: tat tu kevala-bhukter daurbalya-jñāpana-paratayā na viruddham. tathā ca Bṛhaspatiḥ: 'bhuktyā kevalayā naiva bhūmi-siddhim avāpnuyāt, āgamenāpi sūddhena dvābhyām siddhim avāpnuyāt'. tathā ca Vyāsaḥ 'sāgamo dīrgha-kālāś ca niscchidro 'nyaravojjhitāḥ, pratyarthi-saṃnidhānaś ca pañcāṅgo bhoga iṣyate' iti. atra 'pañcāṅgo bhoga iṣyata' iti vadann ekāṅga-vaikalye 'py aprāmānyaṃ bhogasyeti darsayatīty uktam prāk. ataś cāgama-nirūpane tad-abhāva-pratīteḥ mūla-sūddhy-abhāvāt tad-gamaka-pramāṇa-dārḍhyābhāva iti.

atrocyate. kvacit paribhāṣā api vittāgama eva, yathā 'ādhiḥ prapaśyed dviguṇe dhane yadi na mokṣyate' ity atra dhana-dvaiguṇya-nibandhana-paribhāṣā vittāgama-madhye 'parigaṇitā' pi sopādhikam svatvam avagamayatīti Vijñāneśvaraḥ. Candrikā-kāras tu dhana-dvaiguṇya-paribhāṣā parivṛtti-rūpeṇa tila-vṛthi-vinimayavat svatvāpādakety āha. Vijñāneśvara-matāvalambanena paribhāṣāyā vācika-dānāntargatatayā svatvāpādakatvam asti. aupādhika-sthale 'py upādhinivṛttau svatvasya dṛḍhatvāt. tathā hi kṣetrādes tasmād etāvad dhanam asmabhyan dīyatām avasiṣṭaṇ grhyatām; yad vā etāvad dravyaṇ grhītvā tad-ṛṇaṃ saṃsodhyatām avasiṣṭaṇ grhyatām iti paribhāṣāyām avasiṣṭa-dravye svatva-nivṛttiḥ para-svatvāpatti-paryantā bhavaty eveti dṛśyate. athavā Bhārucci-matāvalambanena kuttākāra-kārta-paribhāṣāvaśāmbhita-mānasika-dānāntatayā svatvāpādakatvam paribhāṣāyās samasti.

nanu saṅkalpa-mātrāt svatvan notpadyate, kin tu saṅkalpāt svatvam apaiti. svatvotpattis tv arjanād eveti dhanārjana-naya-siddhatvāt tad-vyākopo mānasika-dānāntatayā paribhāṣāyās svatva-hetuvoktāv iti cet, maivam. yadi dhanārjananayas svatvāpāya-hetu-mānasika-kriyāiveti syāt tadā 'yan doṣaḥ prāduṣyāt, na ca tathā svatvāpāya-hetuḥ kvacit saṅkalpaḥ kvacin mahāpātakādīr ity uktam. ataś ca tasyāpy adhikaraṇasya laukika-vyavahārānurodhātayā svatvasyāpi laukikatvāc ca yathā loke dṛṣṭan tathā svīkartavyam. kuttādi-vyavahāre mānasikī kriyāiva svatva-hetur iti sammatam laukikānām. tathā ca dṛśyate. bahuśo bahavaḥ Kāyasthāḥ kṣetrādīkan deśa-grāmādīkam vā kuttā-kāreṇa grhṇantaḥ pākṣikā-pacaya-bhāra-sahiṣṇavo dṛśyante. tatra grāmādi-kṣetrādi-deśādy-upacita-paribhāṣika-dravye teṣāṃ vyavahārīṇāṃ svāmyaṃ vidyate eva. sa cāgamas sādhyāṇ eva. nanu kuttā-kāreṇa grhīta-dravye upacayo vidyate cet tam upacayaṇ kuttā-pradātāra uttama-padābhilāpyās svīkurvanti paridṛśyante ca, maivam. yadi kauttikas tv apacaya-bhāra-sahiṣṇur na bhavet tadā 'py uttamasyāpy upacayāpāya-sahiṣṇutvan na syāt. kauttikatva-prasiddhir yā 'varuddha-bhoga-pradānānyathā-karaṇa-mūlā. ata evoktam Viṣṇunā 'kauttiko 'pacaya-bhāra-sahiṣṇur

uttamas tūpacayāpāya-sahiṣṇur 'iti. atra Bhāruṇiḥ: kuttapajīwī kauttikah; kuttā-pradātottamaḥ; kuttā-nāma grha-kṣetrārāma-grāma-deśādi-padārtha-samṛddha-phala-prāpty-arthaṃ yasmāi-kasmaicid vyavahāriṇe tad-grhādi-padārtha-jāta-sandānam iti. sandānan nāma samyag-dānan na bhavati aupādhika-dāna-rūpatvāt kuttāyāḥ, api tu sandānam bandhanam, uttamasyāpy upacayā-naṅgī-kāreṇa kauttika eva bandhana-rūpatvāt. sandānan kuttety upacaryate. sandānan nāma tyāga-mātram iti kecīt. atrāyaṃ viśeṣaḥ: yady anayoḥ kauttikottamayor vādyate samayaḥ 'upacayaś cen mayottamena sōdhavyaḥ apacayaś cet tvayā kauttikena sōdhavya' iti, tadā samvid-anusaraṇe upacaye vidyamāne 'pi Viṣṇu-vacanānūsāreṇa pāda-mātropacaya eva svāmyaṃ kauttikasya. tathā ca Viṣṇuḥ 'pāda-mātropacaye kauttikasya svāmyam' iti. atra Bhāruṇiḥ: so 'yam upacayaḥ kuttātaḥ; pāda-mātraṇ cet tasmīnn evopacaye uttama-manasā imam upacayaṃ kauttiko grhṇāta, anyadā āya-nāsayos svāmy-adhīnatvaṃ, na tu kauttikasya; pādādhikya eva svāmyāt tasyeti smarati. tadā tasmīn pāda-mātro-pa-cita-dravye uttamasya svatva-nivṛttiḥ parasvatvāpatti-paryantā bhavati tātparityam iti. ayam āśayaḥ: mānasikam api dānan tyāgatmakam svatvāpādakam iti Vaiṣṇavam matam iti. uttama-manasā 'yam kauttika imam upacayaṃ grhṇātv iti vadatā Bhāruṇinā yāvaty upacite dravye uttamasya mānasika-tyāgaḥ tāvaty api svatvam Vaiṣṇavam pādam iti matam. tato nyūnena na bhavitiavyam iti. atra kecīt āhuh: anenaiva nyāyena kuttāyāḥ apacaye vidyamāne 'pi pāda-mātram uttamena sōdhavyam. tato nyūnan dūrata eva, tatrādhikam aicchikam iti Viṣṇu-vacanasya tātparityārtha iti.

This may be translated as follows :

A discussion of the value of a deed of *kuttā*. You may well point out that the evidential value of deeds and other documents is derived from their capacity to declare title.¹ In the absence of title the evidential character of such material is open to challenge, for its very foundation is of the weakest. Now according to many authorities titles are no more than seven in all. A *smṛti* tells us,² 'Seven acquisitions of wealth are consistent with *dharma*'. On the other hand, Gautama and others believe that there are eight 'acquisitions of wealth' namely inheritance, purchase, partition, garnering, finding, acceptance, wages, and so on. Yet Bhāradvāja believes³ that since even exchange has been pronounced to be a type of 'acquisition of wealth' we must include it, and

¹ Documents were valued as evidence in disputes concerning debts or title to land or grants of income. Naturally if the transfer was itself of an impossible or illegal character the evidence was worthless.

² Manu, x, 115. Gautama's text next referred to is x, 39-42, and the phrase 'so on' stands for 'conquest'. Both texts are accompanied by exhaustive and varied commentaries in the *Dharma-kośa*, ubi cit., 1122 and seqq.

³ His text is not cited independently in the *Dharma-kośa*, in Lakṣmīdhara's *Gṛhastha-kānda* (where one might well expect to find it), in the *Vyavahāra-nirnaya*, the *Smṛti-candrikā*, or the *Vīramitrodaya*; but the *Sar. viḥ* refers to a view of his on exchange on p. 314 (also 319). It is clear from the many quotations in the *Vyavahāra-nirnaya* that Bhāradvāja or Bhāradvāja was known as the author of a verse work on *vyavahāra*, which may well have been composed comparatively late.

so we have nine 'acquisitions of wealth'. The subject-matter of the terms stipulated by way of a *kuttā* is not enumerated amongst these nine, whence it appears that a deed of *kuttā* cannot possibly declare a kind of title, and we are faced with the fact that neither it nor any oral evidence depending from it can be of the least validity! Moreover, a *smṛti* says,¹ 'The King should punish with the punishment appropriate to a thief one who enjoys an object without title, even if he is able to point to possession for many centuries'; and thus we know that possession devoid of title is not included among the alternative permissible types of evidence of title. As for the text of Brhaspati which gives us to understand that possession and title amount to the same thing, it does not contradict the point raised, since its intention is to inform us of the invalidity of bare possession. Brhaspati says in fact,² 'One may never attain certainty of tenure of land by possession unaided; one may attain certainty by *both*, if his title is clear'. And to the same effect Vyāsa says,³ 'Possession prevails if it be five-fold: accompanied by title, of long duration, uninterrupted, free from the adverse claim of others, and in the presence of the opposite party'. And it has already been shown that, by the use of the expression, 'possession prevails if it be five-fold', he explains that if possession be short in respect of even one of those qualifications it has no evidential value. Consequently, when it is proposed to declare a title, and the fundamental contention is open to question by reason of our knowing that such a title is non-existent, there can be no validity in evidence tending to prove such a contention. Such might be my objector's argument.

But my answer is as follows. There are occasions where a contractual term⁴ amounts to an 'acquisition of wealth', as for example in the

¹ Nārada, I, 87, discussed in the *Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi* at § 462.

² *Brhaspati-smṛti*, ed. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Baroda, 1941, VII, 30. The learned editor prefers *bhuktiḥ* to *bhūmi*, and *siddhyati nānyathā* instead of *siddhim avāpnuyāt* in the second half of the *śloka*, following the reading in the *Smṛti-candrikā*, ubi cit., 70. There is no material difference in the sense rendered.

³ The text is quoted in this form as Vyāsa's in the *Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi* at § 452, and is there referred to Vyāsa, ed. Jolly, 1881, I, 84. But the Mysore edition of the *Sar. vil.* prints *vicchedo-paravojjhitaḥ*, and there may have been some confusion with a text attributed to Pitāmaha in the *Smṛti-candrikā*, ubi cit., 70, which reads *cāvicchinna-paravojjhitaḥ* (the line commencing *sāgamā*) and concludes the *śloka* with *bhuktiḥ pañcaviṁśatī smṛtā*. However our text is attributed to Vyāsa and/or Kātyāyana and even Nārada in the form printed here: see *Dharma-koka*, *Vyavahāra-kānda*, 406b, 416b, and cf. 420b, 419a.

⁴ *paribhāṣā*. This has been translated here sometimes 'contractual term' and sometimes 'legal term'. In the first passage the word *paribhāṣika* is used, as an adjective governing *vyavahāra*. In this passage again we find *paribhāṣika-dravya*. Monier-Williams does not give this meaning of *paribhāṣā*, though the meanings given for *paribhāṣika* may be said almost to cover what is required. In Nilakaṇṭha-bhaṭṭa's *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* we have the now famous distinction between *paribhāṣika* and *apāribhāṣika-strīdhana*. *paribhāṣā* in this sort of context means a term by reason of which a particular legal right can be predicated, particularly (though by no means necessarily) if it is created by agreement; *paribhāṣika* means 'having such a term as its characteristic', or 'in accordance with such a term'. In Nilakaṇṭha's case the meaning is that the first class of *strīdhana* is that strictly marked out by the text of Kātyāyana. The word for 'contract' is not *paribhāṣā* but *saṃaya*, 'the meeting of two minds', as Anglo-American jurists would say, or *saṃpratīpatti*, or *saṃvid*.

text,¹ 'A mortgage may perish if it be not redeemed with the double amount', where, although the legal term charging the land with double the mortgage-amount is not enumerated among the 'acquisitions of wealth', Vijñāneśvara tells us² that we are to infer a conditional Property. On the other hand, the author of the *Candrikā* has said³ that the legal term of the doubled amount is a means of creating Property because it is a variety of exchange, like an exchange of sesamum for rice. If we rely upon Vijñāneśvara's view, the legal term is a means of creating Property because it is an example of an oral gift. For in a case of a conditional transfer Property is validly effected upon the performance of the condition. So in examples like, 'You must give me out of this field (etc.) such-and-such an amount, and the balance you may keep for yourself', or, 'You may take such-and-such goods and pay this debt, and the balance you may keep for yourself', it is evident that there is a cessation of Property persisting up to the production of another's Property.⁴ Alternatively, relying upon Bhārucci's opinion, the contractual term does indeed possess the capacity to create Property since it ends with a mental gift dependent upon the term stipulated for by way of the *kuttā*.

You may object that by intention alone Property is not produced, whereas by intention Property ceases.⁵ The principle of acquisition of assets is established in the terms, 'Only by means of acquisition does Property come about',⁶

¹ Yājñavalkya, II, 58. This is well commented upon by Vijñāneśvara. It is clear even from the *smṛti* that it is only a *gopyādhi* (see above, p. 63, n. 1) that can be foreclosed in this manner. In the case of a usufructuary pledge, on the other hand, the rule is (Yājñ., II, 64) that after the income in the mortgagee's hands has reached double the amount of the loan, the mortgagee's right to possession ends, and the pledge with it.

² *Mūlakṣarā* comm. on Yājñ., II, 58; ed. Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, 1909, 159. J. R. Gharpure (*Yājñavalkya Smṛti with the commentaries of (1) The Mūlakṣarā by Vijñāneśvara Bhikṣu . . . , Chapters I-VII. . . . An English translation with notes . . . Second edition, Bombay, 1938, 821-2*) translates as follows: ' (To this) the answer is: Even the act of pledging itself is considered as a circumstance, although coupled with a contingent condition, creating the creditor's ownership. The acceptance of a pledge also is well known in the world as a circumstance, also coupled with a contingency, creating the creditor's ownership. So when the amount becomes doubled, and also when the appointed time has arrived, the right of paying the amount becomes entirely extinct, and therefore under the present text there occurs an entire cessation of the debtor's right of ownership, and the ownership of the creditor becomes absolute'.

³ Devapna-bhatta, *Smṛti-candrikā*, ubi cit., 141. The sale of sesamum was prohibited by the religious law to certain persons (see texts in Kane, op. cit., II, 127) but the restriction was overcome by allowing exchanges: cf. Āpastamba referred to by Kane, ibid., 129. Consequently the agreement according to which land is taken instead of a sum of money due but not capable of being paid is an exchange and therefore a lawful means of acquisition, although not mentioned by Gautama.

⁴ This is the definition of transfer of title according to the compiler of the *Sar. vii*. See ibid., 277.

⁵ On this general problem see *BSOAS*, XVIII, 3, 1956, 475 and seqq. On *santkalpa* as a cause of the cessation of Property see *Svateva-rahasya* (to be published), IV, § 10.

⁶ This is an inverted statement of Prabhākara's gibe: *pralapitam idam kenāpi 'arjanam svatan nāpādayati' iti vipratishedham*. It is rubbish to say that acquisition does not produce Property. But there was more in the suggestion than Prabhākara was prepared to admit, and all his juristic followers have missed the point. But that is a subject for treatment elsewhere. The reference is *Bṛhas* on Jaimini, IV, 1, 2. See *J. Econ. and Soc. Hist. of the Orient*, I, 1957, 66-97.

and accordingly this rule would be contradicted if we were to declare the legal term we have been discussing a cause of Property on the ground of its culminating in a mental gift. But this is not true. It has been pointed out that if the method of acquiring assets were merely the mental act causing the cessation of Property that difficulty would be greatly weakened, and it would not be the case that a cause of the cessation of Property might be seen at one time in an intention to dedicate, for example, and at another in the commission of a grave sin and the like.¹ And so, since even this chapter of the law observes conformity with the world of practical affairs,² and since even Property has a purely practical character,³ what is observed in practice must be accepted by the jurists. That in a transaction such as the *kuttā* the very mental act alone is a cause of Property is agreed amongst all students of practical affairs. And this is what is actually observed. Very frequently a great number of Kāyasthas⁴ accept fields and so on, or a District, a village and so on, by way of

¹ The sentence at first reading is obscure. In fact it is a rather brilliant suggestion, considering the state of the subject at that time. It was conventionally accepted that Property was destructible, and Property was producible; but an instance of the one would not by any means necessarily lead to an instance of the other. This was not unreasonable since one might destroy one's Property by, for example, forgetting about a buried object, by determining to abandon it, or by dedicating it for the public use; and in each case no Property was caused by one's act or omission. The objector has pointed out that a mental gift is no transfer of Property (as contrasted with a ceremonial gift in the presence of the donee and with pouring of water, etc.) since mere *sankalpa*, 'intention', does not create Property. But, says our author, what about (i) dedications to an idol, where the idol's Property is traced to the *sankalpa* of the dedicant, and (ii) grave sins, which cause 'fall', and thus the loss of all Property, so that the heirs inherit as if on death? Is there any substantial point in saying that the *sankalpa* is not a cause of the idol's Property, and that the sin is not a cause of the heir's succession? Assume that, as we observe, they are in fact causes, they create and do not merely destroy, and we are a long way to removing your difficulty, which is of a purely technical origin. We must, as he says next, have regard to what actually happens.

² It is a maxim of the *śāstra*, stressed most frequently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the *vyavahāra* portions (to which all these discussions belong) are ultimately based upon practical requirements and actual usage, notwithstanding the fact that *smṛti*-texts are the authoritative hooks upon which the rules are hung.

³ A doctrine accepted from the Mīmāṃsakas, who had a vested interest in such a view. Dhāreśvara, i.e. Bhoja, objected to this, and he had some following, but the majority of the jurists are content to accept a conclusion which gave less trouble to the public. The matter has been investigated elsewhere (see p. 77, n. 8, above). A good reference is K. L. Sarkar, *The Mīmāṃsa rules of interpretation as applied to Hindu law*, TLL for 1905, Calcutta, 1909, 390 and seqq. Madana-simha (attrib.), *Madanaratnapradīpa*, *Vyavahāra-vivekodyota*, ed. Kane, Bikaner, 1948, has an excellent passage on the subject at pp. 323 and seqq.

⁴ The mention of this caste, well-known in Bengal, Eastern India generally, Uttar Pradesh, and even in Maharashtra, is significant. The author did not want to use the actual caste name of the people who most frequently participated in this transaction as *kautikas*, because that would have the effect of limiting the application of what he was saying, but it is extremely likely that he had a caste such as the Reddis in mind. Although in many places castes lower than Kāyasthas (who are held to be Śūdras by some decisions of modern courts and *dvijas* by others) must have been frequent tenants of ordinary farming leases, it is quite probable that government revenue-leases were monopolized by a particular class. Valuable material about Kāyasthas is collected in Kane, op. cit., II, 75-7, and it is evident that their identity commenced with an occupational aptitude, namely in administration of a more or less subordinate character. Vijñāneśvara, on Yājñ., I, 336, where Kāyasthas are classed with *cāṭas* (p. 81 inf.) and thieves,

kuttā, and are observed to bear the risk of a contingent loss. In such cases no one doubts but that there is Ownership on the part of these businessmen in any profit accruing to them from the village, field, District, or whatever it may be, so far as is covered by the legal term in question. And this title is beyond dispute. You might reply that if in the property taken by virtue of the *kuttā* a profit results, the demisors-in-*kuttā*, who are known by the name *uttama*,¹ appropriate the profit to themselves and are commonly observed to do so. But you are wrong. If the *kauttika* were not willing to undertake the risk of a loss, the *uttama* would certainly not undertake the risk of a diminution of the profit.² If anything is established about the status of a *kauttika* it is that it is founded upon an exact compliance with the mode of transfer of a strictly limited possessory right. It is for this reason that Viṣṇu says,³ 'The *kauttika* is liable to suffer the loss, while the *uttama* is liable to suffer a diminution of the profit'. Here Bhāruci explains, 'One who lives on a *kuttā* is a *kauttika*; the demisor-in-*kuttā* is the *uttama*; the word *kuttā* refers to the *sandāna* to any second party of the items consisting of the demisor's house, field, garden, village, District, and so on for the purpose of realizing the whole income therefrom'. The word *sandāna* does not equal *samyag dāna* ('a full and entire gift'), since the *kuttā* has the quality of a conditional gift, but means 'binding'.⁴ For the *kuttā* has the character of a 'binding', at any rate from the point of view of the *kauttika*, in that the *uttama* does not acquire the profit.⁵ 'Binding'

accounts for the sage's singling them out for especial supervision by the King on the ground that they are normally highly in his favour and possess extraordinary cunning. They were not mere accountants in Aparārka's eyes (c. A.D. 1100), for when he commences on the same *śloka* (there = 1, 334) he says *kāyasthāḥ karādhikṛtāḥ*, i.e. those that supervised the actual collection of the revenue. Śūlapāṇi in his *Dīpakalikā* (on 1, 336), written between 1420 and 1465, is more cautious, since many *Kāyasthas* in Bengal were not employed in government service. He says *rāja-sambandhāt prabhaviṣṇavaḥ*, i.e. only those in a position to oppress the public because of their official status at Court. More to our present purpose, however, is the fact that in Āndhra during the thirteenth century at any rate *Kāyasthas* were in a position to carry on an independent territorial rule, for in A.D. 1239 the powerful Āndhra emperor Gaṇapati Kākatīya of Wāraṅgal had to subdue by force *Kāyasthas* ruling in the region corresponding to the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A history of South India*, Oxford, 1956, 210, 211. Whether the preferential right to clerical appointments to Government was still evident in the sixteenth century may be open to doubt. The mention of the word *deśa* 'District' makes it quite clear that these people might be revenue-farmers as well as private tenants.

¹ The choice of this word, unknown to the compilers of lexicons, is strongly reminiscent of *utamarna* 'a creditor'.

² Cases where the *uttama* takes profits over and above the premium are, he says, to be attributed to a special agreement to that effect. There is a certain reciprocity in the relationship. The *kauttika* can be forced to pay his rent, whether the income reaches that amount or not; similarly the *uttama* must take a chance whether there is any profit. If the *kauttika* stipulates that he shall not be liable for loss, i.e. agrees to pay over as rent a proportion of the net income, there can be no question but that the *uttama* will oblige him to pay over that proportion, however large the income may turn out to be.

³ The text is not found in Jolly's edition.

⁴ The root *dā* is found (very rarely) in the sense 'to bind'.

⁵ See Monier-Williams for the usual senses of *sandāna*. In the normal *kuttā*, says our author, the corpus of the property is 'bound' to the *kauttika*, so that he may take all the income to the exclusion of the *uttama*, subject to his performance of his part of the bargain.

is used metaphorically for the *kuttā* itself. There are some, however, who take *sandāna* here to mean no more than 'relinquishment'.

But the following distinction should be observed: if the agreement between the two parties, namely the *kauttika* and the *uttama*, is this: 'If there be any profit it is to be taken by me, the *uttama*; but if there be a loss it must be borne by you, the *kauttika*'; then should there be a profit after the terms of the contract have been performed, the *kauttika* actually has Ownership in not more than one-quarter of the profit, in accordance with a text of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu says, in fact,¹ 'The *kauttika* has Ownership in the profit only to the extent of one-quarter'. Bhāruci comments: 'The purport of the *smṛti* is this: the profit referred to here is that realized from the *kuttā*; if this amounts to no more than a quarter² the *kauttika*, by virtue of the *uttama*'s intention, may take this "profit" in that profit; but as to other circumstances³ both profit and loss would accrue to the Owner, and not to the *kauttika*; for as to the excess above the quarter the Owner has the ownership. The meaning is that in such cases there is a cessation of the Property of the *uttama* persisting up to the creation of the Property of another in respect of the goods which represent the profit of not more than a quarter'. What this amounts to is that according to Viṣṇu's opinion even a mental gift has the character of a relinquishment and may produce Property. When Bhāruci says that according to the *uttama*'s intention this *kauttika* may take this profit, his opinion appears to be that Viṣṇu's 'quarter' is the Property arising in so much of the goods representing a profit as the mental relinquishment by the *uttama* covers. Consequently we are to understand that it cannot arise in less than a quarter.⁴

¹ This text is likewise not traced in the printed edition.

² The sense is not perfectly clear, since the whole extract has been affected by misunderstanding in the course of the transmission of the text. What should have been read *uttama*- has twice been written *uttamo*, and the true subject of the verb *amarati* has been missed, apparently by both editors. It would seem that Bhāruci's notion of Viṣṇu's meaning is that the profit is the total income; out of this the rent is deducted and there is another 'profit' remaining over. If this amounts to a quarter of the whole, but not more, the *kauttika* may, in this special kind of *kuttā*, keep it. The law allows the *uttama* mentally to relinquish a quarter, even when he says that he relinquishes none of the profits over and above the rent.

³ i.e. when the *kauttika* makes no profit at all, or his profit amounts to less than a quarter of the total income, or it amounts to more than a quarter.

⁴ At first sight this is an odd rule. We commence with the position that the *uttama* claims, and the *kauttika* admits that the *uttama* is entitled to, all the profits which accrue from the tenure over and above the rent or premium. Then we are told that according to Viṣṇu a *kauttika* is entitled to a profit of 'only' a quarter. We might suppose that the text of Viṣṇu refers to quite a different situation, where the *kauttika* pays a heavy fee for the right to work the land, and might *prima facie* claim all the profits, whereupon a customary rule comes to the aid of the *uttama* and secures to him three-quarters of the profits. It may well have been the case at some stage in the history of land-tenure in South India that tenants paid three-quarters of the gross produce to the owners and kept only a quarter for themselves, but we may doubt whether this situation prevailed far or for long. Is it not more likely that this text (if genuine) applies to a situation where a quarter of the net profit is secured to a tenant, whatever the value or extent of his premium, in order to secure good farming? The *Sar. vii.* understands Bhāruci to say that the quarter is estimated on the total profit from the *kuttā*, and that probably means the total gross income. Whichever method of calculation is correct the principle is clear that the tenant is

Some object that according to this reasoning if the *kuttā* produces a loss, a burden not exceeding a quarter of it ought to be borne by the *uttama*.¹ Consequently the full meaning of the text of Viṣṇu, they say, is that while a falling-short is totally excluded an excess is optional.²

From these fragments, introduced into the work in different places and with totally different motives, we are able to piece together the basic concept of the *kuttā*. The owner most commonly offers to a stranger the right to work a piece of land (or some other source of income) and to keep all the income for himself, and the stranger agrees to pay the owner a premium, which he has carefully calculated by appraising the probable productivity of the source in advance, as a consideration for the exclusive right in question. The period might be as long as a season, or indefinite subject to an implied right to novate the agreement should conditions alter markedly. When the premium demanded is very high, or if its payment is deferred and its amount is not capable of exact computation, the possibility of the tenant's suffering a loss is worthy of consideration. If the premium is low, as might have been frequently the case in early times, a large net profit to the tenant might be regarded as inequitable

protected. We are told that the situation in which this protection is available to him is that in which the *uttama* demands all the profit, leaving the possibility of loss exclusively with the *kauttika*. Now we see why an exact quarter is under consideration and neither more nor less: the calculation of the rent would be impossible if neither party knew what proportion of the profit if any would belong to the tenant. The availability of a quarter would encourage him to work the land well, while any excess would be for the benefit of the owner. A loss would be borne, according to some only (see below), exclusively by the tenant, but any profits up to but not reaching a quarter would be claimable by the owner. To illustrate the rule two balances are given below. In both cases the *kauttika* estimated 'on the safe side'.

<i>Tenant's Balance</i>			<i>Revenue-farmer's Balance</i>		
Gross income :	Ra.	5,000	Gross Revenue :	Ra.	1,50,000
Expenses, including living expenses :	"	3,500	Expenses of collection, including sub-contractor's expenses :	"	5,500
Net income :	Ra.	1,500	Net Revenue :	Ra.	1,44,500
Rent :	"	1,100	Contract :	"	1,40,000
' Profit ' :	Ra.	400	' Profit ' :	Ra.	4,500
To owner :	"	300	To Government :	"	3,375
Real profit :	Ra.	100	Real profit :	Ra.	1,125

¹ This suggestion stems from a desire to protect the tenant still further. If Viṣṇu secures to the tenant a quarter in the event of a profit, in the same type of contract the tenant ought to be indemnified to the extent of a quarter (and neither more nor less) if the *kuttā* brings him in a loss, in order that the speculation may be reciprocal; and thus the calculation of the rent may be more favourable to both parties, and it may be easier to let land, the exact productivity of which may for special reasons be difficult to appraise in advance.

² Given that this reciprocity is justified by Viṣṇu's text, they believe that the owner can insist on the tenant's bearing three-quarters of the loss, and the tenant can insist on the owner's bearing three-quarters of the risk of an absence of profit; both, however, may be more generous if they like—the opposite course is not open to either.

and *extra contractum*. Thus the owner was legally entitled to claim, in the first situation that he was exempt from liability to repay any part of the premium or to suffer a reduction in the amount of the unpaid premium if any ; and in the second situation that three-quarters of the net profit (or according to Bhāruci the gross profit) was due to him over and above the premium. In this way the owner was amply protected. The tenant's rights in the *kuttā* were confined to the profits. If the agreement said nothing about profits, they were all his ; if the agreement said that the owner was to have all the profits, the latter could demand no more than three-quarters of them (however calculated). But if the year was bad, or the sub-tenants (if any) obdurate, or for some other reason the tenant was unable to recoup his initial outlay by way of premium or rent, a suggestion was made that the owner, besides bearing the risk that he will not make a profit over and above the premium, should undertake a liability to bear a quarter of the loss. To this view the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* lends what is plainly somewhat qualified support, commenting that whereas the tenant can be sure of keeping a quarter but not less than a quarter, of any profit he makes, he may be able to call upon the owner to assist him to the extent of a quarter in the event of a loss, and the owner has an option to assist him still further, as Viṣṇu's text might suggest, just as he has an option to allow him to retain more than a quarter of the net profits, if any.

The first passage dealt with a peculiar type of demise for payment of debts and religious duties ; the last very plainly deals primarily with government revenue-farming contracts. Yet it is clear that the same features of absence of Ownership in the tenants, the restriction of their rights to the income pending the non-performance of the conditions, and the speculative character of the undertaking, are present both in these and in the intermediate specimens which approach a modern farming-lease (where, however, legal relief against loss is not available to the tenant).

It seems that a case could be made out for a greater juristic maturity in the sixteenth century amongst the South Indians, than amongst their Northern colleagues, who not only do not know of the *kuttā* but also fail to tell us what are the essentials of any sort of lease, though they must have been familiar with many of them.

ADDENDUM

Yājñavalkya's attitude to Kāyasthas (above, p. 77, n. 4) is indicated by the company in which he places them. J.Ph.Vogel, *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 566-7, has shown that *cāta* meant 'head of a *pargana*', i.e. a middle-grade provincial civil servant. But Aparārka says it means 'an informer' ; Vijñāneśvara equates it with a confidence-trickster ; Śūlapāni thinks the word should be *cāra*, glossed 'one who gets the better of others'. The word became synonymous with a swindler who takes full advantage of a colour of authority, but between Vogel's sources (and see S. K. Maity, *Economic life of northern India* . . ., Calcutta, 1957, 64) and the fifteenth century *cāta* ceased merely to mean a grade of official, and the text of Yājñ. had to be glossed or modified accordingly.

MUSLIM MODERNISM IN THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

By F. RAHMÂN

JUST before the intellectual impact of Britain on Indian Islam a religious reform movement had swept over Muslim India.¹ Although this movement itself does not come into the scope of the present essay, we note it at the outset because :

- (a) Intellectually it sought to regenerate Islam by going back to the pure and simple Islam of the early period and tried to weaken the hold of medieval authorities on the Muslim mind. Consequently, although reactionary in itself, its 'purification' impetus prepared, in some measure, the way for subsequent intellectual developments.
- (b) By condemning un-Islamic accretions to Islam religiously and by fighting against the Sikhs in the Panjab (and potentially all 'infidel' rulers) politically, it accentuated the identity-consciousness of the Indian Muslims as a religious unit.²
- (c) Its impetus still continues to exist in the form of certain important religious organizations.

After its initial small-scale individual and co-operative beginnings, literary and scientific, Muslim Modernism bloomed into an intellectual-cultural movement during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. The central figure in this movement was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (1817-98) who, before the Mutiny, had belonged intellectually to the 'purificationist' religious movement under whose impulse he had written several works on religion (besides writing on the history of Islam in India). After the Mutiny he felt called upon to instil a new life in the Muslims and rouse them from their sullen mood due to the failure of the Mutiny and the subsequent repressive policy of the British towards them. His Muslim-British conciliation policy, encouraged by the British Government, succeeded remarkably and culminated in his founding (1875) of the Aligarh Muslim College, the purpose of which was to disseminate modern Western culture and science along with Islamic religion. His vision of the future Muslim, to be produced by the new institution, was that of a man who would have 'The Qur'ān in one hand, modern science in the other, and on his

¹ This is the so-called 'Indian Wahhābī Movement' with which W. W. Hunter dealt in his *The Indian Mussalmans*. There is, however, so far no comprehensive treatment of this important development in the pre-modern Indian Islam.

² Professor W. C. Smith is quite right in saying in his *Modern Islam in India*, London, 1946, that this movement was not strictly speaking communal for Communalism is a later growth. The essential point, however, is that the only community which mattered for this movement was the Muslim Community. It ignored other communities except in so far as it came into conflict with them.

head the crown of "there is no God but Allāh" (the Muslim profession of faith). We shall see later that this vision was not fulfilled; but we wish to note here how close the spirit expressed in this earliest enunciation of Muslim Modernism is to the popular aspiration that generated the Muslim State of Pakistan seven decades later.

In order to bring about the new orientation of the Muslims of India, whose general uplift and progress was his real motivation, Sir Sayyid Ahmad had to work in several directions. Thus, although he was not a political thinker, nor even a political leader, he had to adopt and inculcate in his followers a specific enough political attitude—loyalty to the British rule. This attitude he adopted primarily because the British power, according to him, was invincible, but also because he had vague and sometimes definite fears,¹ especially in the later years of his life, from the more advanced and far more numerous Hindu Community in which along with progress went the growth of a resurgent and aggressive Hinduism generated by mental reconstructions of a glorious Hindu past. Similarly, he was not a keen religious thinker nor perhaps primarily and deeply religious, yet he was led by the inner logic of the Muslim intellectual history to justify his cultural progressive attitude theologically. During his stay in England (1869–70) he came into contact with Western culture based on modern science and positive values (which he called 'natural' values or simply 'nature'—hence the name *nechari* given to him and his followers against whom Jarnāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī wrote vigorously accusing them of being materialists) and accepted it as absolutely good. If the Muslims (of India) were to survive and progress *qua* Muslims, Islam must accept these values. A further incentive came from the West's criticisms of Islam, its Prophet, and its social morality.

In order to carry out his theological programme Sayyid Ahmad laid down the criterion of 'conformity to Nature' for judging the progressiveness of religion. He therefore wrote copiously² to demonstrate that Islam did come up to this criterion by explaining in as 'natural' terms as he could the supernatural and the miraculous in traditional Islam. In this process of elimination he was no doubt helped by his earlier 'purificationist' tendencies. This explains why, although he had far outdistanced his fellow-'Wahhābīs', he described himself even in the last years of his life only as a 'Wahhābī multiplied'. By this method he tried to show that there was nothing in the theology of 'true' Islam which was inimical to science and modernity in general. The result of Sayyid Ahmad's *religious* endeavours was therefore chiefly negative: he produced an Islam which was *not against* modern scientific progress. We must remember, however, that the time for a creative re-thinking had not yet arrived and further that the danger Sayyid Ahmad was fighting was not that the Muslims might lose their faith, in the name of modern science, but that they might in the name of their faith reject modern science and progress.

¹ See Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Mauji-i-Kauṭhar* (in Urdu), last edition, Lahore (n.d.), the chapter on Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān; also Smith, op. cit., p. 25.

² See his *Essays on the life of Muhammed*, his Urdu Commentary on the Qur'ān, etc.

With a double purpose of bringing about an internal social reform and breaking down the foreignness of the West, Sayyid Ahmad issued a journal, *Tahzīb-ul-Akẖlāq*, in which he advocated Western habits and manners as well as Western morality, and wrote a partial commentary on the Bible. By distinguishing, as he had done concerning scientific thought, between society and law on the one hand and Islam as a pure religion on the other (a position strikingly similar to that adopted later by official Turkey), he was led to reject the corpus of Apostolic Tradition (*Ḥadīth*)—one of the two undisputed pillars of Islam—as definitive of Islam. In the words of Charāgh ‘Alī, one of Sayyid Ahmad’s supporters whose chief occupation was to reply to the Christian missionaries, ‘Islam as a religion is quite apart from inculcating a social system. The Mohammadan polity and social system have nothing to do with religion’.¹ Thus, alongside the Qur’ān, the place of reverence vacated by the *Ḥadīth* was taken by the person of the Prophet Muḥammad. This last attitude² was also helped by the fact that Sayyid Ahmad rejected the orthodox doctrine of the supernatural revelation of the Qur’ān and found expression in his defence of Muḥammad against the missionaries’ attacks.

The content of Sayyid Ahmad’s religious teachings remained almost confined to him and in wider Muslim circles aroused bitter opposition; indeed the failure of his religion can be best seen in the fact that at Aligarh the teaching of theology had to be left in the hands of the conservative *‘ulemā*. A few uninfluential Modernists like Sir Ahmad Hussain and Professor Khuda Bakhsh³ adopted positions generally similar to his but among his own Aligarh co-workers and at large, although the modernizing impulse remained, its character was very different. There is evidence⁴ that towards the end of his life Sayyid Ahmad was himself disappointed in the first crops that grew at Aligarh. These were gentlemen who wore Western dress, spoke English, prided themselves on a smattering of modern ideas but were either a-religious or anti-religious.

Among Sayyid Ahmad’s co-workers the names of the poet and writer (and also Sayyid Ahmad’s biographer) Ḥālī and of the historian and theologian Shibli are the most important; their influence has been enormous and far-reaching and indeed they bridged the gulf that separated Sayyid Ahmad from the rest of the Community. In 1879 Ḥālī first published his poem called the ‘Ebb and flow of Islam’, known as *Musaddas*. In this poem, of which the influence has been incalculable, Ḥālī bewailed the decadence of the contemporary Muslim society in all its aspects (including the results of modern education) and compared it with the glories of classical Islam. His opening quatrain runs:

¹ Quoted by Smith, op. cit., 29.

² On the emphasis on the person of Muhammad see Smith, op. cit., 35 ff.; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, Chicago, 1946, and F. Rahman, ‘Internal religious developments in the present century Islam’, *Journal of World History*, II, 4, 1955, 862–79.

³ These men were not actually part of the Aligarh Movement.

⁴ See Shaikh Muḥammad Ikram, op. cit., chapter on the reaction to the Aligarh Movement.

Come ! and see our abysmal decadence.
 See the fall of *Islam* without recovery.
 Once you see the ebb of our sea,
 Never shall you believe that a flow succeeds every ebb !

Ḥālī was a great champion of modern education and along with, and influenced by, Sayyid Aḥmad, saw in this education the *means* of Islam's recovery. Hence, throughout the poem he does not say that Muslims should become Westernized : he exhorts the Muslims to become great again and—great like early and classical Muslims. Thus in his attitude a necessity for adaptation or a necessity for the acquisition of modern knowledge is mixed with a strange revivalistic appeal, in which are to be found the salient ingredients of the later apologetic—a glorification of the past with a selective presentation of Islamic history. The important fact to note is that the audience addressed is not Western but exclusively indigenous.

If Ḥālī, while making a forceful exhortation to rise again, had drawn the gaze of the Muslims to their glorious past in general terms, Shibli set himself the task of describing that past to them. Though he was a very learned man, Shibli did not write a history of Islam, but chose to write monographs on the great personalities of historic Islam—rulers, theologians, poets, etc. The selective nature of this historical research is obvious enough : it is further substantiated by Shibli's remark in the preface to his book *Al-Kalām*¹ that a new defence of Islam is necessary in face of the new Western influences, a defence which should comprise not only Muslim theology, but Muslim society, institutions, and *history* because the modern West evaluates a social system on all these counts. It should be noted again that while Shibli adopted the Western canons of moral judgment, his works, all written in Urdu, were directed towards the modern educated Indian Muslim and not towards the West. The same liberal but adaptative attitude is manifested in Shibli's theology—wherein his activity, although not *rationalist*, was certainly aimed at reviving the *rationalizing* dialectic of the classical Muslim theology. His theology presents an advance over that of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's in that it was not negative. Being a theologian trained in the traditional way, he saw the necessity of continuity and therefore attempted to come to terms with the late nineteenth century scientific world-views. But at the same time it is clear that his restatement was adaptative, not creative. However, even this much of adaptation proved too much for his fellow-*ulemā* who branded him as a free-thinker and wrote several works in reply in which they merely repeated the traditional orthodox position : Shibli's theological efforts never took the form of a tradition in Indian Islam.

From this above descriptive account of the intellectual positions of the chief members of the Aligarh team it is clear that whereas they were agreed on introducing modern education and actively working for it and further, in

¹ Lahore, 1952, 10.

accepting modern Western values in general as constituting progress, they presented so wide divergencies that they cannot be called a school, certainly not a school of thought. Culturally and socially these men themselves were traditional, uninfluenced by Western ways of life.

These developments which expressed and further deepened the Muslims' pride in their past had initially as their integral part, and heightened still further, the Muslims' consciousness as a religio-social unit within India. We have mentioned already the parallel development in Hinduism. There is not the slightest evidence to show that at this stage either neo-Hinduism or neo-Islam developed in rivalry with each other. Neo-Islam developed essentially as an apologetic against the Western influences in Islam and as a mechanism with the further purpose of releasing the inner forces of the community for its own progress (likewise did neo-Hinduism). Nevertheless, the potential discord was always there between the two communities, partly derived from the past and further accentuated by the relative backwardness of the Muslims *vis-à-vis* the other Community. (The actual manifestation of this communalist discord was felt by Sayyid Ahmad Khān himself soon after the Mutiny when some Hindus demanded the substitution of Hindi for Urdu as the official vernacular.) Not the least among these factors which continued to play an essential role in the history of Indian Communalism was the economic factor, although Professor W. C. Smith has perhaps leaned too heavily on it in his treatment of the subject. In these circumstances the neo-Islam of the Muslim progressives (and so neo-Hinduism) came to play a third political, communal role besides the other two—an intellectual or rather spiritual role against the West and a psychological internal role of lashing the dormant forces into activity. The vast masses of the Muslims remained untouched either by modernity or by Communalism. As for the *'ulemā*, they first opposed modernity until, when they saw the tide was too strong, they either retreated or attempted nominal adjustments to it, as we shall see later. The point to note here is that since they did not conjure up any romantic pictures of the past—knowing it well enough—they took no part in Communalism until, again when they saw later the overwhelming tide, they had to assume it in any future settlement of the Indian political problem.

Leaving politics aside for the time being, let us trace the development of Muslim modernity. With the dissemination of Western education, the progressive Muslims remained intellectually and socially oriented to the West, i.e. they continued to absorb slowly Western thought and continued to accept Western social and moral liberal values as good. Psychologically, however, they were being influenced by the new trends of confidence and even pride in Islam. The formulator and exponent of this new attitude was Sayyid Amīr 'Alī, a Muslim lawyer and historian of Islam who rose to very high legal office under the British Crown. Amīr 'Alī's *The spirit of Islam* (first published, 1891, but revised in subsequent editions incorporating still newer Western ideas) represents the culmination of the Indian Muslim apologetic. Besides this work

he also wrote two other works, *A short history of the Saracens and Islam*. *The spirit of Islam*, partly addressed to the West, is professedly primarily intended for the Indian reader. The attitude exhibited in this work represents a remarkable change from the purely defensive attitude of Sayyid Aḥmad. Amīr 'Alī accepts all the social, moral, and political democratic values of the modern West and identifies them with Islam; he accepts all the individual virtues of a modern leader of a progressive society and attributes them to the Prophet Muḥammad (this was further made easier for him by the perfectionist descriptions of the Prophet in traditional Islam which fact further made it easier for the conservative 'ulemā to accept the new modernist account). Having done this with conviction and boldness, Amīr 'Alī compares early Islam with Christianity at the same period. Early Islamic quasi-democracy is compared with Western despotism, later Islāmic scientific and cultural flowering with the then narrow-mindedness of Christianity, and so on. On the score of the position of the woman, slavery, etc., by showing the improvements Islam made over the previous state of affairs, the trends or principles are abstracted from the letter of the Revelation and the Law. This is done with remarkable skill and considerable plausibility. But the stark fact remains that all this was achieved through adopting *in toto* modern Western standards. Western critics have condemned this method of history-writing as unrealistic and romanticizing. True. But they forget that this history-writing was not perhaps done for its own sake. What were the motives? Partly to show to the West what Islam really was; still more important, to show the young Western-educated Muslim (for at this stage the position in Sayyid Aḥmad's time was reversed: the danger was not that the young Muslim might reject modernity in the name of a traditional faith but vice versa) what his Islam really is or ought to be; and, finally, and far more important, to show absolutely what Islam is or ought to be. This last means, what no critic has pointed out, that besides being a quasi-missionary and apologetic venture, it was—far from being pure history-writing—most really and essentially a judgment on that history in the interests of creating a new one. It was not a judgment upon the modern West (for that we have to wait till later phases) for then it would be a judgment upon itself—a performance, if rare in all history, almost non-existent in modern Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, as we shall see later.

It is obvious that in this attitude which thus reached its fullest and most lucid expression in Amīr 'Alī's hands, there was a deep-seated internal discord, born of an entanglement of conflicting motives. His aggressive anti-Western critique was attitudinally opposed to the Westernism he recommended to the Muslim; his pride in the past history made it difficult for the Muslim to appraise that history justly and therefore to face the present realistically (what was essentially his moral judgment on that history in the interests of creating a new one was regarded as history, as a complete existent fact, and thus created an unrealistic present situation). Of all these motives the most immediately decisive was the apologetic one. How the success of this apologetic drove Modernism in

terms of modern social-moral values into the lap of conservative anti-liberalism, belongs to the next phase which begins roughly with the end of the first decade of the present century.

Whereas the phase represented by *The spirit of Islam* is a genuine development of the earlier one represented by Sir Sayyid Ahmad and, in fact, in face of the subsequent developments, the two are to be regarded as the two phases of the same intellectual stage, there is an important difference between them. Sir Sayyid Ahmad and a large group of his admirers and co-workers had made extensive efforts at a pure thought level to harmonize Muslim metaphysical theology—the foundation of the traditional Islamic *Weltanschauung*—with the modern *Weltanschauung* (in so far as they knew it) born of modern science and philosophies. The latter phase is marked by a total absence of this pure thought activity. Sayyid Amīr ‘Alī himself was a trained lawyer and was neither a theologian nor a thinker. But the causes of this absence are deeper rooted than this fact. For one thing, this apologetic, having identified Islam with the spirit of modern science and thought, was ill suited to the adaptation or adjustment of Islamic thought to modern thought. Secondly, the young Muslim got Western education with the main purpose of obtaining official posts in the Government. The teaching of Western philosophy and of pure science therefore did not go deep enough for the student to realize the higher issues of thought. Here again we see the tragic result of the entanglement of motives in introducing modern education—a result which was nothing less than a frustration of the higher ideals of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān.

Besides all this, of course, insufficient time had elapsed as yet to produce high-level results at Aligarh. Impatient at the lack of progress in this direction, Shibli left Aligarh and joined the Nadvat al-‘ulamā’ at Lucknow—a new academy established with the express purpose of integrating Islamic religious ideals with Western education by a readjustment of curriculum. But this newer institution turned out to be essentially a conservative reaction to modernity, utterly incapable of producing any new school of religious thought, and Shibli’s ventures in this field died with him. The only legacy he left at Nadva was the writing of historical monographs to show the young ‘West-ridden’ Muslim how glorious the Islamic past had been—and this was done with a renewed conservative vigour. Along with this went a new political consciousness crystallizing in the Pan-Islamic Khilāfat Movement.

Western education, coupled with the strong Islamic sentiment which had created a political-communal consciousness with regard to the Hindus (this became formalized by the creation of the Muslim League in 1906) gave the Muslims by 1911–12 a new political vigour which broke their loyalist ties with the British. The Balkan Wars provided the occasion for this. In 1911, Vaqār ul-Mulk, the second successor of Sayyid Ahmad Khān at Aligarh, reversing the latter’s political policy, denounced the British policy of enmity towards the lands of Islam and advised the Indian Muslims to stand on their own feet. Poets and writers composed political and anti-British works. The ‘*ulemā*,

for the first time, organized themselves into an association called the Jam'iyat ul-'Ulamā' which gave theological support to the movement. The most influential of these writers among the Muslim intelligentsia was Abul Kalām Āzād whose periodical *al-Hilāl* played undoubtedly the greatest role in creating the new anti-British political consciousness. The Muslims, in sum, demanded the reintegration of the Muslim dominions and lands within the Ottoman Empire.

The movement was, of course, not only idealistic but utterly romantic for at the time when it occurred the Muslim situation outside India represented local separatist tendencies within the Arab world which in turn proved decisive for the growth of nationalism in Turkey, the centre of the Ottoman Empire. This fact itself reveals the fundamental weakness in the movement—it had little intellectual content: it was primarily an immense emotional outburst of a deep-seated and profound 'Islamic' sentiment against the oppressive foreigner both in *Muslim* India and the Muslim Middle East. Further, it was, perhaps more semi-consciously, a bid for finding Muslim security in a future independent India over against a non-Muslim majority. Indeed, these two are mere aspects of a single whole which aimed at Muslim solidarity and security in general. So powerful was the response evoked by the *Khilāfat* ideology, and so grim the Muslims' determination to achieve it—for they thought it achievable—that Mr. Gandhi incorporated the *Khilāfat* demand into the Indian Nationalist objectives alongside of Indian freedom, thus making the *Khilāfat* movement, i.e. the Indian Muslims, *also* play a role—although a temporary one—in Indian nationalism itself.

This Hindu-Muslim Indian Nationalism had considerable cultural expression especially between 1920 and 1940. The tolerance and humanitarianism of Asoka and of the eclectic and iconoclast *Mughal* Emperor Akbar were associated in the minds of many Hindus and Muslims. The ancient glories of India and the glories of the Muslim rule in India were depicted side by side. Even the ancient Hindu and the classical Urdu literatures were seen by many as having a nationalist meaning. A Muslim commentator on the *divān* of *Ghālīb*—by general consensus the greatest classical Urdu poet, who lived before and after the Mutiny—wrote in the preface to his commentary that India had only two sacred books, the Vedas and the *divān* of *Ghālīb*, and interpreted many of the latter's innocent poems in a nationalist (anti-British) spirit.¹ But all this cultural flirtation remained conspicuously strained and rather artificial for two

¹ Ikram, op. cit., chapter on the reaction to the Aligarh Movement. Both Muslim Indian Nationalism and religious revivalism in this phase were reactions against Western influences of which the Aligarh College was the chief representative. (The two were generally speaking found together as in the case of the general body of the Muslim theologians gathered in the Jam'iyat-ul-'Ulamā' and elsewhere; but sometimes nationalism rejected not only Westernism but also Islam inasmuch as the latter necessarily implied an extra-Indian supernatural reference. This last factor was basic to the Muslims' subsequent rejection of Indian Nationalism.) It was Westernism itself, however, which was responsible in producing both, nationalism in the manner of self-propagation of an idea; religious revivalism as a reaction.

reasons. First, at the social level, the two Communities remained as distant and mutually exclusive as ever and secondly—and this is the root-cause—no religious basis could be found by either Community for a real social-cultural rapprochement. Indeed, this period generally speaking witnessed religious revivalism especially in ethical and social spheres with an increasing anti-Western attitude but also widening the spiritual gulf between the two major Indian Communities.

Educationally, the anti-British and Khilāfat Nationalist period saw the foundation of a new university—the Jāmi'ā Milliyya Islāmiyya (founded in 1920)—a new educative venture to fuse three ideals into a unity—Western education, Islam, and nationalism. It still continues to exist, having survived many crises in its infancy, with the aid of the new Indian Government. Its uniqueness lay in the fact that it set out to produce useful educated Indian Muslims and not merely clerks and officials for the government. It has so far, however, not made any outstanding intellectual contribution to Indian Islam.

The main threads, however, of the intellectual development of Indian Islam span in a different direction; nationalist modes were either quite irrelevant to them or were merely episodes in them or were peripheral to them. Leaving political thought aside for the moment, we shall now trace the development of Islamic Modernism in its third stage. The formulation by Amīr 'Alī of his apologetic—for that is what it really turned out to be in its function within Indian Islam—is a bridge between the first period of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān and the period now under review. The intellectual direction of Amīr 'Alī was a continuation of Sir Sayyid's phase—it aimed at Western liberalism; his psychological orientation, however, was toward the Muslim Community—it was a thrust into the inner emotional life of the Community, restoring to it its self-confidence, pride, etc. The third period, which was pre-eminently characterized by self-confidence by shaking off notions of British political invincibility, took over Amīr 'Alī's psychology, but cast away his orientation to Western liberalism. The reason for this rejection partly lay, of course, in the Modernist apologetic itself—it accepted Western social-moral values *in toto* but gave no deeper intellectual-ethical account of why they should be accepted. The fact that they were simply accepted and identified with Islam was presumably due to the fact that the Modernist thought these values were so obviously and absolutely good that the Muslim would unconditionally adopt them and then, lest he reject Islam in their name, proceeded to identify them with Islam. Indeed, this acceptance of Western society and morality without giving it a higher philosophical basis is similar to the Muslims' (are indeed Asians') acceptance of Western scientific technology without accepting the Western higher scientific mind and cultural values in general.

The development of the new attitudes in Indian Islam which have been described by different names as anti-Western, anti-Westernism, revivalism, etc., is an extremely complex phenomenon and very difficult to describe in precise terms. This is partly due to the complexity of the factors which operated during this stage but partly also because there is no 'development' in a straight-

forward sense—it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the phases of the situation on the one hand and the facets of it on the other. Nevertheless it seems to the present writer that a distinction must be made between the Muslims' reaction to the Westernizing influences within Islam, which I shall call Westernism, and their reactions to the West as such, although, of course, the two are closely allied. I reserve the name Modernism for the trends which seek to integrate Westernism with Islam, irrespective of whether their initiation lies in Islam or in Westernism; the active rejection of Westernism in the name of Islam I shall call revivalism, leaving the name of conservatism for those vast, suspicious but on the whole indifferent and as yet immobile forces of traditional Islam. These broad categories will be useful provided we do not regard them as being absolutely mutually exclusive. Now the reactions above-named obviously represent attitudes to Westernism and not to the West itself. Nonetheless, the Muslims have also attitudes to the West as such, i.e. as it exists as a living, developing socio-intellectual-spiritual complex. Further, it must again be borne in mind that the attitudes to Westernism and to the West, although distinct, are necessarily closely allied.

Roughly speaking, during the period of the Muslim ideologico-dynamic political outburst (say 1912–22) spoken of above, the Muslims' attitude to the West was mainly only political—a bitter condemnation of colonialism. Intellectually, the newer attitudes were reactions against both Westernism and the Modernism of the earlier periods. Against Westernism it was generally urged that it produced so little results intellectually, morally, culturally, and materially. The young Westernized generation was bitterly accused of having fallen far short, in all fields, of the standards of the West. Against early Modernism it was inveighed that it had sold traditional Islamic values much too easily. The chief heroes of this phase are Shibli, Maulānā Abu'l Kalām Āzād, and Muḥammad Iqbāl, although there were many others who took the message influentially down to the lower middle classes. Shibli became anti-Westernist although never an anti-Modernist, but Āzād and Iqbāl were both. Illustrative e.g. of the new attitude is the following sarcasm of Akbar whose poetic epigrams became very famous and influential. Comparing a Western Christian with a Westernized Muslim, he says:

The one (in his race of progress) stopped at his church, but the other over-jumped the Ka'ba;

Faster is the Sheikh's mule than the Western motor-car.

The same with Iqbāl:

Iqbāl asked the Sheikh of the Ḥaram:

Who has gone to sleep beneath the mosque-niche?

And a voice cried from the walls of the mosque:

Who has got lost in the idol-house of the West?

Besides the poetry of Iqbāl, the most influential in this period were the writings of Āzād who attacked not only the modernized Westernism but also the conservative 'ulemā: these were not Muslim enough since they were the

heirs of a Hellenized medieval Islam. Thus a tremendous 'Back to Islam' call was given which stunned both Westernism and Modernism. The young generation had learnt their lesson which for the most part they have been repeating ever since. Such rationalizing Modernism as had existed was almost blotted out and on Amīr 'Alī's psychology was founded a revivalist Islam—especially Islamic ethics interpreted in a purely dynamic and activist sense. To help this ethic a new anti-rationalist purely intuitionist epistemology was constructed (Iqbāl and Āzād).

We need not describe here in detail the doctrines formulated in this revivalist phase—they have been described admirably and exhaustively by Professor W. C. Smith in the second chapter of his *Modern Islam in India* (London, 1946, 55–96). The centre of the revivalist movement was the social ethic of Islam, as we have said, and all the allied fields which had a direct and crucial bearing on this social ethic. In Westernism there were the Western social moral values which came direct and were adopted by Modernism, but there were also many other socio-political doctrines like Socialism and Communism which were permeating Islam and threatened the traditional social equilibrium of the Muslim Community. Against each of these doctrines a wall was created by the new revivalist apologetic by arguments which had the same pattern: Islam did not need these new doctrines because it already had all their good points, and, even more, avoided their excesses and faults.

It is important to remember that this socio-ethical revivalist trend, in so far as it remained directed against Westernism and Modernism, remained at two levels open to Western influences. The first was the level of the practical skills of the West, scientific, technological, administrative, military, etc., which, it was maintained, the Muslims must adopt since they were 'useful' and which in fact it was unavoidable for the Muslims to adopt. The second was the sphere of the purely intellectual thought of the West, which the Muslims, ever since Amīr 'Alī, have regarded as a development of the classical Muslim culture. What retarded the Muslims' cultivation of the intellectualism of the West was not the revivalist's attitude to Westernism but his attitude to the West as we shall presently see when we try, with the help of our categories, to solve the enigma of Iqbāl's attitudes. This explains the fact that the socio-ethical revivalist was in intention and in good faith an intellectual Modernist and even Westernist. The second point to remember in this connexion is that although revivalism inevitably was a source of strength to conservatism, in its intentions it was not conservative, partly because intellectually it encouraged Modernist trends as we have just said but also because by instilling confidence into the Muslim through the restoration of his lost traditional Islamic values, it sought to rouse him to action, even if under the garb of revivalism, for an undefined and unknown future.

The Muslims had adopted an anti-Western attitude since the beginning of the second decade of the present century. But this was purely political: it does not explain the whole anti-Western attitude, however much superficial

observers and especially Western politicians may like to think so. The *practical* morality of colonial exploitation, the horrors wrought by Western nationalism in the First World War, no doubt appalled people, but this is insufficient in explaining the *theoretical* judgments passed by Muslim thinkers on the West. Indeed, not all Muslim revivalists who were patently and inexorably politically anti-Western were also theoretically anti-Western, even though they were vigorously anti-Westernists as well. A striking illustration of this case is Maulānā Abū'l Kalām Āzād. The judgment passed is summed up in the aphorism 'The West is materialist, the East (in this case Islam) is spiritualist'. The monumental formulator and representative of this attitude for Indian Islam is Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl whose position and motivations we shall attempt briefly to analyse here.

In a penetrating analysis of a similar situation in the modern Middle East Professor Sir Hamilton Gibb¹ has pointed out that the force behind this judgment comes from the fact that the Muslims initially took only the materialistic (technological) aspects of Western civilization and further that the classes which took them had been already materialistic in pre-modern Islam. This double materialism evoked the above judgment. In our terminology this judgment upon Westernism was transferred to the West. This analysis tells a great deal and I must emphasize here, as I have done before, that anti-Westernism and anti-Westism are closely allied, and, indeed, in the eyes of those who do not know the West closely and at first hand, the two are inevitably identical. It is also absolutely true that the materialism resulting from Westernism among Muslims is far more prodigious than that obtaining in the West, divorced as the former is from the moral values of its parent. But again, this analysis will not explain the whole situation. For one thing, the revivalists in Indian Islam were not slow in pointing out (cf. above, quotations from Akbar and Iqbāl) that the child was *practically* much worse than its progenitor. Further, these thinkers knew the utter moral depravity of the native materialist even in pre-modern times. And yet the *theoretical* judgment was passed by Iqbāl not on the child but on the parent. So sweeping and transcendentalist, indeed, was this judgment that the obvious moral assets of the West, a devotion to duty, a sense of responsibility, and honesty to the extent of self-criticism and self-analysis on the part of the higher Western thought counted for nothing. Even the more realistic and sober voice of some thinkers ('Ubaid Ullāh Sindhī and others) who maintained that you cannot cut the West into halves taking the one and rejecting the other, has been so far almost completely drowned.

According to our analysis two factors have produced this judgment by Iqbāl, one intellectual and the other purely psychological. On his return to India from a period of study in England and Germany in 1908, Iqbāl brought two things with him—one was a great approval of and intense interest in the intellectual dynamism of the West which had resulted in immense achievements in all fields, the other a great revulsion against and denunciation of

¹ *La réaction contre la culture occidentale dans le Proche Orient*, Paris, 1951.

Western nationalism. Henceforth he developed the two central concepts of his philosophy—that of *Khudī*, the realization and expansion of Self-hood, and that of '*Ishq*' (a term borrowed from Sufism), the principle by which *Khudī* is to be realized. In order to judge the worth of any individual, society, or civilization he tested it on this principle of '*Ishq*', much in the same way as Sir Sayyid had earlier applied his principle of 'Conformity to Nature'. '*Ishq*' is a poetic term and it is difficult to give a precise definition of it. But from all Iqbāl said, it can be gathered that it is a principle of *spiritual synthetic creativity*. He judged both traditional Islam and the modern West by it and proclaimed ceaselessly that whereas Muslim society lacked creativity and dynamism, the modern West lacked the spiritual and synthetic side. Looking at classical Christianity he declared that it was spiritual but, being entirely other-worldly, it lacked creativity and could not act in history. It was early Islam alone which had both and henceforth he untiringly called people to Islam—'real' Islam which had spiritual ideals but none of the paralysing, world-denying ethics which Sufism later introduced into it. He therefore lashed with scorn both medieval Islam and the West.

The Western critics of Iqbāl (and of equivalent Eastern attitudes) have pointed out that it is quite erroneous to say that the West has no spiritual and moral principles and ideals and that such Eastern thinkers have failed to look deeply into Western culture. It seems to the present writer that the two sides are not talking in the same terms at all. What Iqbāl and other similar thinkers want is an *a-prioristic* transcendental synthetic ideal, whereas what the West can offer are only empirical inductive *a-posterioristic* principles which pale beneath the dignity of the Eastern demand. Ever since the time when the West by its critical and analytical methods was launched on a dynamic career, it has tried to balance its expansionism with working moral syntheses and inductive principles which is the only thing it can do. But men like Iqbāl do not want working syntheses, but a Synthesis. We are in fact face to face with an intellectual maladjustment on the part of men like Iqbāl. No Indian Muslim thinker has emphasized so much as Iqbāl in his *Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam* inductivism and empiricism: indeed Iqbāl claims there that the finality of Muḥammad's Prophetic mission consists precisely in the fact that Islam was the harbinger of the inductive reason. And yet so deep is the hold of the traditional outlook that when really faced with the consequences of the post-critical methods of thought, these thinkers flee in retreat to the same old *a-priorism* with the cry that the East is truly synthetic and truly spiritual. The East is synthetic simply because it is pre-critical and pre-analytic.

Psychologically, there was much force in the cries for this *a-prioristic* transcendentalist idealism, and it gave a unique pride and drive to the young Muslim to go forward with the urgent task of building a new society, an ideally Islamic society. We shall study this when speaking of Pakistan.

The foregoing analysis of Iqbāl's thought and motivations also helps to

explain his contradictory stand on the West. Actually, he did not always address the West as such alone but Westernism as well. Thus when he says in his first Lecture that the Muslim world is intellectually moving Westward with rapidity and encourages this movement, he is primarily addressing Westernism. He is therefore, so far, intellectually a Modernist, although ethically a revivalist, as we have seen. But when addressing the West, he condemned its intellectualism in such strong terms, that he positively discouraged intellectual Westernism and so Modernism—an ironical lesson indeed. And it is also a related irony, of no less import, that the book which set out to reconstruct religious thought for the would-be Modernist, should, by what it actually says, leave little room for thought at all.

A curious religious phenomenon in Indian Islam has been the development of the Aḥmadiya sect. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad who founded it at the turn of this century first attracted the attention of some religious liberals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by his polemics against the Christian missionaries. He attacked the doctrine of the Assumption of Jesus (a doctrine held also by orthodox Islam and attacked also by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān) and subsequently claimed for himself the office of the Promised Messiah. He also claimed to be a manifestation (*burūz*) of Muḥammad with a new quasi-revelation without new Shari'a. He further claimed to be a reincarnation of Krishna for the Hindus. After the split that occurred in the sect in 1912 at the election of the second and present Aḥmadi Khalifa (a son of the founder), a minority of the more liberal group rejected the doctrine of the prophetic mission of the founder and moved nearer to orthodox Islam under the name of the Lahore Aḥmadiya. Considerable attention has been paid by Western scholars to the vigorous missionary activity of both the groups in the West and especially in Africa where they are proving successful rivals of the Christian missionaries.

The main body of the Aḥmadiya, with their headquarters in Pakistan, although a small minority in Islam, have been very ably organized by their present pontiff into a separatist religio-social sect. Although the party has had no political differences with the Muslims, their religious attitude, which declares all non-Aḥmadi Muslims to be outside Islam, generated a fierce popular demand early in 1953 that the Government should declare Aḥmadis a non-Muslim minority. This movement was outwardly quelled, but continues to smoulder.

After the collapse of Hindu-Muslim political co-operation, Communalism developed rapidly in India; a decade after the collapse the idea of a separate state of Pakistan for the Muslims was mooted; in 1940 the Muslim League adopted it and so in 1947 Pakistan¹ came into existence. Henceforth, the

¹ Before the idea of Pakistan actually crystallized and was accepted by the majority of the Muslims, a semi-militaristic semi-social religious movement called the Khāksār Movement had gained wide popularity in Northern India. The ideology of the Khāksārs, formulated by their leader, 'Ināyat-Ullāh Khān Mashriqī, although vague in its goal, aimed at creating an Islamic Nationalism (almost Fascism) which it directly deduced from the Qur'anic verse 'You shall

central theme of the Pakistan intellectuals has been to determine what Pakistan means, or rather, since the (so far unfinished)¹ constitution has declared for an Islamic Republic, what an Islamic Republic means.

It is obvious that in so far as this term—Islamic Republic—expresses a genuine concept, i.e. has an intellectual content as a whole, the idea is new.² For in the past Islam as a state concept has existed but no republicanism (in the modern sense of the word) existed, while now republics exist but Islam as a state concept does not. Since, however, the concept has not yet become an actuality, it is too early to say what content it will have. Meanwhile, the two groups—the political Revivalists and the pure Westernists—think that the term as a whole has no meaning; while the Modernist alone holds with fervour that the term is meaningful.

Of these three groups the pure and Secularist Westernists are in an extremely small minority. Further, there is no outstanding intellectual exponent of this school in Pakistan who could be named and his views described. The general stand of a Secularist, of course, is that religion as such has nothing to do with matters of polity and statecraft. Sometimes, however, a Secularist is tempted to proclaim that *Islam* as a religion does not concern itself with the affairs of the state which it leaves free to go its own way. When a Secularist makes such a statement as this—quite in the spirit of the authors of the Turkish Republic—he elusively leaves pure Secularism and enters into a form of Modernism or quasi-Secularism. Indeed, it is very difficult sometimes to find out whether a particular person is a Secularist or a Modernist.

Of the Revivalist group, which comprises the '*ulemā*' and a very large section of the educated middle and especially lower middle classes, the most rigorous and lucid exponent is Abu'l A'ālā Maudūdī, head of the Jamā'at-i-Islāmī, a widely influential although not politically powerful group which resembles the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. Maudūdī's position is not to be identified completely with the main body of the '*ulemā*', for although the two agree with regard to the relation between religion and the state, Maudūdī allows a re-interpretation of *Fiqh* or the Canon Law whereas the '*ulemā*' in general stick to its medieval formulation (although even in this field Maudūdī who was much more liberal in the thirties has recently moved closer to the conservative position).

According to Maudūdī the term Islamic Democracy is a contradiction in terms. To recognize the people's right to legislate for themselves is to commit *shirk* (the worst possible sin of associating anyone with God) for to legislate belongs to Allah alone. As an illustration of the disastrous moral effects of

be supreme, provided you have Faith' (in Islam). This movement actually opposed the idea of Pakistan and ridiculed the Muslim League but lost its force in the early forties partly due to successive government suppressions and partly due to the fact that its *raison d'être* was really taken over by Pakistan.

¹ Since this essay was written the Constitution has been completed and adopted.

² See W. C. Smith, *Pakistan as an Islamic state*, Lahore, 1951; B. Lewis, 'The concept of an Islamic republic', *Die Welt des Islams*, NS, IV, 1, 1955, 1-9.

democracy he points to the anti-alcoholic legislation in America and its subsequent reversal. (There seems to be some confusion between the recognition of moral values or principles and the actual legislation.) On the positive side Maudūdī has nothing to offer but a Caliph (elected by the people) and his advisory council. Thus the man who denies the community as a whole the right to legislate ultimately vests this right in one individual. His rigid formalism led him to allow Islamically the citizens of Pakistan to become disloyal to the present State, which in his eyes is as un-Islamic as any, and also led him to jail.

Against the pure and ultra-theocratic revivalism of Maudūdī (who has been very vocal and satisfyingly and convincingly 'logical' to himself and his followers, although ignoring the logic of the concrete flesh and blood of history) in whose politico-social ideology conservative Islam has found perhaps the fullest formal expression in Islamic history, stands the ruling Modernist who has been unable so far to elaborate his stand intellectually, i.e. to integrate traditional Islam with modern values. Indeed, the strength of Maudūdī's case and the power he has over the public in general are due, not to the fact that he is right, but to the intellectual failure of the Modernist whose task is, besides, obviously much more difficult than that of the conservative. The roots of this inability lie in Iqbal himself who, in face of the West, pushed his revivalist idealism so far that it had actually no content. Transcendental ideals, of course, are without content, and by themselves can have only a moral-psychological meaning, but to divorce transcendental ideals from positive values is to invite disaster in the long run. This is precisely why the Modernist has failed to integrate positive values with the transcendental idealism and his intellectual performance *vis-à-vis* the conservative revivalist has been negative. He has tried to show that Islam is not theocratic (and the only meaning he can give to theocracy is rule by a priestly class). He has ceaselessly insisted on *ijtihād* which he hopes he will perform in the future or, rather, which he hopes will be performed in the future, while ignoring or brushing aside or even suppressing the *ijtihād* of the conservative.

In these circumstances, the term 'Islamic' in the phrase 'Islamic Democracy' has only a moral-psychological meaning, or else it is equivalent to the term 'Muslim Democracy' or even just 'Democracy' both of which the Modernist says it is not. However, even if it has a moral-psychological meaning, that meaning will gradually vaporize, even if it is not vaporizing already, with perhaps dangerous consequences, unless the term is given a real meaning. A great challenge is thrown to Modernism by the report of the Enquiry Court (published in 1954, subsequent to the 1953 disturbances) which declared the two alternatives of an Islamic State or a democracy. Or shall the Modernist show a *volte-face* to the public and to the world? In actual fact, the Modernist is adopting the politico-social values of positive modernity, which, besides, is inevitable. But since these values were initially divorced from, and rejected in the name of, the transcendental idealism by romantic

Modernism itself, the Modernist finds, above all, a psychological difficulty in reconciling the two and in Islamically expressing his positive objectives. This inability naturally puts him in the light of a Secularist Westernist in the eyes of the public and the pure Revivalist who are not slow in branding him even as a hypocrite. This phenomenon in its turn necessarily retards the process of practical modernization itself. In sum, if the ethos of Pakistan is to survive, let alone prosper and bear fruit, the term 'Islamic Republic' must be given a real content, i.e. the Modernist must express Islam and express it in terms of progressive objectives, or else be swallowed up in all sorts of extremes—Revivalism, Communism, etc.—it is impossible to predict which of them may be successful.

Since no Indian Muslim in the post-partition period has intellectually expressed Muslim attitudes in that country, it is difficult for the writer to say anything definite on that subject. The Pakistani Muslims have expressed themselves copiously about it and what they have said is that Islam is being consumed there by a resurgent Hinduism: they have even retold the end of Islam in India. The obvious course, however, which the Indian Muslims seem to be taking is to try to make the avowed secular democracy of India a real secular democracy—which will be a unique situation in Islam but which the writer regards as neither impracticable nor necessarily disadvantageous. Failing that,¹ however, what alternative may supervene is again unpredictable—Communism, a new upheaval for another Pakistan, or an unending civil war.

Apart from the questions of political ideology, which have not yet been resolved—most Pakistanis passionately entertain the desire, and even some hope, of a comprehensive unity, if not actual union, of the whole Muslim world in the long run, although this desire has latterly found little intellectual expression—Indo-Pakistan Islam has not produced any new serious thought after Iqbal on religious, social, moral, and cultural issues. So far as the lay Islamist is concerned, he has pushed the attitude of Iqbal to its logical extremes. While discussing Iqbal's multivalence, we noted that while he rejected Western ethics and society generally, he was, at the intellectual level, still a Modernist Westernist, although we noted too that by declaring Western thought to be basically void of spiritual direction, he had necessarily discouraged intellectual or philosophical Westernism as well. The most salient feature of the subsequent outlook has been a total rejection of Western intellectualism in favour of a new future intellectualism of Islam. The most striking illustration of this attitude which may be called neo-Modernism is afforded by a man of no less a status than Chaudhri Muhammad 'Ali, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan.² His outstanding administrative gifts and single-mindedness of purpose not only won him his position but have given him a very considerable place in the intellectual life of present-day Pakistan. In a forceful Iqbal Day speech (published by the

¹ For a general picture of the state of Muslim affairs in India see S. A. Kamali's 'Muslims in India since partition', *Muslim World*, XLV, 1, 1955.

² Chaudhri Muhammad 'Ali resigned from office in the autumn of 1953.

Iqbāl Academy of Lahore in 1952) entitled 'The task before us', he vehemently denounced all the modern Western currents of thought—rationalism, positivism, humanism, etc., in the simple name of 'Islam'. What may be the materials of the future Islamic intellectualism, what its approaches and what its possible goals, is not indicated at all, but a strong appeal is made to the Muslim to cast aside all that Western intellectualism stands for and start afresh to build a new Islamic intellectual culture. What all this means nobody can tell and it is the last job of an historian to tell except to note that this attitude, if seriously meant, does away not only with the present West but also with much that contains the best fruits of the intellectual endeavours of historical Islam.

At bottom, this attitude is really symptomatic of a deep retirement, of an acute reflexive turn in the Muslim mind. It negates all the positive content of Islam in the name of the same transcendentalism of which we spoke in connexion with Iqbāl; only this transcendentalism has now fully occupied the intellectual field, as well as the ethical. It is therefore not a pure accident that after Iqbāl (and largely due to him) no intellectual Modernist has arisen. Indeed, the term neo-Modernism employed above describes not an intellectual movement but the new attitude, or rather, the new attitude plus the intellectual void existing at present. The most ominous aspect of the present situation, of course, is that while all the trends of the modern West are being repudiated, it is these very trends which are being introduced in the Universities: Westernism is going ahead alongside of the rejection of the West. But Modernism—the attempt at meaningfully integrating Westernism with Islam—has been explicitly jettisoned in favour of an 'Islamic' neo-Modernism of the future of whose genesis there is as yet no trace to be seen. Thus, although the attitudinal gap between the lay Modernist and the Conservative has become much narrower, the chasm between the secular and Westernizing trends on the one hand and traditional Islam on the other is becoming dangerously wide. But perhaps intellectual barrenness is not the only important aspect of the present situation, the new attitude may prove of great significance for the future.

THE STRUCTURE OF KUSEMAI 曲舞

By P. G. O'NEILL

'KUSEMAI' was the name given to a particular type of musical entertainment which flourished in Japan, mainly around Kyōto and Nara, in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.¹ The name implies dances (*mai*) which were peculiar and unconventional (*kuse*), but the peculiarity of the performances lay not so much in the dance as in the music. The musical style of Kusemai put overwhelming emphasis on the beat at the expense of melody, and the novel effect to which this gave rise was sufficient, it seems, to warrant the rather disparaging name. The dance itself was of very minor importance and probably consisted of little more than the performer turning and stamping in time to the music. In Kusemai the song was more important than the dance, and the music of the song more important than the words.

Kusemai were performed primarily by professional groups which specialized in the entertainment. Although these groups sometimes included women as well as men and boys and, in at least one case, consisted entirely of women, all the performers dressed as men, like the Shirabyōshi entertainers from whom they derived. In addition to minor public performances given wherever a worthwhile audience could be found, Kusemai were regularly presented on floats forming part of the procession in Gion ceremonies in Kyōto and other places and, like Sarugaku and Dengaku, the two greatest entertainments of the time, were also given in the private mansions of the nobility and, less frequently, at big 'subscription' (*kanjin*) performances open to all classes on payment of fixed entrance fees. By 1374, however, the Kusemai style of song and dance had been studied by Kan-ami Kiyotsugu (1333-84), the head of the Kanze group of Sarugaku players from the province of Yamato, and independent pieces in that style included in the performances of his group as additional attractions. This led later to Kusemai being also incorporated in Nō plays which, with comic Kyōgen pieces, were the main items in Sarugaku and Dengaku performances. It was common then, as it is now, for short songs and dances to be given at Nō performances in order to provide variety, and a number of musical and literary forms besides Kusemai have found their way into the composition of Nō plays. The adoption of Kusemai into Sarugaku,

¹ The characters 曲舞 with which the name Kusemai came normally to be written have also been found used on occasions of Bugaku dances and Kōwaka-mai (see Toda Matsusaburō, 'Kusemai no kenkyū', *Engokishi kenkyū*, II, 1932, 21-2). When he did not use *kana*, Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) always used the above character 曲 to write the word *kuse*, but as the *Manzai Jugō nikki* spells it phonetically with Chinese characters in an entry for 1427 (quoted in Kobayashi, *Nōgaku shiryō*, 70), there was evidently no universally accepted way of writing 'Kusemai' at any rate by the first half of the fifteenth century. See Iwahashi Koyata, *Nihon geinō-shi*, 1951, 45, on the various ways in which the name was written.

however, had uniquely important results. Not only did the texts of Kusemai provide the writers of Nō plays with yet another source of story and quotation, but a passage based on Kusemai came to be included in most Nō plays at their most important point and to contain, almost without exception, the main account of the subject-matter of the play. Of perhaps even greater importance was the contribution made by the distinctive musical style of Kusemai. This was at first kept apart from the softer, more melodic music traditionally used in Sarugaku, but it gradually infused this with colour and vitality until the music of Nō became a perfect blend of the two styles. Only the four main groups of Yamato Sarugaku followed Kan-ami's lead in using Kusemai music to any appreciable extent, and this means that the success of the new element in the Sarugaku presented by those groups can be ranked with patronage and a succession of gifted players as a major factor in their victory over their Sarugaku and Dengaku rivals and their survival to the present day.

There is thus good reason to investigate fully all aspects of Kusemai and their use in Sarugaku, but it is intended to present below only what can be discovered about the original structure of Kusemai pieces and, in so doing, to show something of the way in which such independent musical and literary forms were modified for inclusion in Nō plays.

The names of more than a dozen Kusemai written for use as independent items in Sarugaku performances are known from the writings on the art of Nō for which Kan-ami's son Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) was responsible,¹ but perhaps no more than three of them can claim to have survived without having been preserved in some form within Nō plays. These are *Tōgoku-kudari*,² *Saikoku-kudari*, and, possibly, *Taishi*.³ Virtually all the Kusemai current in

¹ These are henceforth referred to collectively as the 'Writings' and are regarded as comprising the articles edited by Kawase Kazuma in his (*Tōchū*) *Zeami nyūsambu-shū*, 1945, although, strictly speaking, not all of them were written down by Zeami himself. For convenience, page references have been given to this single-volume work only, but comparison with Nose Asaji's two-volume *Zeami jūrokubu-shū hyōshaku*, 1944, is assumed throughout.

² Also referred to in the 'Writings' as *Kudō-kudari*. Although Sanari Kentarō (*Yōkyoku taikan*, VII, 62) states that there is no Nō containing this Kusemai, the *Kokon yōkyoku kaidai*, 482, and Nonomura Kaizō ('Genkō kakuryū Rankyoku-kō', *Nōen nissō*, 108) both give *Ōsaka monogurui* as such a play. The text of this play was not available to me, but the self-contained nature of *Tōgoku-kudari*, its unsuitable length for inclusion intact in a Nō play (the *Kokon yōkyoku kaidai* remarks that *Ōsaka monogurui* is 'an extraordinarily long piece'), the fact that *Saikoku-kudari*, to which it is very similar, has not been so used, and Zeami's quotation of the first lines of these pieces in the 'Go-on' (Kawase, op. cit., 218), leave no doubt that the present Rankyoku texts are the original ones and not, as so many are, extracts from Nō plays.

³ The long quotation in the 'Go-on' (Kawase, op. cit., 215) which is described as *Taishi*, one of the Kusemai telling the story of Prince Shōtoku, corresponds to the whole *kuse* section, consisting of *kuri*, *sashi*, and *kuse* proper, of the Nō *Jōrū Taishi*. The impression given by the description, that Zeami was perhaps quoting the whole of the Kusemai and not part of the Nō, is therefore somewhat doubtful. (Although the Nō is not now performed, the text is given in the *Yōkyoku sōsho*, II, 1914-15, and in the *Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū*, Nihon meicho zenshū series, XXIX, 1928. The present Rankyoku *Jōrū Taishi* omits the line which forms the *kuri* in the play and which is the beginning of the *sashi* according to Zeami.)

Sarugaku were absorbed into or, in many cases, made into, Nō plays. In their present form some of Kan-ami's plays contain Kusemai or, as they have come to be called when occurring within Nō plays, *kuse*.¹ In view of the frequency with which plays were amended, however, it is impossible to say with certainty whether they were put there by him or, what comes to almost the same thing, whether Kusemai were ever used in Nō plays during his lifetime.² From the time of Zeami, at any rate, they came to be used so extensively within the plays that, of the 240 or so in the present repertoires, only 70 do not have a *kuse* section.³ Some *kuse* are quite unconnected in content with the plays of which they form part and these are therefore thought to be closely based on Kusemai current at the time the plays were written. Since most *kuse* contain the main account of the story of their particular play, however, they must either have been written specially for the plays like the other sections in them, or the plays themselves built around original Kusemai.⁴ In addition to the *kuse* in Nō plays all the present-day schools of Nō have a number of short songs which, being of especial musical merit, are used as solo pieces and known as Kusemai or Rankyoku, according to the school.⁵ There are a number of collections of these pieces, dating from the first half of the seventeenth century onwards,⁶ but since they consist almost entirely of *kuse* sections extracted from plays, they are seldom of use on the question of the original form of Kusemai and are sometimes positively misleading.⁷

It is not to be expected that Kusemai should have been used in Nō plays without their original structure being frequently modified. But among the approximately 170 *kuse* in the plays of the present Nō repertoires, to say

¹ Hereafter, the term 'Kusemai' is used to mean only the independent pieces and '*kuse*' the forms found within Nō plays.

² But the quotation in the 'Go-on' (Kawase, op. cit., 216) of a line from a piece called *Ri Fujin*, which was set to music by Kan-ami, proves to be the same as the beginning of the *sashi* preceding the *kuse* in Zeami's play *Hana-gatami*. *Ri Fujin* is not described in the 'Go-on' as a Kusemai and if it were a Nō play, like most of the other pieces quoted there that are not so described, this would be some indication that Zeami used in his play the *kuse* from the Nō *Ri Fujin* and, therefore, that *kuse* were used in plays before the death of Kan-ami.

³ According to Nogami Toyochirō, *Kan-ami Kiyotsugu*, 1939, 134. There and in the following pages he also gives figures concerning the use of *kuse* in each of the five traditional groups of Nō plays.

⁴ This was the view of the writer of the *Sarugaku denki* (written in the early eighteenth century; contained in *Enseki jissshu*, 1) who stated that the 66 pieces performed by Hata no Kōkatsu for Prince Shōtoku (572-621) were Kusemai and that they were made into Nō by the addition of other sung parts at the beginning and end. Although this latter theory has often been dismissed, it is undoubtedly what happened to many Kusemai.

⁵ The Kanze, Hōshō, and Komparu schools use the name 'Rankyoku' for their pieces, and the Kongō and Kita schools 'Kusemai'. Strictly speaking, Rankyoku is a wider term since it means 'advanced, developed musical pieces'; but as nearly all the pieces chosen for their musical quality and ability to stand alone are the *kuse* sections of plays, Rankyoku and Kusemai are almost synonymous as used in present-day Nō.

⁶ See Takano Tatsuyuki, *Nishon engeki no kenkyū*, II, 1928, 156.

⁷ As mentioned above, the Rankyoku *Jōgū Taishū*, for example, omits part of the introduction to the *kuse* proper. It is therefore usually preferable to refer to the full text of the play when one is known to exist.

nothing of those in plays no longer performed, there must clearly be some which preserve very closely the original form of the independent Kusemai from which they derived. In deciding which these are, the two or three Kusemai thought to be extant in their original form and Zeami's statements that Kusemai began and ended with a *shidai*¹ and were in two parts (*ni-dan*)² should provide useful evidence. On examination, however, the problem is far from straightforward. In the first place, *kuse* vary very widely in their structure.³ The fullest form of the whole *kuse* section consists of *shidai*, *kuri*, *sashi*,⁴ the *kuse* proper (a longish song by the chorus, in the course of which the main actor usually interpolates once or twice a short line known as the *ageha*), and, finally, the first *shidai* repeated. The form with two *ageha* is known as a two-*dan kuse*, but no more than four plays in the present repertoires have it complete; another has it complete except that it contains only a one-*dan kuse* (that is, there is only one *ageha*); and five have *kuse* with two *ageha* but are deficient in some respect in the other forms. More than 95, or well over half, of the *kuse* in Nō have no *shidai* and consist only of *kuri*, *sashi*, and one-*dan kuse*. The remainder have *kuse* sections in even more abbreviated forms. Secondly, two of the three Kusemai thought to exist still in their original forms have structures different from anything found elsewhere and from what Zeami described: *Tōgoku-kudari* consists of *kuri*, *sashi*, *kuse* with two *ageha*, *sashi*, and *kuse* with four *ageha*; and *Saikoku-kudari* consists of *sashi*, *kuse* with three *ageha*, *sashi*, and another section with three *ageha*. Finally, Zeami's descriptions of the structure of Kusemai are open to several interpretations. It is not always certain, for example, what type of Kusemai he was discussing in any particular passage since he applied the same name to the independent form, both within and without Sarugaku, and to *kuse* within Nō plays. Talking of the construction of Nō plays in the 'Nōsakusho',⁵ for example, he recommended certain numbers of lines for 'Kusemai' (that is, *kuse*) consisting of *kuri*, *sashi*, and a one-*dan kuse*. Then, immediately after a reference to *Hyakuman* and *Yamauba* in the same work,⁶ he mentioned that Kusemai should have two parts (*ni-dan*), the second of which should be in quick tempo, and again made it clear that he meant the form within a Nō play. It was presumably

¹ 'Sarugaku dangi' (Kawase, op. cit., 295). The short song known as *shidai* which is found in present-day Nō consists of two lines of 7 and 5 syllables which are then repeated and followed by two more lines, usually of 7 and 4 syllables; see below, however, on the question of what Zeami meant by the term *shidai*.

² *ibid.* and 'Nōsakusho' (*ibid.*, 115).

³ See Toda, op. cit., 41-2, for details of the numbers of Nō having different types of *kuse*. (*Tōgan koji*, however, has an *ichi-dan kuse* and not the fuller type of *kuse* as he indicates.) For the various types of *kuse* and the names given to them, see also such works as the introduction by Nonomura to *Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū*, 46-7.

⁴ The *kuri* and *sashi* are of no fixed length and are sung out of time to the musical accompaniment, unlike the *kuse* itself. The *sashi* is not so much sung as delivered as a kind of chant or recitative.

⁵ Kawase, op. cit., 113.

⁶ *ibid.*, 115.

this form that was meant too when the 'Sarugaku dangi'¹ said the same thing and added that a Kusemai should begin and end with a *shidai*. But, on the face of it, the above statements are contradictory. *Hyakuman* and *Yamauba* are Nō plays but they do not have *kuse* sections consisting only of *kuri*, *sashi*, and a one-*dan kuse*; and *shidai* forming part of a *kuse* section are to be found in only a handful of plays and in none of those with texts still existing in Zeami's own hand.² And if it is said that *Hyakuman* and *Yamauba* are special cases in that their *kuse* sections were intended as representations of actual Kusemai performances and that their use of *shidai* to begin and end their *kuse* sections therefore indicates that this was the structure of true Kusemai, one is immediately faced with the difficulty that none of the three extant 'reliable' Kusemai has *shidai* at all. Further difficulties arise from doubts about the meaning of terms used by Zeami in the 'Writings'. His statement that Kusemai began and ended with *shidai* and had two *dan* is often quoted without discussion, but Toda, one of the very few writers to consider the question of the structure of Kusemai in any detail, raised the question of what exactly he meant by *shidai* and *dan*.³ *Shidai*, he suggests, may not have had the limited sense it has in Nō to-day, but may have meant some musical form or some kind of introductory song of no fixed length. And *ni-dan*, he points out, is capable of at least three interpretations: it may have meant a *kuse* with two *ageha*, the same, that is, as what is now known as a *ni-dan kuse*; the sections before and after one *ageha* in what is now known as an *ichi-dan kuse*; or two large-scale sections forming one long piece as in *Tōgoku-kudari* and *Saikoku-kudari*. In view of the range of possibilities which these doubts open up and the wide variation among the forms of Kusemai as now known, Toda concluded that a decision about the original structure of Kusemai would have to await new evidence.⁴

While it may be true that no conclusion on this point can as yet be wholly certain, a reasonable decision does seem possible on the evidence available provided it is realized that the mutilated forms in which Kusemai, having been used as *kuse*, are now usually found make it impossible to expect any marked degree of uniformity among them. First, however, some of the outstanding points mentioned above must be resolved. The most important of these concerns Zeami's accounts of the structure of what he described as Kusemai. What exactly he meant by the term *ni-dan* is not easily determined, but it can be said that he used the word *shidai* to mean the same short song of three couplets that is found under that name in Nō to-day. The lines he quotes under this

¹ *ibid.*, 295.

² That is, the texts of the seven plays given by Kawase in his *Zeami jihitsu densho-shū*, 1943. Five of these have *kuse* but all are *ichi-dan kuse* with no *shidai*. (To be exact, one of the five plays in question, a version of *Yoro-boshi*, is not in Zeami's own hand, but is a copy made in 1711 of a text written by Zeami.)

³ *op. cit.*, 42-4.

⁴ *ibid.*, 44.

heading in the 'Writings'¹ and in his own handwritten Nō texts² leave no doubt of this. Then there is the broader question of Zeami's accounts themselves. Since there would have been no object in his describing a form completely outside Sarugaku, he must, strictly speaking, have had either Sarugaku Kusemai or *kuse* in mind when he was describing the structure of Kusemai; but the former can confidently be taken as identical with true Kusemai since Sarugaku players would have had no reason to modify the usual Kusemai structure in pieces intended to be given as separate items. Examination of the Nō texts extant in Zeami's own hand shows that not one of those with a *kuse* has a *shidai* as part of that section, and it can therefore be safely assumed that he did not intend the full Kusemai structure to be applied to the ordinary run of *kuse* in Nō, and that he disposed of this section of a Nō play by his account of the *kuri*, *sashi*, one-*dan kuse* form in the earlier part of the 'Nōsakusho'.³ *Hyakuman* and *Yamauba*, which are mentioned just before the later 'Nōsakusho' account of the Kusemai structure to which they conform,⁴ can therefore be looked on as exceptional cases in that it was intended to represent true Kusemai within these plays. This view, moreover, is hardly invalidated by the absence of *shidai* in 'reliable' Kusemai because *Tōgoku-kudari* and *Saikoku-kudari* were, I suggest, not Kusemai at all in their written form. Their length alone sets them apart from any other known Kusemai or *kuse* and, even allowing for doubt about the meaning of the term *ni-dan* as used by Zeami, they are at variance with his account of the Kusemai structure by having no *shidai*, either at the beginning or end. *Tōgoku-kudari* was written by Rin-ami while he was in exile in the eastern part of Japan⁵ and was later put to music by Nan-ami.⁶ These circumstances add greatly to the likelihood that what was set to music in a Kusemai style itself softer than that of true Kusemai⁷ was merely a long poetic description of Rin-ami's journey which followed no fixed pattern of composition. Because the venture was successful, the sister piece written by him later was similarly set to music by Kan-ami.⁸ The composers could provide *kuri*, *sashi*, and *kuse* sections from the texts as these were distinguished by different styles of music and singing, but the *shidai*, which consisted of a definite metrical arrangement, had necessarily

¹ 'Go-on' (Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambu-shū*, 202, 214).

² See, for example, Kawase, *Zeami jihitsu densho-shū*, 159, 223.

³ Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambu-shū*, 113.

⁴ *ibid.*, 115.

⁵ 'Sarugaku dangi' (*ibid.*, 296). Rin-ami was also known as Tama-rin, but Kobayashi ('Tama-rin kō', *Muromachi nōgaki*) pointed out that this was probably only a nickname descriptive of the first character 𠄎 of his name Rin-ami, used to distinguish him from a contemporary who had the same name written with a different first character.

⁶ 'Go-on' (Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambu-shū*, 217, 219) and 'Sarugaku dangi' (*ibid.*, 296). Little is known about Nan-ami, who died in 1381, but he seems to have been one of the artistic coterie which the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu gathered about him. It is clear from references in the 'Writings' that he had considerable musical skill and was a good counsellor to Kan-ami and his son.

⁷ 'Go-on' (*ibid.*, 217).

⁸ 'Go-on' (*ibid.*, 217, 219), and 'Sarugaku dangi' (*ibid.*, 296).

to be omitted. Although these two pieces were sometimes referred to in the 'Writings' as *Kusemai*, the way in which Zeami mentioned them in the 'Go-on'¹ lends weight to the view that they were characteristic of *Kusemai* only to some extent in their musical setting. Unlike the other three pieces making up the five he listed there as the *Kusemai* written between the Ōan and Shitoku periods, the two in question do not have '*Kusemai*' or '*Fushi-Kusemai*'² as part of their titles. And when Zeami went on to say that the two pieces '*. . . tada Rin-a sakusho to shite, Nan-a Kanze no fushi-zuke nari*', he surely intended the otherwise puzzling *tada* to give the meaning that they were 'just writings [i.e. not real *Kusemai*] by Rin-ami which were set to music by Nan-ami and Kan-ami'.³ Finally, the alternation of lines of five and seven syllables in these two pieces, with only occasional variation is by no means usual in *kuse*, which are notoriously irregular,⁴ a further indication that the texts were not intended in the first place as *Kusemai*.

Having removed the stumbling-block of the two pieces by Rin-ami and established that, according to Zeami, *Kusemai* contained the known form of the *shidai*, it is possible to gather together three groups of pieces each of which should contain some with forms close to that of an independent *Kusemai*. The first group consists of *kuse* with *shidai* at the beginning and end as Zeami stated or, allowing for some shortening when the *Kusemai* form was used in plays, with one *shidai* only. The second consists of *kuse* which can be shown to have been based on *Kusemai* mentioned in the 'Writings' and which are therefore likely to be close to the original *Kusemai* form. The third consists of *kuse* which were intended to represent performances of *Kusemai* within the plays themselves.⁵ If pieces which qualify for inclusion in more than one group

¹ *ibid.*, 218-19.

² A term for pieces in the original, thoroughgoing *Kusemai* style, as distinct from the later modified style.

³ Presumably because of the previous sentence, which states that the other three pieces mentioned were 'within Sarugaku', Nose (*Zeami jūrokubū-shū hyōshaku* 三, 236) read into *tada* the implication that *Tōgoku-kudari* and *Saikoku-kudari* were unconnected with Sarugaku. But this was patently not so: they are mentioned a number of times in the 'Writings' and even figure in the lists of noteworthy pieces in the 'Go-on'; Zeami himself performed *Tōgoku-kudari* as a boy ('Sarugaku dangi': Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambu-shū*, 296; and both have survived to the present day as special sung pieces in the Nō repertoires. A comparison with a very similar but more explicit passage only a little earlier in the same work ('Go-on': *ibid.*, 217) which states that *Shirahige*, *Yura no minato*, and *Jūgoku* were like true, uncompromising *Kusemai* even though they were within Sarugaku, while *Tōgoku-kudari* and *Saikoku-kudari* were much softer in style, suggests two possible interpretations of the passage in question: (i) The term 'Sarugaku' was used in the not uncommon meaning of 'Nō play', so that the sense was that 'the three thoroughgoing *Kusemai* pieces have been used in Nō plays *Tōgoku-kudari* and *Saikoku-kudari* are just literary compositions by Rin-ami . . .'; (ii) The writer, having already described the style of the three pieces, meant to reiterate that even these extreme *Kusemai* were found in Sarugaku (in addition, of course, to pieces in modified musical styles). In either case, the implication would be that the two pieces by Rin-ami were not comparable with the other three as *Kusemai*.

⁴ See Nogami, *Kan-ami Kiyotsugu*, 126-9, on this.

⁵ In most cases these *kuse* are described in the texts of the plays as '*Kusemai*' or '*Ma*' and, in some, the character concerned represents some kind of performer of *Kusemai*.

show some uniformity of structure, this can reasonably be taken as the nearest it is possible to get, on the evidence available, to the original structure of Kusemai. The three groups contain the following pieces:

GROUP I: Nō plays with *kuse* containing *shidai*

<i>Hyakuman</i>	<i>shidai, kuri, sashi, 2-dan kuse, shidai</i>
<i>Kakitsubata</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Utaura</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Yamauba</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Tōgan koji</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ 1-dan kuse, „
<i>Genji kuyō</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ 2-dan kuse
<i>Oki no in</i> ¹	„ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Rō Giō</i> ²	„ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Hagoromo</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ 1-dan kuse
<i>Sakuragawa</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Tenko</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Yōkihi</i>	„ „ „ „ „ „ „
<i>Kamo monogurui</i>	„ „ „ sashi, 2-dan kuse

GROUP II: Nō plays with *kuse* derived from Kusemai ³

<i>Hyakuman (Hyakuman</i> ⁴)	(see Group I above)
<i>Utaura (Jigoku</i> ⁵)	(„ „ „ „ „)
<i>Yamauba (Yamauba</i> ⁶)	(„ „ „ „ „)
<i>Kashiwazaki (Zenkō-jō</i> ⁷)	<i>kuri, sashi, 2-dan kuse</i>
<i>Yura monogurui (Yura no minato</i> ⁸)	„ „ „ „ „ „

¹ The text of this discarded play is available in a number of collections. Some of these (e.g. *Yōkyoku hyōshaku*, 1911-12, v, and *Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū*) give the *kuse* as a long 2-dan *kuse*, but others (e.g., *Yōkyoku sōsho*, I, and *Yōkyoku zenshū*, Kokumin bunko kankōkai ed., II) divide it into two parts. It is true that the phrasing of the first *shidai* is repeated at the end of the first part, but the division into two parts probably only arose from the usage in the Kanze school which has two Rankyoku corresponding to the two parts of the *kuse*. In content the *kuse* is one connected piece and is so given in the Kita schools; cf. *Yura no minato*, n. 8, below.

² Although this play is no longer in the repertoires, the text is given in the *Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū*.

³ In all cases except *Taishi* only short quotations from the Kusemai are known. The names of the Kusemai are given in brackets after the names of the Nō plays in which the derived *kuse* are found. Two other Kusemai are mentioned in the 'Writings', *Seisui-ji* ('Sarugaku dangi': Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambū-shū*, 357) and *Yoshino-yama* ('Go-on': ibid., 201-2); but neither can be identified with any known *kuse*.

⁴ 'Go-on' (ibid., 219) and 'Sarugaku dangi' (ibid., 296).

⁵ 'Go-on' (ibid., 218). The 'Sarugaku dangi' (ibid., 296) quotes another line, also to be found in the *kuse* in *Utaura*, to illustrate a point about the music of Kusemai.

⁶ 'Sarugaku dangi' (ibid., 296).

⁷ 'Go-on' (ibid., 219). See below concerning the sometime use of this Kusemai in the Nō *Tsuchi-guruma*.

⁸ 'Go-on' (ibid., 218). As Zeami quoted a line from this piece (now to be found in the Rankyoku *Yura monogurui*) in the 'Sarugaku dangi' (ibid., 296) to illustrate a point about Kusemai, *Yura no minato* almost certainly had the standard form—beginning and ending with a *shidai* and being in two *dan*—which he described there. Unfortunately, the text of the Nō in which it was used is not extant to show for certain that it contained *shidai*, but the line quoted in the 'Go-on' is shown as a *kuri*, and the present Rankyoku text of *Yura monogurui* shows that there followed a *sashi* and a two-dan *kuse*. (The Rankyoku is really one continuous piece, as in the Kita school. The Kanze division into two parts is purely arbitrary; cf. *Oki no in* above.)

<i>Awaji</i> (<i>Awaji</i> ¹)	<i>kuri, sashi, 1-dan kuse</i>
<i>Fuji-san</i> (<i>Fuji-san</i> ²)	„ „ „ : „
<i>Jōgū Taishi</i> (<i>Taishi</i> ³)	„ „ „ : „
<i>Kōya monogurui</i> (<i>Kōya</i> ⁴)	„ „ „ : „
<i>Shirahige</i> (<i>Shirahige</i> ⁵)	„ „ „ : „
<i>Yoro-boshi</i> (<i>Yoro-bōshi</i> ⁶)	„ „ „ : „
<i>Hana-gatami</i> (<i>Ri Fujin</i> ⁷)	<i>sashi, 2-dan kuse</i>

GROUP III : Nō plays in which *kuse* represent Kusamai

<i>Hyakuman</i>	(see Group I above)
<i>Kakitsubata</i> ⁸	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Utaura</i>	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Yamauba</i>	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Tōgan koji</i>	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Genji kuyō</i>	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Rō Giō</i> ⁹	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Kamo monogurui</i> ¹⁰	(„ „ „ „)
<i>Giō</i> ¹¹	<i>kuri, sashi, 1-dan kuse</i>
<i>Jinen koji</i> ¹²	„ „ „ „ „
<i>Mai-guruma</i> ¹³	(a) <i>Bijin soroe</i> „ „ „ „ „
	(b) <i>Tsumado</i> „ „ „ „ „
<i>Shima-meguri</i> ¹⁴	<i>sashi, 2-dan kuse</i>
<i>Kagetsu</i>	„ „ „ „ „
<i>Tōei</i> ¹⁵	„ „ „ „ „

¹ 'Go-on' (ibid., 199-200).² ibid., 200.³ ibid., 215. The text of this play, which is not now performed, is given in *Yōkyoku sōsho*, II, and *Yōkyoku sambyakugojūban-shū*.⁴ ibid., 213.⁵ ibid., 218.⁶ ibid., 212. As the lines quoted in the 'Go-on' are the same as the *kuri, sashi*, and the beginning of the *kuse* in the present-day play *Yoro-boshi* (this alternative form of the name *Yoro-bōshi*, used in the play itself, has been current since the time of Zeami and is the more common now), it is clear that Kanze Motomasa, the author of that play, used some form of Zeami's Kusamai when writing it. But Zeami used this same Kusamai in his own play *Yoro-boshi* (see Kawase, *Zeami jūhatsu densho-shū*, 259-60) which was in existence by 142E; and since Motomasa did not die until 1432, he may have taken over the *kuse* section from Zeami's play instead of direct from the Kusamai. Any modifications that Zeami made to the original Kusamai in using it in his Nō would, in that case, have been repeated by Motomasa. It appears from the 'Sarugaku dangi' (Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambu-shū*, 295) that such modifications were made for, immediately before the statement that Kusamai should begin and end with *shidai* and should have two *dan*, it says 'The Kusamai *Yoro-boshi* is essentially Kusamai in character'. Thus, originally it was probably a model of its kind and much closer to Zeami's regular form than can be shown now.⁷ 'Go-on' (ibid., 216). This piece is not described in the 'Go-on' as a Kusamai but, unless it was itself a Nō, it is more likely to have been a Kusamai than any other type of independent sung piece since the quotation in the 'Go-on' introduces the *kuse* in *Hana-gatami*.⁸ The section in question is not described as a Kusamai in the play, but as a character representing a woman dresses in male attire and then performs what is a *kuse* section in the Nō. It seems very likely that it was intended as such.

A comparison of the plays in these groups shows that *Hyakuman*, *Utaura*, and *Yamauba* are included in all three and that all these plays have their *kuse* sections in the form of *shidai*, *kuri*, *sashi*, and a two-*dan* *kuse* ending with some form of the first *shidai*. *Genji kuyō*, *Kakitsubata*, *Kamo monogurui*, *Rō Giō*, and *Tōgan koji* were all included in Group I and, as their *kuse* were not specifically described as Kusemai in the texts of the plays, somewhat less certainly in Group III; and these five plays, too, prove to have *kuse* sections with structures very close to the one common to the other three. The one furthest from it is the *kuse* in *Kamo monogurui*, but even that has a *shidai*, *sashi*, and a two-*dan* *kuse*. As the way in which the three groups were composed meant that the problem of the original Kusemai structure was being approached from three different directions, there seems little doubt that the form of the *kuse* in the plays found in all three groups represents the regular and complete form, insofar as there was such a thing, of independent Kusemai. Especially does this seem so when the supporting evidence of the five plays found in two of the groups is taken into account. It follows from this that, when Zeami talked of Kusemai having two *dan*, he meant the same as is indicated by the present-day term *ni-dan kuse*, and that what is now known as a *shin no kuse* 'true *kuse*' is, indeed, the original Kusemai form. This can be verified by an explanation Zeami gave in connexion with the music of Kusemai.¹ He said, 'As the music at the end of the second *dan* goes on to a higher pitch, there is a melody rising in pitch before this', and went on to quote lines from the Kusemai *Yura no minato*, *Hyakuman*, and *Jigoku* to illustrate what he meant. With all these lines preceding the second *ageha* in the *kuse* sections of the Nō plays in which they were used, it is clear that then, as now, the number of *ageha* in a *kuse* determined the number of *dan*, and that the *ageha* were regarded as coming at the end of, but forming part of, each *dan*.

* Although the type of performance represented is not specified in the play, the donning of a ceremonial hat (*eboshi*) used by men and a comparison with the Nō *Giō* show that it was probably intended as a Kusemai.

¹⁰ For the reasons given for *Kakitsubata* above, it is likely that the *kuse* section was intended as a representation of a Kusemai.

¹¹ To have the Shirabyōshi *Giō* and *Hotoke* dance a Kusemai together, as this play does, was probably an anachronism, but it may indicate that Kusemai were performed by Shirabyōshi in the Muromachi period.

¹² Because both this play and *Tōei* have the same *sashi* and *kuse*, telling of one Huo Ti's alleged invention of the boat, and this story is unconnected with the subject-matter of either play, Iwahaashi (*Nihon geinō-shi*, 48-9) has suggested that it was probably a Kusemai current at the time the plays were written. In neither play, however, is it described as a Kusemai.

¹³ This play is not in the present repertoires, but it has two sections, described in the text as Kusemai, which are still used as the Rankyoku *Biya soroe* and *Tsumado*. The full text of the play is given in *Yōkyoku hyōshaku*, v, but as this is unreliable in its marking of the parts of the *kuse* section (in neither case, for example, does it mark the *sashi*), comparison should be made with the Rankyoku texts.

¹⁴ This play is not in the repertoires, but the full text is given in *Shin yōkyoku hyakuban*, 1912, and the *kuse*, described in the play as a Kusemai, is used as a Rankyoku.

¹⁵ See n. 12, above.

¹ 'Sarugaku dangi' (Kawase, *Zeami nijūsambu-shū*, 295).

THE CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS IN TIV

By D. W. ARNOTT

1. R. C. Abraham's *The principles of Tiv*,¹ though a teaching grammar which designedly avoids technical terms, contains the most careful and systematic treatment of the Tiv verbal system that has been published, and this and his other books² are the only works on Tiv giving tonal details. But his classification of verbs, though based appropriately on their structure and tonal behaviour, is not entirely consistent, nor the most convenient basis for a clear and concise description of the whole verbal system. The present study is based on an analysis of the material provided in Abraham's books—particularly his excellent dictionary—checked and supplemented by several years' practical experience of the language in the field, and more recent detailed research with various informants in London.³

2. Abraham classifies Tiv verbs into the following eight types, 'depending on the tones and number of syllables of the past tense':

(a) *Low Tones*⁴

Type A. Two-syllable verbs (and a few with three syllables) ending in a vowel, e.g. *kimbì* 'paid', *màà* 'built', *kàngsèè* 'chewed the cud'.

Type B. Two-syllable verbs ending in consonant, e.g. *rùmùn* 'agreed', *ndòòr* 'shook down fruit'.

Type C. One-syllable verbs ending in consonant, e.g. *yàm* 'went', *ngbàgh*⁵ 'roasted'.

(b) *Mid followed by Low Tone*

Type D. Two-syllable verbs ending in vowel, e.g. *hìà* 'burned', *tòngò* 'whistled', *yirà* 'called'.

Type E. Any one-syllable verb with a downward glide, e.g. *kòr* 'seized', *hã* 'poured'.

¹ Published by the Crown Agents on behalf of the Government of Nigeria, London, 1940. This supersedes his earlier *The grammar of Tiv*. The Tiv people, now numbering three-quarters of a million, occupy a large area of Benue Province, Northern Nigeria, most of them being south of the Benue river.

² *A dictionary of the Tiv language*, and *A Tiv reader for European students*, both published as above. Other works on Tiv by the same author, including *Tiv phonetic and tonal principles*, 1940, are frequently referred to in the above books, but if published do not appear to be generally available.

³ Especially Mr. J. Akperan Orshi and Mr. J. I. Abuul. I am also indebted to my colleague, the Rev. A. M. Jones, for assistance with tonal analysis.

⁴ *Principles*, chap. v. The tones given here are those indicated by Abraham, though he uses a different notation. In this article tones are indicated as follows: High /; Mid ı; Low \; Falling tones: High-Mid ˘; Mid-Low ˙; High-Low ˆ; Rising tone, Low-High ˘; //, !!, and \\\ indicate a continuing High, Mid, or Low tone on the whole of a long vowel, which is treated in this analysis as a succession of two vowels (cf. section 8 (c) below). See also from section 26 onwards.

⁵ The digraph *gh* is the conventional representation of the voiced fricative ɣ.

Type F. Two-syllable verbs ending in consonant, e.g. *tumbùr* 'remembered', *ndóhòr* 'is wet, cold'.

Type G. Three-syllable verbs ending in vowel, e.g. *yévàsò* 'fled'.

- (c) *Type H.* One-syllable verbs with *Mid* tone, e.g. *vá* 'came', *ná* 'gave', *só* 'laughed'.

It is clear that, although this classification is said to depend on tones and the number of syllables, a third criterion is in fact also used—whether the verb ends in a vowel or a consonant, this being the feature which distinguishes Type A from Type B, and Type D from Type F. But this third criterion is not used consistently, since some vowel-final and consonant-final verbs are grouped together in Type E. A second inconsistency is the treatment of '2-syllable' and '3-syllable verbs' ending in a vowel: under (b) the '3-syllable verbs' of Type G are classified separately from the '2-syllable verbs' of Type D; but under (a) both '3-syllable verbs' (admittedly very few in number) and '2-syllable verbs' are grouped together in Type A. Thirdly, there is no mention in this classification of the four common verbs *lɛ* 'was, etc.', *gbá* 'fall', *dé* 'leave', and *dza* 'go' (to which should be added *shí* 'do again') which are elsewhere in the *Principles* grouped with Type H verbs because of similarity of behaviour, but in fact have low tone in the Past tense. The classification is therefore unsatisfactory as it stands, and it is not out of place to re-examine the details of the verbal system, on which any classification must be based.

3. Verbal forms such as those listed in section 2 are unstable, that is, they do not occur by themselves in one-word sentences (though the Imperative of such verbs is stable).¹ But they occur commonly in such stable complexes as *m kimbì* 'I paid', *á kimbì* 'he paid', *úná kimbì* 'he will pay', *i yám* 'it (e.g. a dog) went away'.² The first component in each of such complexes—*m*, *a*, *una*, *i*, etc.—belongs to one of several series of unstable elements related to the nominal class system, which are referred to in this article as Subject Pronouns. The verbal component in such a complex will be referred to as a Base, or Verbal Base. Such a complex (which may be termed a Verbal Complex) is the shortest stable piece displaying the maximum differentiation of verbal types, and is the basis of the present study.³

¹ There are a very few apparent exceptions in everyday use, such as *bee* 'it is finished', *kuma* 'that's enough!' (cf. *kuma* 'be sufficient'). But these should perhaps be treated as interjections rather than as true verbal forms.

² A verbal complex of this kind occurs as a self-standing piece chiefly, but not exclusively, in response.

³ Stable groups such as *tòr rùmùn* 'the chief agreed', *ìwá yám* 'the dog went away', etc., in which the first item is an Independent Nominal, are less suitable for the present purpose, since the verbal form in such cases is restricted to certain tenses. The corresponding forms in other tenses (e.g. *tòr úná rùmùn* 'the chief will agree', *ìwá íá yám* 'the dog will go away') always have a Subject Pronoun between nominal and verbal forms, i.e. the sentence consists of Nominal plus Verbal Complex. Sentences such as *tor rumun*, however, may also be analysed as Nominal plus Verbal Complex, the Subject Pronoun being zero; in that case they are covered

4. There is a wide range of verbal complexes associated with any given verb. Such of the alternations in the subject pronoun as are due solely to the operation of the agreements of the nominal system (as in *á yàm* 'he went away', *ì yàm* 'it went away') can be ignored here. But there remain a number of other variations in the complex which are correlated with regular variations in meaning, and which function as tense-signs. Five main kinds of variation may be distinguished, though combinations of two or more of these are common :

- (1) A difference in the tone pattern of the complex, e.g.

<i>á kimbì</i>	he paid
<i>á kímbl</i>	he paid (recently)
<i>à kímbl</i>	he's to pay

<i>ín yévèsè</i>	I ran away
<i>ín yévésè</i>	I run away (habitually)

- (2) Alternation in the subject pronoun series, e.g.

<i>ín kimbì</i>	I paid	<i>mé kimbì</i>	I'll pay
<i>á dzà</i>	he went	<i>úná dzà</i>	he'll go
<i>vé yévèsè</i>	they ran away	<i>mbá yévèsè</i>	they are running away

- (3) Presence or absence of an extra element, such as the element *ká* preceding the subject pronoun, e.g.

<i>ká vé yévèsè</i>	they run away (habitually)
---------------------	----------------------------

(The presence of *ká* involves an accompanying difference in the tone pattern.)

- (4) The use of a different base. The difference between the bases may consist of :

- (a) Presence or absence of a suffix *-n*, e.g.

<i>kí bée</i>	it (e.g. money) is exhausted
<i>kí¹ bēen</i>	it is becoming exhausted

or, combined with (2) above

<i>vé yirà</i>	they called	<i>mbá¹ yiràn</i>	they are calling
----------------	-------------	------------------------------	------------------

- (b) A difference in the shape of the base which may be described in terms of a difference of structure, the term 'structure' being used in this article to refer to the pattern of a base as it may be represented by the symbols C and V for consonant and vowel respectively, while the term 'shape' is used to refer to the actual

by the present study of Verbal Complexes, and do not need special treatment. The same is true of narrative sequences such as *inyon va sange, ya* 'the birds came and picked (them) up and ate (them)', where *va*, *sange*, and *ya* can each be analysed as a Verbal Complex with zero Subject Pronoun. The question whether the Subject Pronoun would be better treated as a Verbal Prefix is outside the scope of this article, and the conventional practice of writing it separately is followed here.

¹ Abraham treats *ki*, *mba*, etc. in the Continuous ('Present') tense as a copula, and the verbal form as a verbal noun; but for a description of the verbal system it seems more convenient to treat *ki*, *mba*, etc. as subject pronouns of a distinct series and the verbal form as a base including a suffix *-n*.

sounds represented by these symbols in any particular base. Difference of structure is illustrated by

á tírè he has stopped **á tír** he stopped (recently)

in which the structure of the bases may be represented as CVCV and CVC respectively.

This feature is dealt with at greater length in sections 7-9 and 15.

- (c) A difference in the shape of the base consisting of a difference in the vowel, or in one or both of the vowels of a two-vowel base, e.g.

á v́á he has come **á v́é** he came (recently)

á hídè he has returned **á hídí** he returned (recently)

á tóngò he whistled **á tóngé** he whistled (recently)

This feature is dealt with at greater length in sections 11-13 and 17-18.

(Note that a difference of structure is always accompanied, and a vowel difference is often accompanied, by a difference in the tone pattern of the complex.)

Combinations of several of the above are illustrated by

v́é píè they asked **mb́á píè** they are asking

which involves a combination of (1), (2), and (4(a)), and

v́é h́urà they weeded **mb́á h́ór** they weed (habitually)

which involves a combination of (1), (2), (4(b)), and (4(c)).

5. Variations (2) and (3) are ignored here, since they do not themselves have any bearing on the classification of verbs. The remainder of this article is concerned with an examination of differences in the structure and shape of verbal bases, and in the tone pattern of verbal complexes. Though structure and tone are to some extent interdependent, they are treated separately for convenience of description.

6. The verbal complexes of the Past tense are the best starting-point for the study of both structural and tonal differences since (a) the base found in the Past tense also occurs in the Imperative, Subjunctive, and Future tenses of all verbs, as well as in the Present Habitual tense which is characterized by the element **ka**—that is to say, in more tenses than any other one base; (b) where different bases occur in other tenses, they are predictable from the Past tense base; and (c) Past tense complexes display the maximum diversity of tone patterns.

VERBAL BASES—PAST TENSE

A. Structure

7. An examination of the Past tense bases of the 900-odd verbs in Abraham's dictionary shows a total of 13 different structures, which may, however, for our purpose be reduced to eight, for reasons given in section 3 (b). This makes possible a provisional classification of verbs into eight different types, according to the structure of the base used in Past tense complexes. Table I shows the structure associated with each type of verb, together with an indication of the

relative frequency of each type, the type to which it belongs in Abraham's classification, and some representative examples.

TABLE I

Type	Structure	Frequency	Abraham's Type	Examples
(i)	CV	2%	H	dza 'go', va 'come', se 'laugh'
(ii)	CVC (and VC)	20%	C, E	yem 'go away', kor 'seize' nyor 'enter', kor 'sew' ngbagh 'roast', bugh 'open' or 'speak', iv 'fill, be full'
(iii)	CVV (and VV)	9%	A, D, E	maa 'build', too 'lift' tsue 'jump', haa 'pour' bee 'finish', hia 'burn' dzua 'meet', due 'come/go out' oo 'breathe', oo 'wash'
(iv)	CVCV (and VCV)	30%	A, D	pine 'ask', kimbi 'pay' yira 'call', tongo 'whistle' ese 'sweep', unggwa 'hear'
(v)	CVVC	9%	B, F	maor 'plant', ndiil 'disappear' ndzuur 'confuse', nyoon 'pain'
(vi)	CVCVC (and VCVC)	27%	B, F	rumun 'agree', ndohor 'be wet' aver 'yawn', umbur 'remember'
(vii)	CVVCV	2%	A, G	soso 'bore', wuese 'be pleased'
(viii)	CVCVCV (and VCVCV)	1%	A, G	kengese 'chew the cud' yevese 'run away' imbise 'press in'

8. This Table requires the following comments:

(a) The sounds represented by digraphs and trigraphs—gh, ng, nd, dz, ngh, ndz, etc.—are analysed as single consonant units, so that bugh and ngbagh are both analysed as having CVC structure, kimbi CVCV structure, and so on; cf. section 10 (1).

(b) The structural and tonal patterning of bases without initial consonant is otherwise identical with that of the bases with initial consonant with which they are bracketed in the Table (VC with CVC under type (ii), VV with CVV under type (iii), etc.). For simplicity, all bases will hereafter be treated as having C₁, though in fact this may be zero. The first consonant in such cases will therefore be marked as C₂.

(c) This classification differentiates, under types (iii) and (iv), structures which Abraham groups together, maa, too, tsue, pine, and kimbi all belonging to his Type A, hia, due, and yira to his Type D. He treats maa and too, as well as tsue, hia, and due, as 'disyllabic', presumably on the grounds that 'what seems like a break between, but is really a diminution of breath and then increase of it for the second vowel' 'occurs when we repeat the same vowel ta

the same pitch or with tones low, high ' and ' between different vowels whatever their tone'.¹ In the speech of my informants such secondary stress or access of breath force was not observable in forms such as *maa* and *too* (which I hear simply as long vowels), and their presence in forms such as *-sue*, *hia*, and *due* is doubtful. Even apart from this fundamental point, a classification based on syllables, however defined, appears less satisfactory than one based on structure in terms of consonants and vowels. Accordingly syllabic analysis is not attempted here; and the long vowels such as those in *maa* and *too*, and patterns such as *-ue* and *-ia* in *tsue*, *hia*, and *due* are treated alike, simply as successions of two vowels. The same applies to similar patterns in bases such as *maor*, *ndiil*, *ndzuur*, *nyoon*, *sooso*, and *wuese*.²

(d) Abraham treats *haa*, *bee*, and 21 other bases having the same structure and tone pattern, as monosyllables with a 'downward glide' or falling tone, and groups them, together with CVC bases, in his Type E. In my experience these bases are definitely longer than *va*, *so*, and others of his Type H, and of comparable length with *maa*, *too*, *hia*, *due*, etc. I therefore treat them as also having CVV structure.

B. Consonants and Vowels

9. The series of consonants and vowels occurring in the various positions in the above structures are significant, and are described in sections 10-13.

10. *Consonants*. The term C represents a different series of consonants in each position—initial, medial, and final. The details given in this section apply to bases in all tenses, though examples are given from the Past tense only:

- (1) *Initial consonants*. In addition to zero (cf. section 8 (b) above), any of the consonants found in Tiv may occur in position C₁ in a verbal base, viz.:

p t ts k kp f s h
b d dz g gb v l³ r y⁴ m n w y

and the nasal compounds (treated for structural purposes as single consonant units):

mb nd ndz ng mgb or ngb

Many of these also occur with y-coloration,⁵ and a few with w-coloration,⁵ when they are conventionally written *eh*, *e*, *j*, *nj* (yotized

¹ *Principles*, pp. 2, 3.

² It should be noted that in the case of type (v) verbs having bases with back vowels, alternative forms with a voiced velar fricative are recorded by Abraham and by Malherbe (*Tiv-English dictionary, with grammar notes and index*. Lagos, Govt. Printer, [1931?]), e.g. *ndzughur* as well as *ndzuur*, *sughur* as well as *suur*. But it seems that the two forms are used by different speakers, so that the existence of the alternative forms need not be taken into account here.

³ l and r are often interchangeable; cf. Abraham, *Principles*, p. 5, and Malherbe. Further investigation may reveal some regularity in the distribution of these two variants.

⁴ The voiced velar fricative is conventionally represented by the digraph *gh*, which is retained in the examples in this article.

⁵ Sometimes, but by no means always associated with the proximity of an i or u vowel. This y- and w-coloration occurs even more frequently, and with more consonants, in nominals.

s, ts, dz, ndz), ty, dy, kpy, fy, ry, hy, ny; tsw. Examples of many of these consonants in position C_1 are to be found in Table I.

- (2) *Final consonants.* The only consonants found in final position in a base are the voiced continuants **v, l, r, gh, m, and n.** This applies equally to C_2 in C_1VC_2 and C_1VVC_2 structures and to C_3 in $C_1VC_2VC_3$ structures,¹ e.g. **iv, ndiil, or, bugh, yem, nyoon,** etc. given in Table I.

- (3) *Medial consonants.* The series of consonants occurring in position C_2 in the two-vowel structures C_1VC_2V and $C_1VC_2VC_3$ consists of the same voiced continuants (**v, l, r, gh, m, n**) together with **s** and **h**, the nasal compounds **mb, nd,** and **ng**, and occasionally **d.** Examples are to be found in Table I, to which may be added **nelem** 'bend down', **soghor** 'tug', **dzende** 'run', **hide** 'return'. *y*-coloration occurs once each with **d** and **s** (**gbidye** 'strike' and **mishi** 'sprinkle'); *w*-coloration occurs occasionally with **ng** and **h** (e.g. **ungwa** 'hear', **yuhwa** 'be heavy').

In the comparatively few bases of $C_1VC_2VC_3V$ structure only **v, mb,** and **ng** occur in position C_2 , while the last consonant in both C_1VVC_2V and $C_1VC_2VC_3V$ bases is always **s** or its variant **sh.**

When differences of structure and shape are discussed below, those consonants (**v, l, r, gh, m, n**) which occur in final as well as in medial position will be referred to as 'final' consonants and symbolized by C_f or C_{2f} . Those consonants (**s, h, mb, nd, ng, d**) which occur in medial but not in final position will be referred to as 'non-final' consonants, and symbolized by C_{nf} or C_{2nf} .

11. *Vowels.* I distinguish six vowels, represented by **a, e, i, o, ɔ, and u,** in contrast to the eight vowels distinguished by Abraham. The distinction between the half-close and half-open back vowels, represented by **o** and **ɔ,** is necessary since several pairs of verbs are distinguished only by this difference in vowel quality, e.g. **ín kôr** 'I sewed' and **ín kôr** 'I seized', **í òò** 'it sloughed its skin' and **í òò** 'it breathed'. Furthermore, as will be seen in section 18, **ɔ** has an alternant **e** in some tenses whereas **o** has not. In position V_2 in two-vowel bases **o** and **ɔ** are in complementary distribution, their incidence being statable in terms of the first vowel and neighbouring consonants; but such a statement would be somewhat complicated, and for the purposes of this article it is simpler to treat them as distinct vowel units in all positions.

The diphthongal sound distinguished by Abraham as **ou** occurs, in verbal bases, only in the sequence **-ough** at the end of a base. **-agh, -egh, -igh, -ogh,** and **-ugh** are all found in this position, but not a pure **o** vowel combined with **gh.** **-ough** in this position may therefore be treated as the realization of **o + gh.** The conventional spelling **-ough s,** however, retained in the examples.

Abraham distinguishes two E-vowels, one being relatively closer and more

¹ And also, incidentally, to the final consonant of nominals.

fronted, the other more open and central, though he adds that the two sounds are often interchangeable. In my experience the difference, where it exists, is slight, and can be stated in terms of neighbouring vowels and consonants, in any position in the structure. Since this minimal difference does not affect any of the questions discussed here, a single symbol *e* is here used for all E-vowels.¹

12. In bases of types (ii)–(vii) any of the six vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *ɔ*, *u* may occur in positions *V*₁ and *V*₂. In the rarer structures associated with types (i) and (viii) the range is more limited: type (i) bases have *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u* only; type (viii) bases have *a*, *e*, *i*, or *o* in position *V*₁, *e*, *i*, *o*, or *ɔ* in position *V*₂. In position *V*₃, type (vii) bases have *e*, *i*, *o*, or *u*, type (viii) bases have *e* or *o*.

13. *Vowel sequences.* Whereas the range of vowels occurring in positions *V*₁ and *V*₂ is wide, the possible sequences of such vowels are strictly limited. Here a distinction must be made between the range of vowel sequences in bases of the Past tense and of certain other tenses. In Past tense bases containing two vowels,

where the first is *a*, the second is *a* or *e*²

„	„	„	„	<i>e</i>	„	„	„	<i>a</i> ² or <i>e</i>
„	„	„	„	<i>i</i>	„	„	„	<i>a</i> <i>e</i> or <i>i</i>
„	„	„	„	<i>o</i>	„	„	„	<i>o</i> (or <i>u</i>) ³
„	„	„	„	<i>ɔ</i>	„	„	„	<i>o</i> ² <i>ɔ</i> (or <i>u</i>) ³
„	„	„	„	<i>u</i>	„	„	„	<i>a</i> <i>e</i> ⁴ or <i>u</i>

In brief, *a* and *e* occur after any vowel except *o* or *ɔ*; *i*, *ɔ*, and *u* occur only after *a* similar vowel (except that in types (v) and (vi) *u* sometimes occurs after *o* and *ɔ*); and *o* occurs only after *o* or *ɔ*. Examples are:

maa, *saan*, *nahar* : *ande*, *kange*, *aver*, *naregh*
penda, *kperan* : *bee*, *kende*, *seer*, *hemen*
hia, *yira*, *nyian* : *pine*, *cler* : *kimbi*, *ndiil*
dondo, *nyoon*, *kporom*, *torough*⁵
tongo, *tsaghor* : *loo*, *koom*, *loho*, *ndohor*
dzua, *hura*, *ungwa*, *huan*, *musan* : *due*, *tsume* :
puu, *undu*, *ndzuur*, *rumun*, *umbur*

In three-vowel bases the second vowel is identical with the first, except that *o* sometimes follows *o*, and in *wuese* *e* follows *u*. The sequences represented by *V*₁–*V*₃ are the same as those represented by *V*₁–*V*₂ in *CV₁CV₂* bases, subject

¹ Malherbe, *op. cit.*, mentions two different pronunciations of E-vowels, but uses a single symbol for both, as do all publications of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, and the Tiv broadsheet *Mwanger u Tiv* published by the Gaskiya Corporation. Both distinguish the two O-vowels by the symbols *o* and *ɔ*.

² Not in *CVV* structures.

³ In *CVCVC* and *CVVC* structures only, where there is often an alternative form having *o* instead of *u*.

⁴ Not in *CVVC* or *CVCVC* structures.

⁵ -ough being the realization of *o* + *gh*, see section 11, second paragraph.

of course to the limitation of the range of vowels occurring in positions V_1 and V_3 described in section 12.

VERBAL BASES—OTHER TENSES

14. Such, then, are the structures, the consonants, and the vowel sequences occurring in complexes of the Past tense, and also in complexes of the other tenses listed in section 6. Turning to consider the different bases which occur in the remaining tenses, we find that there is a clear distinction between types (i)–(iv) on the one hand and types (v)–(viii) on the other. The use of a different base is in fact confined to verbs of types (i)–(iv), while verbs of types (v)–(viii) use the same base in all tenses, and none of the variations described in section 4 (4) above applies to them. In the following sections dealing with differences of structure and of vowels we shall therefore be concerned only with verbs of types (i)–(iv).

A. Difference of Structure

15. Differences of structure are of two kinds, occurring in different sets of tenses, and the two will be considered separately:

(a) The base of type (i)–(iv) verbs found in complexes of the Continuous tense (and also of certain Habitual tenses¹) is distinguished from the Past tense base by the presence of the suffix *-n*, but there is a further difference of structure in bases of type (ii) verbs.¹ In the following examples of Continuous tense complexes the corresponding Past tense base is shown in brackets:

Type (i)	ngu van	(va)	he is coming	CV-n
„ (ii)	ngu yemen	(yem)	he is going away	CVCV-n
	ngu oron	(or)	he is speaking	
„ (iii)	ngu duen	(due)	he is coming out	CVV-n
	ngu oon	(oo)	he is breathing	
„ (iv)	ngu yiran	(yira)	he is calling	CVCV-n
	ngu ungwan	(ungwa)	he is listening	

In the case of types (i), (iii), and (iv), that part of the base which precedes the final *-n* is identical with the corresponding Past tense base. But in the case of type (ii) verbs (which have CVC bases in the Past tense) there is an extra vowel, resulting in a CVCV-n structure, which is identical with the structure found with type (iv) verbs.

It may be noted here that in these type (ii) bases the range of vowel sequences is more limited than the range described in section 13, only *a-e*, *o-o*, *e-e*, *i-i*, *o-o*, and *u-u* being found. In fact, when the first vowel is known (and it is always identical with the vowel of the Past tense) the second vowel can be predicted from it. Thus where the first vowel is *a*, the second is *e*; where the first is *o*, the second is *o*; and where the first is *e*, *i*, *o*, or *u*, the second is identical with it; e.g. ngu ngbaghen 'he is roasting', ngu oron 'he is speaking',

¹ cf. Abraham, *Principles*, sections 190, 192, 157C.

ngu yemen 'he is going away', **ngu ivin** 'he is filling (it) up', **ngu koron** 'he is sewing', **ngu bughun** 'it is opening'.¹

The significance of this limitation in the range of vowel sequences as well as of the identity of structure of type (ii) and type (iv) bases in this tense will become apparent later.

(b) Some verbs of types (iii) and (iv) have bases of a different structure in the Recent Past tense, and in one of the Present Habitual tenses. (The former tense is often used to refer to recent past time, but it also has a number of other uses without this particular time-reference, and the term 'Recent Past tense'—hereafter abbreviated to 'RP tense'—is used simply as a label of convenience.² For brevity the RP tense only will be quoted in describing the different bases used in these two tenses.) The difference consists of a CVC structure contrasting with the CVV or CVCV structure of the Past tense bases.

(a) Thus with type (iv) verbs, whereas some use in the RP tense a base having the same CVCV structure as the Past tense base (e.g. **m kimbi** 'I paid', **m ese** 'I swept', **u sombo** 'it snapped', **m dzende** 'I ran', the difference in tense being marked only by a difference of tones), others of the same type (iv) have an RP tense base of CVC structure, e.g.

<i>Past</i>	<i>RP</i>	
m gegha	m gegh	I gulped
m tire	m tir	I halted
m pine	m pin	I asked
m tsume	m tsum	I made a mistake

Whether or not a different base is used can be stated in terms of the second consonant: a different base is used where this is one of the 'final' consonants—**v**, **l**, **r**, **gh**, **m**, or **n**—but not where it is one of the 'non-final' consonants. In other words, verbs whose Past tense base has the structure CVC_{nf}V have the same base also in the RP tense, but verbs whose Past tense base has the structure CVC_fV have a different base of CVC structure in the RP tense. The structure of bases of the latter sub-type—approximately one-third of all type (iv) verbs—is thus, in the RP tense, identical with the structure of type (ii) bases in the same tense, since type (ii) verbs use the same base in Past and RP tenses. Thus **m tsum** in the fourth example above may be compared with the type (ii) complex **m bum** 'I swore', which occurs (with tonal variation) in both Past and RP tenses.

¹ This CVCV variant of the type (u) structure also occurs, in the Past tense and other tenses where CVC is usual, when the base is followed by the first person object pronoun of class I (**-m** 'me') and occasionally the corresponding second person (**-u** 'you'); cf. *Principles*, section 40. In this case, where the first vowel is **a**, **e**, **i**, or **u**, the vowel sequence is the same as above, but some speakers use **o-u**, **o-u** in place of **o-o**, **o-o**, and **o-u** in place of **o-o**; e.g. **a kerem** 'he aimed at me', **a karem** 'he missed me', **ivim** 'fill me' (seen on a bag for soiled linen!), **a sughum** 'he greeted me', **una korom** or **una korum** 'he will catch hold of me' [past tense bases **ker**, **kar**, **iv**, **sugh**, **kor**].

² Abraham, presumably for similar reasons, calls it the 'Special Tense'—see chapters xxii, xxiii, etc.

(β) With the majority of type (iii) verbs also there is no difference between the structures of the Past tense and RP tense bases (even though, as will be seen later, there may be a difference in the vowels). The difference in structure occurs only with verbs having a Past tense base of the pattern *Cue* or *Cua*, the RP tense base having the pattern *Cugh* or *Cogh*, e.g.

<i>Past</i>	<i>RP</i>	
m tsue	m tsugh	I jumped
m due	m dugh	I went out
ve dzua	ve dzough ¹	they met
m sua	m sough ¹	I vomited

There are two verbs *wùà* 'grind, sharpen' and *wùà* 'kill' which have the shape *woo* in the RP tense, this being of CVV structure. But with these two exceptions, all verbs with *Cue* and *Cua* base in the Past tense have in the RP tense a CVC structure which is identical with that of type (ii) radicals and the type (iv) bases mentioned in (α) above.² **m dugh** may be compared with the type (ii) complex **m bugh** 'I opened (it)' occurring, with tonal variation, in both Past and RP tenses.

16. The preceding section shows that there is considerable overlap between the structures of the bases of types (ii), (iii), and (iv) which may be summarized as follows:

type (ii)	bases have structures	CVC and CVCV
„ (iii)	„ generally have structures	CVV
	<i>Cue</i> and <i>Cua</i>	„ „ CVV and CVC
„ (iv)	bases with <i>C_{2nr}</i>	„ „ CVCV
	„ „ <i>C_{2t}</i>	„ „ CVC and CVCV

B. Vowel Differences

17. Vowel differences have already been illustrated in section 4 (4(c)). Again it is the base used in the RP tense and in one Present Habitual tense which differs from that of the Past tense, and the RP tense will again be used for purposes of description.

18. Like other differences in the base, this phenomenon occurs only with verbs of types (i)–(iv). Type (iv) bases will be considered first as having the greatest range of vowels and showing the greatest variety of behaviour.

(a) *Type (iv)*. A difference of vowel may accompany a difference of structure, as in the case of *yira* 'call', which has **m yira** in the Past tense but **m yer** in the RP tense; but it also occurs where the structure in terms of C and V remains constant, as in the case of *venda* 'refuse' and *tongo* 'whistle', where the RP tense bases are respectively *vende* and *tenge*.

¹ -ough being the realization of *o* + *gh*; for the vowel alternation of *u-a* with *o*, see section 18 (b).

² *tsugh*, *dugh*, *dzough*, *sough* could be regular RP tense bases corresponding to type (iv) Past tense bases with a velar fricative between the two vowels—**tsughe*, **dughe*, **dzughe*, **sughe*; but in present-day speech at any rate there is no such consonant. I do not even hear a semi-vowel sound after the *u* vowel of *tsue*, *dzua*, etc., any more than after the *i* vowel of *hla*, *cia*, etc.

The whole range of variations of this kind is illustrated by the following examples; those which involve an accompanying difference of structure are inset:

<i>Vowel Sequence</i>	<i>Past Tense</i>	<i>RP Tense</i>	
e-a	m venda	m vende	I refused
	m gegha	m gegh	I gulped
i-a	m yira	m yer	I called
i-e	m hide	m hidi	I returned
	m pine	m pin	I asked
o-o	m tango	m tegge	I whistled
o-o	ve dzoho	ve dzehe	they wrangled
u-a	m ungwa	m ongo	I heard
	m hura	m hor	I weeded
u-e	m unde	m undu	I mounted
	m tsume	m tsum	I made a mistake

In contrast to the above, verbs whose Past tense base has one of the sequences a-e, a-a, e-e, i-i, o-o, or u-u use the same base in all tenses. Examples are *ande*, *tsaha*, *bende*, *kimbi*, *dondo*, and *undu* (this last, meaning 'leave behind', is distinguished from the RP tense base of *unde* 'mount' by a difference of tone pattern).

The distribution of vowels in type (iv) bases may therefore be shown as in Table II. Series A in the Table consists of those sequences which occur in bases common to both Past and RP tense, while Series B (i) consists of the sequences found in the Past tense of verbs using different bases, and Series B (ii) of the vowels and vowel sequences found in the corresponding RP tense bases. Thus where the Past tense base has the vowel sequence e-a, the corresponding RP tense base has vowel sequence e-e or the single vowel e, according as the RP structure is CVCV or CVC; sequence i-e in the Past corresponds to i-i or i in the RP tense, and so on. Such a difference in the vowels in the two bases may be described as an alternation, and we may speak of the sequence e-a alternating with e-e or e, and i-e alternating with i-i or i.

It will be observed that (1) where the sequence in the Past tense is e-a, i-e, or u-e, only the second vowel is different in the RP tense, but (2) where the Past tense sequence is o-o, o-o, or u-a, both first and second vowels are different in the RP tense; (3) as regards verbs which have CVC structure in the RP tense, the single vowel is the same as the first vowel of the corresponding CVCV bases; (4) whereas other sequences of identical vowels are in Series A and do not alternate, the sequence o-o is in Series B (i), and alternates with e-e.

We can make the further generalizations that

(1) where a Past tense base has the vowel sequence a-e, or any sequence of *identical* vowels except o-o, the same base is used in the RP tense;

(2) where a Past tense base has the sequence o-o or any sequence of *diverse* vowels except a-e, the RP tense base has either a sequence of *identical* vowels,

TABLE II

Series A Vowel Sequences found in bases common to Past and RP tenses	Series B Sequences and Vowels found where base of Past and RP tense differ		
	(i) in Past tense	(ii) in corresponding RP tense	
		with CVC _{nr} V structure	with CVC _r structure
a-o			
a-a			
e-e	e-a	e-e	e
	i-a	—	e ¹
i-i	i-e	i-i ²	i
o-o			
	o-o	e-e	—
	o-o	e-e	—
	u-a	o-o	o
u-u	u-e	u-u ³	u

or a CVC structure with a single vowel which is the same as the first of the two identical vowels of the corresponding CVCV base, according as the second consonant belongs to the 'non-final' or the 'final' series.

(b) *Type (iii)*. The vowel alternations occurring with type (iii) verbs are, with two exceptions, the same as those occurring with type (iv) verbs. Where the Past tense base has any sequence of identical vowels except o-o, the same base is used in the RP tense (with the one exception *haa*, RP base *hee*); thus verbs such as *maa*, *bee*, *hii*, *oo*, and *puu* use the same base in both tenses. The sequences a-e, e-a, and o-o do not occur in verbs of this type (cf. n. 2, p. 118). o-o alternates with e-e as in the case of type (iv) verbs, e.g.

Past	RP	
m too	m tee	I picked (it) up
m loo	m lee	I sowed

¹ Only two instances of type (iv) verbs with i-a sequence have been observed, *yira* (quoted above) and *nyima* (an alternative of the more usual *nyuma* 'bite') which has *nyem* in the RP tense. There seem to be no verbs with this sequence and a 'non-final' consonant in position C_r. If there were, one would expect them to have CeCe pattern in the RP tense on the analogy of *venda* and *gegh*, though type (iii) radicals with i-a sequence in the Past tense have i-e sequence in the RP tense—see section 18 (b) below.

² Usage appears to differ here. Both Abraham's dictionary and my informants agree on *himbi*, *jingi*, *cingi*, *hidi*, *idi* as RP bases corresponding to *himbe*, *jinge*, *cinge*, *hide*, *ide* in the Past. On the other hand Abraham gives *rihi* and *fiše*, while my informants give *rihe* and *fishi*. But i-i sequence certainly predominates in the RP tense.

³ Abraham gives *kuse*, *puse*, *use*, *bunde* as RP bases used in RP as well as Past tense, but my informants give *kusu*, *pusu*, *usu*, *bundu* for the RP tense.

Comparable with the alternations of **u-a** with **o-o** or **o**, and of **u-e** with **u-u** or **u**, found with type (iv) verbs, are the alternations of **u-a** with **ɔ** and **u-e** with **u** exemplified by :

<i>Past</i>	<i>RP</i>	
ve dzua	ve dzough ¹	they met
m sua	m sough ¹	I vomited
m tsue	m tsugh	I jumped
m due	m dugh	I went out

for, as was stated in section 15 (*b(β)*), all type (iii) verbs with **Cua** or **Cue** base in the Past tense have a CVC base in the RP tense.

The two exceptional sequences are **i-a** and **i-e**. With type (iii) verbs **i-a** alternates with **i-e**, and not with **e-e** or **e**, e.g.

<i>Past</i>	<i>RP</i>	
u hia	u hie	it got burned up
u via	u vie	it ripened

and the only two verbs with **i-e** sequence in the Past tense (**hie** and **vie**) have the same sequence in the RP tense, and not **i-i** as in the case of type (iv) verbs. Apart from these exceptions (both sequences being of comparatively rare occurrence), the vowel alternations of type (iii) verbs are comparable with those of type (iv).

(c) *Type (ii)*. When the one vowel in the Past tense of type (ii) verbs is **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, or **u** (e.g. **ngbagh**, **yem**, **iv**, **kor**, **bugh**), the same base is used in the RP tense. But when the vowel in the Past tense is **o**, the vowel in the RP tense is **e**, e.g.

<i>Past</i>	<i>RP</i>	
m kor	m ker	I seized (it)
m or	m er	I spoke

Thus the behaviour of the single vowels in type (ii) bases is comparable with that of sequences of identical vowels in bases of types (iii) and (iv).

(d) *Type (i)* bases also have only one vowel, but in their case there is no example of an **o** vowel, and instead of the alternation of **o** with **e** found in other types, we find **a** alternating with **e**. (Such an alternation occurs also in the alternation of **e-a** with **e-e** in type (iv), but the similarity is probably not significant.) Ten of the sixteen type (i) verbs (all of them being in frequent use) have this alternance of **a** with **e**, e.g.

<i>Past</i>	<i>RP</i>	
m va	m ve	I came
m dza	m dze	I went

The **e**, **i**, or **u** vowel of the other verbs remains in all tenses.

19. Summarizing section 18, we may say that the vowel alternation which is a feature distinguishing verbs of types (i)-(iv) from types (v)-(viii) operates on similar principles in types (iii) and (iv) ; and the behaviour of the single vowel

¹ -ough being the realization of **o** + **gh**.

of type (ii) bases closely resembles that of a sequence of identical vowels in bases of type (iv). Only in type (i) is a different principle apparent.

Structure and Vowel Sequences

20. A further link between types (ii) and (iv) appears when we study the relation between differences of structure, vowel differences, and the category of the second consonant. The data for this study are given in Table III. The

TABLE III

Vowel sequence			Number of type (iv) verbs		Number of type (ii) verbs
<i>Series A</i> (constant)	<i>Series B</i> (alternating)		<i>with C_{2n'}</i> (s, h, mb, nd, ng, d)	<i>with C_{2'}</i> (v, l, r, gh, m, n)	
Past and RP tense	(i) Past tense	(ii) RP tense	CVCV in Past CVCV in RP CVCV-n in Continuous	CVCV in Past CVC in RP CVCV-n in Continuous	CVC in Past CVC in RP CVCV-n in Continuous
a-a			6	—	
a-e			31	—	(a) 54
e-e			35 Y	—	(e) 45 Z
i-i			8	—	(i) 16
o-o			15	—	(o) 20
u-u			7	—	(u) 22
	o-o →	e-e	6		
	o-o →	e-e	16		(o → e) 34
	e-a →	e-e or e	17 W	28 X	—
	i-a →	e	—	2	—
	i-e →	i-i or i	8	21	—
	u-a →	o-o or o	14	24	—
	u-e →	u-u or u	16	24	—

→ denotes 'alternates with'

two left-hand columns list the possible vowels and vowel sequences in two series: Series A consists of the sequence a-e and the sequences of identical vowels (excluding o-o) which are constant in all tenses (cf. section 18 (a) above); Series B (i) consists of the sequence o-o and the sequences of diverse vowels (except a-e) which occur in the Past but not in the RP tense; and Series B (ii) consists of the alternants of the B (i) sequences. The remaining columns indicate the distribution of all type (iv) verbs among the various vowel sequences, distinguishing between the two sub-types according to the category of the second consonant; and finally the distribution of type (ii) bases among the six vowels. The numbers in these three columns represent the number of verbs with each sequence or vowel which are given in Abraham's dictionary. The actual figures

are unimportant, and are given merely as an indication of distribution and relative frequency.

21. Consider first the 45 type (iv) verbs whose Past tense bases have the vowel sequence **e-a** (marked W and X in the Table). As we have seen, these are in two complementary sets, one consisting of those with C_{2nf} (i.e. with a 'non-final' consonant in position C_2), such as **venda** 'refuse', the other consisting of those with C_{2f} (i.e. with a 'final' consonant in position C_2), such as **gema** 'turn round'. In the RP tense, where the C_{2nf} verbs have bases with sequence **e-e** (e.g. **vende**), C_{2f} verbs have bases with CVC structure, not CVCV, and an **e** vowel (e.g. **gem**). Now there are also 35 verbs (Y in the Table) with C_{2nf} , whose bases have CVCV structure and the sequence of identical vowels **e-e** in both Past and RP tenses (e.g. **dzende** 'run'). And while there are no type (iv) verbs with C_{2f} , CVCV structure and sequence **e-e** in both tenses, there are the 45 type (ii) verbs (Z in the Table) whose bases in Past and RP tenses have C_{2f} , CVCV structure and vowel **e**, e.g. **yem** 'go away'. Since **yem**, etc., bear the same relation to **dzende**, etc., as **gem**, etc., bear to **vende**, etc.; and since the C_{2f} bases such as **gem** are complementary to the C_{2nf} bases such as **vende**, etc., we are justified in treating bases such as **yem** as complementary to bases such as **dzende**, and even in treating these two sets of verbs as complementary sub-types of a single type instead of as separate types.

This conclusion is supported by the fact, noted in section 15 (a), that type (ii) verbs have in the Continuous tense a base with CVCV-**n** structure, and that where the first of such vowels is **e**, the second also is **e**, so that the Continuous tense base of **yem** (**yemen**) and of **dzende** (**dzenden**) have a common pattern **CeCe-n**.¹

22. Similarly with verbs having the sequences or vowels **i-e**, **i-i**, or **i**; **u-a**, **o-o**, or **o**; and **u-e**, **u-u**, or **u**. Since there are in each case four sets of verbs with a distribution comparable to that of the verbs marked W, X, Y, and Z, and a comparable relation to each other, we may also treat type (ii) verbs that have vowel **i**, **o**, or **u** as complementary to type (iv) verbs that have in Past and RP tenses the sequences of identical vowels **i-i**, **o-o**, or **u-u**. Here again the conclusion is supported by the identity of structure of type (ii) and type (iv) bases in the Continuous tense (cf. section 15 (c)).²

23. By analogy we may also treat the type (ii) verbs with vowel **a**, which have CVCV-**n** and sequence **a-e** in the Continuous tense, as complementary to type (iv) verbs with sequence **a-e**; and type (ii) verbs with vowel **o** (alternating with **e**), which have CVCV-**n** structure and sequence **o-o** in the Continuous tense, as complementary to type (iv) verbs with sequence **o-o** (alternating with **e-e**). As regards the sequences **a-a** and **o-o**, since the only consonant occurring in position C_2 in verbs with these two sequences is **h**, and **h** does not

¹ And a common pattern **CeCe-m** with the object pronoun **-m**, e.g. **kerem** 'he aimed at me' (**ker**), and **nengem** 'he saw me' (**nenge**); cf. n. 1, p. 120.

² And also in Past and RP tenses with the object pronoun **-m**; cf. n. 1, p. 120. The absence of any CVC_{nf}V counterpart to **yira** and **nyima** with sequence **i-a** is probably fortuitous.

occur as second consonant in verbs with **a-e** or **o-o** sequences,¹ it is reasonable to treat **a-a** and **o-o** as variants of the **a-e** and **o-o** sequences respectively.

24. Thus all type (ii) verbs may reasonably be treated as complementary to the type (iv) verbs which have in the Past tense the sequence **a-e** or any sequence of identical vowels, and the two sets of verbs provisionally distinguished as types (ii) and (iv) can be treated as belonging to a single type.

In the same way, since the last consonant of the CVVC and CVCVC bases of types (v) and (vii) is naturally a 'final' consonant, whereas the last consonant of the CVVCV and CVCVCV bases of types (vi) and (viii) is **s** (the only 'non-final' consonant occurring in this position), it is possible to treat types (v) and (vii) and types (vi) and (viii) as structurally complementary to each other, the presence or absence of the final vowel correlating with the category of the last consonant.²

25. The general picture that emerges from the foregoing study of structure and vowel sequence is of three main groups of verbs :

Types (v)-(viii) ; in addition to the pairing of types (v) and (vii) and types (vi) and (viii) suggested in the last section, these four types are linked by the fact that the same base is used in all tenses, without a suffix **-n** and without vowel alternation. This distinguishes them from

Types (i)-(iv), which use different bases in different tenses, these being marked by the suffix **-n** in the Continuous and certain Habitual tenses, and by various differences of structure and vowel sequence in these and other tenses. There are strong grounds for regarding types (ii) and (iv) as complementary sub-types of a single type, while type (iii) is linked to them by comparable vowel alternation and to some extent by comparable difference of structure.

Type (i) bases also have the **-n** suffix, but their structure otherwise remains constant ; and though vowel alternation occurs, it operates on different principles from that found with types (ii)-(iv).

TONE

26. A complete tonal analysis of the verbal system is beyond the scope of this article, and we are concerned only with the bearing of tone on the classification of verbs. For our purpose it is sufficient to examine the tone patterns of the complex Subject Pronoun + Base in certain tenses in which the relationship between tone and other variations in the complex is most clearly and characteristically shown. The tone patterns described are those of the complex

¹ I hear **kema**, **kpema**, **mena**, **nyoho** in place of Abraham's **kama**, **kpama**, **mana**, **nyoho**.

² The facts described are compatible with a hypothesis that historically all bases of type (ii) as well as type (iv) verbs at one time had CVCV structure in all tenses (plus **-n** suffix in the Continuous), but that in course of time the second vowel disappeared in all circumstances where a consonant in the 'final' category occurred in the middle of the sequence **a-e** or any sequence of identical vowels, except where it was 'protected' by a suffixed **-n** or **-m**. A similar hypothesis for types (v) and (vii) and types (vi) and (viii) is also consistent with the known facts. But of course these can be no more than hypotheses in the absence of historical evidence to support or disprove them.

as a self-standing piece, and the tones assigned are not necessarily applicable to a similar complex occurring in a larger piece; they are, however, valid for the present purpose in that the relationship of the tones given here to those in larger pieces is constant for all types of verb. In describing the tone patterns, allowance is made for certain special features associated with the end of an utterance, such as extra low pitch or final cadence.

27. When such allowances are made, tone patterns can be analysed into High, Mid, and Low tones, Falling tones (High-Mid, Mid-Low, and High-Low), and a Rising tone (Low-High).¹ Falling and Rising tones are associated either with a long vowel or succession of two vowels, or with a single vowel followed by a consonant at the end of a base; for instance, the Imperatives *tǝ* 'pick it up!', *tsǝ* 'jump!', and *nyǝ* 'come in!' all have Low-High Rising tone, and *hǝ* 'pour it out!', *duǝ* 'come out!', and *kǝ* 'catch hold!' all have High-Low Falling tone. But for the present purpose it is more convenient to analyse these Rising and Falling tones as sequences of Low tone + High tone, and High tone + Low tone, which are realized in speech as respectively a rise and a fall. Accordingly the following will be treated as tone-bearing units:

- (a) a sequence of consonant and single vowel, as in the Imperative *va* 'come here!';
 - (b) a single vowel such as that of the third person subject pronoun of class 1 (*a* 'he, she, or it'), or the initial vowel of *iv* 'fill it up!';
 - (c) any consonant occurring at the end of a base;
 - (d) the nasal consonant *m* of the first person subject pronoun of class 1;
- while a succession of consonant + long vowel, or consonant + two vowels such as *too*, *haa*, *tsue*, *due* above (analysed as CVCV) will, like *n̄r*, *kor*, and *iv* be treated as two tone-bearing units.

This treatment serves *inter alia* to preserve in the analysis the distinction between *dzér* 'tie it!' and *dza* 'go!', the longer duration of voicing in *dzér* than in *dza* being reflected in their analysis as respectively two units bearing high tone and one unit bearing high tone. Such treatment also preserves the distinction between *á mǝ* 'he built' (3 units) and *á mǝr* 'he transplanted' (4 units), and between pairs such as *á kǝ* 'he sought' (analysed as High Mid-Low) where the fall coincides with the whole base, and *á kǝr* 'he lit a fire' (analysed as High Mid-Low-Low), where the fall coincides with the long vowel, and the voicing of the final consonant is at the lower level.²

28. High, Mid, and Low tones will, for brevity, be represented by the capital letters H, M, and L; these symbols will be joined by a hyphen to

¹ Further investigation might indicate that the Mid tone is not in fact a distinct tone, but could best be treated as a High tone realized at an intermediate level in certain cases.

² The description of the RP tense tone pattern of type (iv) verbs is also simplified if CVC structure is regarded as equivalent to two tone-bearing units. For instance, the bases in *á hídl* 'he returned' and *á píh* 'he asked'—RP tense complexes of the type (iv) verbs *híde* and *píne*—have different structures, but on the principle suggested would each have two tone-bearing units; and, as will be seen later, both complexes can then be described in terms of a common Tone Sequence High High Mid.

indicate (a) a gradual rise or fall from one level to another, or (b) a long vowel, a succession of two vowels, or a final vowel-consonant sequence having uniform tone. Thus the tones of the examples given in section 27 above will be represented as follows: *tǎǎ*, *tsǎǎ*, and *nyǎǎ*, L-H; *hǎǎ*, *dǎǎ*, and *kǎǎ*, H-L; *á mǎǎ* (and also *á tsǎǎ* 'he jumped' and *á nyǎǎ* 'he came in'), H.L-L. A point will be used (as in the last example) to distinguish between the part of the tone pattern associated with the subject pronoun and the part associated with the base, the latter being also differentiated by heavy type, e.g.: *á dzǎ* H.L, *á mǎǎǎ* H.L-L-L, *á kǎǎ* H.M-L, *á kǎǎǎ* H.M-L-L, while *á yǎǎǎ* 'he ran away' would be represented H.M L L (without hyphens).

Past Tense

29. On this basis the tone patterns of Past tense complexes consisting of the subject pronoun *a* 'he, she, or it' and bases of representative verbs of the eight structural types will be represented as follows:

(i)	<i>á dzǎ</i>	H.L	he (etc.) went	<i>á vá</i>	H.M	he came
(ii)	<i>á nyǎǎ</i>	} H.L-L	he entered	<i>á kǎǎ</i>	} H.M-L	he caught hold
	<i>á ǎǎ</i>		he spoke	<i>á ív</i>		it is full
(iii)	<i>á tǎǎ</i>	} H.L-L	he picked it up	<i>á ǎǎ</i>	} H.M-L	he washed (it)
	<i>á tsǎǎ</i>		he jumped	<i>á dǎǎ</i>		he came out
(iv)	<i>á hǎǎ</i>	H.L L	he returned	<i>á tǎǎ</i>	H.M L	he halted
(v)	<i>á mǎǎǎ</i>	H.L-L-L	he planted	<i>á kǎǎǎ</i>	H.M-L-L	he lit a fire
(vi)	<i>á rǎǎǎ</i>	H.L L-L	he agreed	<i>á úmbǎǎ</i>	H.M L-L	he remembered
(vii)	<i>á sǎǎǎ</i>	H.L-L L	he bored	<i>á nyǎǎǎ</i>	H.M-L L	he pulled it tight
(viii)	<i>á kǎǎǎǎ</i>	H.L L L	it chewed the cud	<i>á yǎǎǎ</i>	H.M L L	he ran away

30. *Tonal series.* From the above it is apparent that in this tense there are two different tone patterns associated with each structural type—H.L and H.M associated with type (i), H.L-L and H.M-L with type (ii), and so on. The difference in the tone patterns is in that part associated with the base (since the High tone associated with the vowel of the subject pronoun is constant in all the examples); and verbs may therefore be classified tonally into two series as follows:

Series I—those in which the initial (in some cases the only) tone associated with the base in the Past tense is *Low*;

Series II—those in which the initial (in some cases the only) tone associated with the base in the Past tense is *Mid*¹;

and all eight structural types are represented in each series.

¹ cf. Abraham's distinction between (a) Low Tones and (b) Mid followed by Low Tone, quoted in section 2 above.

Other Tenses

31. In some tenses and with certain structural types, the tone patterns of the two series fall together, giving an identical pattern for all verbs of a given type. Thus in the Subjunctive à gbángésè 'it should be broad' (Series I) and à yévéṣé 'he should run away' (Series II) both have the tone pattern L.H H L; and in the Continuous tense the distinction between the two series disappears completely, the tone pattern being the same for all verbs of each type, e.g.:

(i)	I	mbá dzán	H.M-L	they are going
	II	mbá vān	H.M-L	they are coming
(iv)	I	mbá hídèṇ	H.M L-L	they are returning
	II	mbá úngwān	H.M L-L	they are listening
(vii)	I	mbá sḍsḍ	H.M-L L	they are boring
	II	mbá nyḍsḍ	H.M-L L	they are pulling tight

But in the majority of tenses the distinction between the patterns of the two tonal series is preserved with most structural types, and the tone patterns of each series must be stated separately.

32. Table IV shows the tone patterns of the complex Subject Pronoun + Base in the Past, Subjunctive, and RP tenses and the Imperative, these tenses being taken as typical of the tonal behaviour in all tenses. The tone patterns given in the first three columns are those of a complex containing the third person pronoun of class I (a 'he, she, or it'); those in the penultimate column are those of a complex containing the corresponding first person pronoun m 'I'; with the Imperative singular the subject pronoun is zero. Where two different shapes are given for bases of the first four types, the second is that used in the RP tense (on the principles already described in section 15).

(The meanings associated with the bases are: go, enter, lift, jump, return, ask, transplant, agree, bore, be broad, chew the cud, come, seize, wash, go out, hear, stand/stop, kindle a fire, remember, pull tight, run away.)

33. From Table IV it is evident that, while the number of tone-bearing units is by definition related to the structure of the base, so that the details of the tone patterns vary from type to type, nevertheless the tone patterns fall into three distinct groups, each group containing patterns which are closely alike, but markedly different from those of other groups; this is particularly noticeable in Series I. Furthermore these groups correspond exactly to the grouping of structural types suggested in section 25, the tone patterns of types (ii)-(iv) closely resembling each other, but differing from those of type (i) on the one hand and types (v)-(viii) on the other. Most significant are the similarity in tonal behaviour between types (ii)-(iv) in spite of their superficial difference in structure, and the fact that types (v) and (vi), treated by Abraham as disyllabic, pattern like types (vii) and (viii) and not like types (iii) and (iv).

TABLE IV

Tone patterns of the complex Subject Pronoun + Base in certain tenses

Type	Example	Past	Subjunctive	RP tense		Imperative
Tonal Series I						
(i)	dza/ dze	H.L	L.H	H.H	H.M	H
(ii)	nyor/ nyer	H.L-L	L.H-M	H.H-M	H.L-H	L-H
(iii)	too/ tee	H.L-L	L.H-M	H.H-M	H.L-H	L-H
	tsue/ tsugh	H.L-L	L.H-M	H.H-M	H.L-H	L-H
(iv)	hide/ hidi	H.L L	L.H M	H.H M	H.L H	L H
	pine/ pin	H.L L	L.H M	H.H-M	H.L-H	L H
(v)	moor	H.L-L-L	L.H-H-L	H.H-H-L	H.L-H-L	L-H-L
(vi)	rumun	H.L L-L	L.H H-L	H.H H-L	H.L H-L	L H-L
(vii)	sooso	H.L-L L	L.H-H L	H.H-H L	H.L-H L	L-H L
(viii)	gbangese kegese }	H.L L L	L.H H L	H.H H L	H.L H L	—
Tonal Series II						
(i)	va/ ve	H.M	L.H	H.H	H.M	H
(ii)	kor/ ker	H.M-L	L.H-H	H.H-H	H.M-M	H-L
(iii)	oo/ ee	H.M-L	L.H-H	H.H-H	H.M-M	H-L
	due/ dugh	H.M-L	L.H-H	H.H-H	H.M-M	H-L
(iv)	ungwa/ onggo	H.M L	L.H H	H.H H	H.M M	H L
	tire/ tir	H.M L	L.H H	H.H-H	H.M-M	H L
(v)	keer	H.M-L-L	L.H-H-L	H.H-H-L	H.M-M-L	H-H-L
(vi)	umbur	H.M L-L	L.H H-L	H.H H-L	H.M M-L	H H-L
(vii)	nyooso	H.M-L L	L.H-H L	H.H-H L	H.M-M L	H-H L
(viii)	yevese	H.M L L	L.H H L	H.H H L	H.M M L	H H L

34. The basic unity of the tone patterns in a group may be expressed by speaking of a Tone Sequence common to all verbs represented in the group; this may be a 'broken' or a 'continuous' sequence according to the type of structure with which it is associated—a *continuous* sequence being associated with a -VV or -VC pattern in the base, a *broken* sequence with a succession of CV patterns.

Thus the relation between the tone patterns of types (ii), (iii), and (iv) of Series I in the Subjunctive may be described by saying that they share a Tone Sequence L.HM; the sequence is broken in the case of type (iv) (structure of base CVCV, tone pattern L.H M), continuous in the case of types (ii) and (iii) (structure of bases CVC and CVV respectively, tone pattern of both L.H-M). Similarly in the RP tense with subject pronoun *a*, types (ii)-(iv) of Series I have a common Tone Sequence H.HM, broken in the case of type (iv) verbs whose second consonant is in the 'non-final' category and which have CVCV structure, continuous in the case of type (iv) verbs whose second consonant is in the 'final' category and which have CVC structure, and continuous also with all verbs of types (ii) and (iii). Again, types (v)-(viii) of both series have, in the Subjunctive, a common Tone Sequence L.HHL, which is continuous with type (v), broken with type (viii), and partly broken with types (vi) and (vii). And Tone Sequences can be quoted in similar terms for all tenses listed here, and also for all the remaining tenses.

So it is possible to describe the tone patterns of each group of structural types in each tense in terms of a single Tone Sequence, and whether the Sequence is broken or continuous can be predicted from the structure of the base; and the tonal behaviour of all verbs in any one tense can be described economically by listing at most six Tone Sequences.

TABLE V

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tonal Series	Series I			Series II		
Type	(i)	(ii)-(iv)	(v)-(viii)	as Cl. 1	as Cl. 2	as Cl. 3
Structures ¹ in	CV	CVC and	CVVC			
Past and		CVCV	CVCVC	"	"	"
RP tenses		CVV and	CVVCV			
		CVC	CVCVCV			
		CVCV and				
		CVC				
Vowel Alternation <i>a</i> → <i>e</i>		Full set of	No alterna-	"	"	"
		alterna-	tion			
		tions where				
		appropriate				
- <i>n</i> suffix or none	- <i>n</i>	- <i>n</i>	none	"	"	"

¹ There will, of course, also be similar structures without an initial consonant; cf. section 8 (b) above.

CONCLUSION

35. These groups of structural types, linked by features of structure, of vowel alternance, and of tone, are thus convenient units for the classification of Tiv verbs. On this basis verbs may be arranged in six classes, numbered 1 to 6, as shown in Table V. Of these, Classes 1, 2, and 3 have tone patterns of Series I, Classes 4, 5, and 6 tone patterns of Series II; Classes 1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6 contain verbs using bases of identical structures; and, conveniently, there is normally one tone-bearing unit in the bases of verbs of Classes 1 and 4, two tone-bearing units in the bases of verbs of Classes 2 and 5, and three tone-bearing units in the bases of verbs of Classes 3 and 6.

This classification, with the possibility of further division of Classes 2 and 5 into sub-classes for the treatment of differences of structure, is the most economical basis for a comprehensive description of the Tiv verbal system, and in particular simplifies considerably the description of its tonal behaviour.

THE GADABUURSI SOMALI SCRIPT

By I. M. LEWIS

AT the moment, both in the British Protectorate and in Somalia, the adoption of a standard orthography for the Somali language is fiercely debated.¹ In discussion of the merits of the various scripts proposed, technical problems of orthography have to some extent been lost sight of. Nationalistic arguments have favoured 'Somali writing' ('Ismaaniya) while religious or Pan-Islamic arguments have supported an Arabic script. This article² discusses an orthography invented some 20 years ago by a well-known Gadabuursi sheikh, Sheikh 'Abdurahmaan Sh. Nuur, the present Government *Qaadi* of Borama District³ in the west of the British Protectorate. The script has not, as far as I am aware, been previously described in the literature on Somaliland.⁴ I publish it here with no intention of attempting to contribute to the already abundant confusion in the choice of a standard orthography for Somali. Sh. 'Abdurahmaan's script is of considerable linguistic and ethnological interest, since it seems, after 'Ismaaniya, to be the second non-Arabic Somali orthography to be invented in Somaliland.⁵ The problems involved in devising a script for Somali and the Sheikh's achievement can best be appreciated if we review briefly the history of attempts to write Somali, in Somaliland. We are not concerned with studies made by professional European philologists.

¹ The dispute over the adoption of an orthography may be studied from the numerous articles on the subject which have appeared over the past few years in British Somaliland in the periodical *War Somali Sidihi*, and in Somalia in *Il Corriere della Somalia* and more recently in *Somalia d'Oggi*. A brave, if unwise, attempt to solve the problem was made in March 1957 by the Government of Somalia which launched *Wargeyska Somalisyed*, a newspaper printed entirely in a phonetically accurate but simple transcription of Somali in roman characters. The publication of this journal, using roman characters as a medium for Somali, raised such a storm of popular protest—especially from the advocates of 'Ismaaniya—that it had to be withdrawn from publication after a few numbers had appeared.

² I spent a little under two years, during 1955–7, mainly in the British Protectorate, as Fellow in Social Anthropology of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, London, to whose generosity I am greatly indebted for financing my research.

³ Place-names in this article are normally spelt according to general Administrative usage in the Protectorate. In writing other Somali words Andrzejewski's transcription as used in Bell, 1953, and Andrzejewski and Galaal, 1956, is followed. Proper names of persons although of Arabic origin in many cases are represented in this orthography with their Somali pronunciation. The Somali pronunciation of other Arabic expressions used is also indicated.

⁴ The expression 'Somaliland' is used here to denote all the Somali countries, and not simply the British Protectorate.

⁵ Several attempts appear to have been made by Somalis, with in many cases European encouragement—governmental or missionary—to write Somali in roman characters. Such scripts—other than the conventional systems used by officials for writing personal and place-names in roman characters—have acquired little or no general currency. Adaptations of roman characters to represent Somali sounds are, of course, not inventions in the sense that the Gadabuursi and 'Ismaaniya scripts are.

I. *Arabic Scripts*

The introduction of Arabic into northern Somaliland is generally attributed to Sheikh Yuusuf bin Ahmad al-Kawneyn (or Aw Barkhadle, as he is popularly known) of *ashrāf* descent, said to have come to Somaliland as a proselytizer of Islam in the thirteenth century.¹ The *Sharif* advanced the teaching of Arabic to Somalis by devising a Somali nomenclature for the Arabic vowels, *fatha*, *kasra*, and *damma*, as shown. *Alif* with *fatha* is called in Somali *alif la kordabey* (ٲ)²; *alif* with *kasra* is in Somali *alif la hoosdabey* (ٲ)³; and *alif* with *damma* is in Somali *alif la godey* (ٲ).⁴ This Somali nomenclature for the vocalization of the Arabic consonants is taught to this day in private Qur'anic schools throughout the country. The system attributed to *Sharif* Yuusuf enabled his Somali pupils to learn to read and write Arabic. There is no early record, however, as far as is known, of any Arab having adapted Arabic script as a vehicle for writing Somali. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that Somalis with a knowledge of Arabic have for many centuries written a sometimes ungrammatical Arabic containing many Somali words as they still do to-day.

Apart from the small proportion of the population who have learnt Arabic in Government schools, ability to write in Arabic is generally limited to *wadaads*,⁵ sheikhs, and businessmen or merchants, who have learnt in private Qur'anic schools. Most children have at one time or another spent some time, if only a few months, learning by heart under a sheikh or teacher (*ma'allin*) some chapters from the Qur'an. But although the standard of Islamic instruction, including Arabic, is often quite high amongst those who have spent years at such schools, the proportion of the population who can write as well as read Arabic is relatively small. This can be appreciated from the fact that a man can enjoy the title of sheikh without being able to write much Arabic and with only a very limited ability to read the language. Anyone who devotes his life to religion is a *wadaad*, however slight his acquaintance with Arabic. Many men who practise as *wadaads*, presiding over local religious ceremonies (all sacrifices, *Rabbibari*,⁶ the Friday Prayers—if the congregation in a district is sufficiently large to warrant their observance, *dhihrs* (in Somali pronunciation *dikri-ga*), *siyaaros*, and the *mauliids* of saints, and all other religious occasions) and acting as unofficial local *qādis*, know only sufficient Arabic to read from

¹ The *Sharif's* tomb which is the scene of an annual pilgrimage (*siyaaro-da*) mainly for the clans of the Ishaaq clan-family is situated some 20 miles to the north-east of Hargeisa. See Webber, 1956. For an indication of the *Sharif's* role in Somali tradition, see Lewis, 1956, 153. I hope to discuss the *Sharif* more fully elsewhere.

² Lit. '*alif* (which) is surmounted'.

³ Lit. '*alif* (which) is undercut'.

⁴ Lit. '*alif* (which) is hollowed-out'.

⁵ *Wadaad* is a Somali synonym for the Ar. *sheikh*, but in Somaliland the word *sheikh* often denotes a slightly higher status in religion than does *wadaad*.

⁶ Literally, 'begging, or beseeching, God'. Other expressions are also used, as e.g. *Allaah-bari*, and in Hawiye dialect the probably pre-Islamic compounds *Waaq da'il* and *Waaq da'in*, from *Waaq*, one of the pre-Islamic Cushitic names of God.

the religious books¹ which they have learnt by heart. Of course everyone, whether he be a *wadaad* or sheikh, or ordinary member of the public,² prays in Arabic. But although only a small fraction of the total Somali population can write Arabic a considerable religious literature which must comprise several thousand poems (*qasidas*) in praise of the Prophet and the saints has been produced in Arabic, or a mixture of Arabic and Somali,³ by Somali sheikhs and *wadaads*. Some of these *qasidas* (in Somali pronounced *qasida*) have been written in good Arabic by Somali sheikhs with an excellent knowledge of the language acquired locally from especially learned teachers or studied in travel abroad in Arabia, Egypt, and the Sudan. Indeed there is a much richer literature in Arabic, mainly of Sufistic works, than is generally realized outside Somaliland. It is hoped to indicate something of the range and quality of this Somali literature at a later date.⁴

With respect to knowledge of Arabic the population may be divided into three classes, those who know a little,⁵ those who can read and write a little, and those who are expert in both reading and writing. The last are a small but increasing minority. The middle group have given rise in religion and trade to a type of writing which is known, not inappropriately, as 'wadaad's writing' (or 'wadaad's Arabic'). This is an ungrammatical Arabic containing some Somali words, the proportion of Somali naturally varying with the context. The calligraphy is usually also inexpert and often obscure. 'Wadaad's writing' is used by merchants, in business, in letter-writing, in the writing of petitions,⁶

¹ The most commonly studied religious works are standard authorities on the *Shari'a*, mainly of the Shāfi'ite school to which the majority of Somali adhere, with, of course, the Qur'ān and various compilations of *hadīths*. The Sūfī Dervish Orders (Qadiriya, Al-madiya-Rahmaaniya, Ahmadiya-Saalihiya, and Ahmadiya-Dandaraawiya, to name the principal *tarīqas*) provide in their literature, hagiologies (*manaqib*), poetry (*qasidas*), etc., a rich source of reading material for the student of religion. Outside the *tarīqas*, strictly, but associated with them are the hagiologies and poems composed in honour of Somali clan and lineage ancestors transmuted in Somali Islam into Sūfī saints. For Somali Sufism see Cerulli, 1923, and Lewis, 1956. It is hoped shortly to publish a more up-to-date appraisal of Sufism in Somaliland.

² Men are traditionally divided by profession into those who are warriors (*waranleh*) and those who devote their lives primarily, whatever subsidiary occupation they may pursue, to religion (*wadaad*).

³ Text I, below, p. 144, is a good example of a Somali *qasida*.

⁴ Few works by Somali writers have been published but there are many original manuscripts, some of which one hopes may some day be printed in Mogadishu. Sayyid Mahammad 'Abdilleh Hassan (b. 1864, d. 1920, the celebrated 'Mad Mullah'), for example, has left a considerable number of MSS. Some of the better known published works are the *maymū'at al-mubāraka* of Sh. 'Abdallāh ibn Yuusuf al-Qalanqooli (of the Qadiriya), Cairo, 1913-19 (see Cerulli, 1923, 22-5); the *maymū'at al-qasā'id* collected by the same author, Cairo, 1949, very popular amongst members of the Qadiriya Order in Somaliland; and Sh. 'Abdurahmān az-Zeila'i's Arabic grammar, *faiḥ al-latif*, Cairo, 1938. An interesting secular work is mentioned below.

⁵ This group comprises, of course, the majority of the population since everyone knows the Muslim prayers in Arabic (the daily prayers) and a few Arabic words.

⁶ Broken English is also frequently used in petition writing. Both in and obscure *wadaad's* writing have the great merit, where the writer wishes (and no doubt frequently involuntarily) of enabling the petition to be couched in legal ambiguity so that the meaning of finer points of detail is seldom clear. This provides the writer with talking points should dispute arise concerning the meaning of the petition.

and in the writing of *qasidas* by *wadaads* whence its name is derived. The principal obscurities in this writing are due to the lack of a standard convention for representing Somali words and failure to mark the Arabic short vowels. These are difficulties inherent in the differences between the Arabic and Somali alphabets, quite apart from the additional errors in grammar. Those of the younger generation who have learnt correct Arabic in Government schools usually find 'wadaad's writing' difficult if not impossible to read.

Somali contains 22 consonants: ¹ *b*, ² *t*, ³ *j*, ⁴ *q*, ⁵ *g*, *h*, *kh*, *h*, *d*, ⁶ *r*, *s*, ⁷ *sh*, *ʿ*, *f*, *q*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*; the eight Arabic consonants *ز, ذ, ص, ض, ط, ظ, غ, ث* do not occur in pure northern Somali.⁸ In Somali there are ten vowels: five short and five long; *a*, *i*, *u*, *o*, *e*, and *aa*, *ii*, *uu*, *oo*, *ee*.⁹ From the point of view of writing Somali in Arabic characters the first requirement is for two symbols to represent Somali *q* and *g*, the latter being a separate sound from *j*. There is no standard convention in 'wadaad's writing' and Somali *q* is variously written, *ق*, *ط*, and *ظ*. Somali *g* is usually written *ج*. The voiced dental plosive *d* is usually written *د*, and the Somali *s* which corresponds to the Arabic *س*, and should be written thus is sometimes in 'wadaad's writing' written *ص*, as e.g. in *Soomaali* written sometimes, *صومال*. Arabic lacks symbols for the Somali vowels *e*, *ee*, and *o*, *oo*, although these can be represented approximately by other combinations in Arabic. Since, however, 'wadaad's writing' usually omits the short vowels it is extremely difficult to read unless the meaning is clear from the context which is by no means always the case. When in addition to this the writing contains both Somali and Arabic words and is ungrammatical the difficulty of reading it can easily be appreciated. The following letter¹⁰ may serve as an illustration:

¹ The glottal stop.

² The Arabic *ت*.

³ The voiced post-alveolar plosive.

⁴ The voiced dental plosive, corresponding to the Arabic *د*. Moreno, 1955, 8, includes also *ḏ*, a Somaliization of the Arabic *ذ*. But this sound seems very rare in northern Somali.

⁵ Correctly the Arabic *س*.

⁶ Andrzejewski introduces an additional consonant *y*, which he describes as 'acoustically similar to *j* but less tense and darker', Andrzejewski and Galaal, 1956, 2.

⁷ The *ʿ* is sometimes in eastern Somaliland pronounced as the Arabic *غ*.

⁸ There are slight dialectal differences in the speech of the *ʿIis* clan in the west, the central *Ishaq*, and the *Daarood* in the east, and again between the *Daarood* and the *Hawiye* (all of whom are collectively 'Samaale', see Lewis, 1955, 15) but these are slight compared with the differences between these as a whole and the *Banaadir* and *Rahanweyn* dialects of southern Somalia; cf. Andrzejewski and Galaal, loc. cit., 1. See also Moreno, loc. cit., *passim*.

⁹ Both Armstrong, 1934, and Andrzejewski, 1955, 568, distinguish two values for each of the ten vowels according as the vowel is articulated with or without 'fronting'.

¹⁰ The original, written in pencil, could not be reproduced and the block has accordingly been made from a carefully traced copy.

من عينا^١بو الى برعو^٢
 المحترم جامع احمد^٣ هجر جعله
 وصلنا^٤ قريبتك عند
 محمد موسى ولكن تريد منك^٥
 راشن^٦ حق^٦ رير حقل
 وقيمة^٧ الراشن^٧ شلن
 واخوك قاع احمد
 يحتاج خبر الحاس
 حقل الذي ذهب
 الى عدن

والسلام
 جولييد علمي

من عينا^١بو الى برعو^٢
 المحترم جامع احمد هجر جعله وصلنا^٤ قريبتك عند محمد موسى ولكن تريد منك^٥ راشن^٦ حق^٦ رير حقل
 وقيمة^٧ الراشن^٧ ١٧ شلن واخوك فارح احمد يحتاج خبر^٧ الحاس حقل الذي ذهب الى عدن.
 والسلام
 جولييد علمي

^١ Amabo, a small town in the east of the Protectorate.

^٢ Bura'o, a large town in the east of the Protectorate

^٣ Habar Ja'lo, a large Ishaq clan in the east and centre of the Protectorate.

^٤ Somali *farin-ta* 'message'.

^٥ English 'rations', Somalized to *raashin-ka*.

^٦ Somali *reer-ka* 'nomadic family, household, family, people'.

^٧ Somali *kaas-ka* 'family'.

An advance in the application of the Arabic script to represent Somali was made by the famous Qaadiiriya saint, Sh. Uwais ibn Mahammad al-Baraawi, of the Tunni Golgaal clan, who died at Biyoley in southern Somalia in 1919.¹ Sh. Uwais is the founder of the Uwaisiyya branch of the Qaadiiriya *ṭarīqa* to which the majority of those who follow this Order in southern Somalia belong.² The Sheikh has written many well-known works some of which are published in the two collections compiled by Sh. ‘Abdallah ibn Yuusuf al-Qalanqooli mentioned above. Sh. Uwais applied to the Digil³ dialect of southern Somalia the Arabic transcription adopted by the Swahili-speaking Amarani of Brava⁴ in writing their dialect, Bravanese. In this orthography the Somali *q* is written ظ, and the *g* گ, as in Persian. The *ḥamza* is written internally as ع, otherwise as in Arabic. The vowel points are always inserted. The Somali vowels *e* and *o* are written ay and aw. One of the Sheikh’s best known *qasidas* is published by Professor M. M. Moreno with a phonetic transcription and translation, and it is not necessary to illustrate the script here.⁵

Some 20 years ago in the British Protectorate, Sheikh Mahammad ‘Abdi Makaahiil,⁶ following his predecessor, Sh. Ibraahim ‘Abdallah Mayal in his attempts to standardize ‘*wadaad*’s writing’ published a most interesting little book, ‘The institution of modern correspondence in the Somali language’.⁷ This comparatively unknown work consists of an introduction in which the suitability of the Arabic script for writing Somali is urged and a standard orthography proposed. The author then illustrates his script with examples of Somali letters, sentences, and proverbs. Sh. Mahammad represents the Somali *q* by ذ, and the *g* by a barred kaf ك̣. The Sheikh recognizes the difficulty in representing the Somali vowels *e* and *o*. He states that in Somali *a* and *i* cannot always be distinguished and represents vowel sounds intermediate between *a* and *i* by the joint use of *fatha* and *kasra*. Thus he writes *Eebbahay* ‘my God’ رَبِّهِىَ, and *qerer* ‘height’ قَرَر. The problem of writing the vowel *o* is attacked, somewhat picturesquely, by using the symbol ٲ for *damma* when it is ‘awkward to pronounce’. Thus *talo* ‘advice’ is written تَلٲ.

Recently Muuse Haaji Ismaa‘iil Galaal (Habar Ja‘lo, Ishaaq), following in the wake of his predecessors in the Protectorate, has proposed a more radical alteration of Arabic to represent Somali.⁸ Here the *q* and *g* are represented by

¹ For the Tunni of southern Somalia, see Lewis, 1955, 32 and *passim*. For further information concerning the Sheikh see the *majmū‘at al-mubāraka* mentioned above and Cerulli, 1923, 12, 22.

² In northern Somaliland, on the other hand, most of the Qaadiiriya follow the teaching of Sh. ‘Abdurahmaan az-Zeila‘i.

³ For the Digil see Lewis, 1955, 31 ff., and for their dialect, Moreno, 1955, 327 ff.

⁴ See Lewis, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.

⁵ Moreno, *loc. cit.*, 364–7.

⁶ Of the Ishaaq, Habar Awal clan.

⁷ Published in Bombay, A.H. 1345, as انشاء المكاتبات العصرية في اللغة الصومالية.

⁸ Galaal, 1954. In his original article, Muuse Galaal used ج to represent Somali *j*, but has since decided, more logically, to use this letter for Somali *g*.

ḥ and ẓ respectively, and an entirely original set of symbols for the Somali vowels are introduced. The new vowel signs are *a* ا, *i* ٲ, *u* ٴ, *e* ٲ, *o* ٲ, and the long vowels *ee* ٲ and *oo* ٲ. The long vowels *aa* and *ii* are represented by the Arabic | and ٲ. The glottal stop is written as in Arabic. The sign ٲ is added to any final new symbol. Examples of the use of the script are given in Muuse Galaal's article. This development by a Somali trained in phonetics may be considered as the most accurate Arabic script yet devised for Somali.

II. *Non-Arabic Scripts*

1. *'Ismaaniya*

The well-known 'Ismaaniya (Osmaniya) or 'Somali writing' was invented about 1920 by 'Ismaan Yuusuf Kenadiid, brother of 'Ali Yuusuf (Daarood, Majeerteen),¹ Sultan of Obbia in Somalia. The script was noticed by Marcello Orano, and later by Dr. Cerulli.² It has been widely publicized, by Dr. M. Maino who has given the fullest descriptions,³ and by 'Ismaan Yuusuf's son, Yaasiin (the well-known authority on Somali language and literature) in Somalia. The orthography is little known and virtually never used in the British Protectorate⁴ although it is widely known and quite often used in Somalia. Even in Somalia, however, its currency falls short of that of the different varieties of 'wadaad's Arabic' writing. Phonetically 'Ismaaniya is highly accurate.⁵ There are new symbols for each of the 22 Somali consonants except the glottal stop, which can be represented by *hamza*. In practice it is usually omitted. The ten vowels, five long and five short, are represented by eight new symbols and the consonants for *y* (*ii*) and *w* (*uu*). There are also ten numerals.⁶

The most striking feature of the script is, of course, that in contrast to Arabic it is written from left to right. With the exception of the glottal stop (if used) the symbols bear little or no resemblance to any Arabic characters. In contrast to the strict phonetic character of the letters, 'Ismaaniya has certain definite etymological or quasi-etymological features.⁷ Thus the article is usually written separately from the noun which it qualifies, as in *geed ka* 'the tree', *aqal kiisa* 'his house', etc. Vowel mutations which occur in speech on the addition of certain suffixes⁸ are not always phonetically repre-

¹ For the Somali Daarood clan-family, see Lewis, 1955, 18 ff.

² E. Cerulli, 'Tentativo indigeno di formare un alfabeto somalo', *Oriente Moderno*, XII, 4, 1932, 212-13.

³ Maino, 1951, 1953.

⁴ Some emphasis has been given to 'Ismaaniya, regarded as a national Somali script by the Somali Youth League political party. The script is sometimes used, symbolically, as much as practically, in S.Y.L. proceedings in the Protectorate.

⁵ See Maino, 1953, 26 ff., and Moreno, 1955, 290 ff.

⁶ For alphabet see n. 3 on next page.

⁷ cf. Maino, loc. cit., 26 ff.

⁸ See Bell, 1953, 7 ff.

sented. Some writers of 'Ismaaniya write etymologically, *aabbe hii* for *aabbihii* 'the father', *magaalo da* for *magaalada* 'the town'. Similarly an apostrophe is inserted in 'Ismaaniya to denote an absent consonant in a suffix mutation as e.g. *maga'a* for *maga'a* 'the name', where the masculine article has been changed to *ain* in agreement with the final *ain* of the unqualified noun.¹ Similarly 'Ismaaniya writes *geel'a* for *geela* 'the camels'. The modification of the feminine article *ta* when attached to a final *l* to *sha* is written etymologically, as in *quhul sha* for the pronunciation *quhusha* 'the charcoal'; *ul sha* for *usha* 'the stick', etc.² The mutations which occur with the final consonants of verb stems in the third person feminine and second person

¹ See Bell, loc. cit., 12.

² See Bell, loc. cit., 8.

³ The alphabet is:

ᵇ	ᵗ	ᵃ	ᵈ	ᵍ	ᵕ	ᵑᵑ
b	t	j	d	g	h	kh
ᵕ	ᵐ	ᵕ	ᵔ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ
h	d	r	s	sh	c	f
ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵑ	ᵔ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ
q	k	l	m	n	w	y
ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ
a	i	u	o	e	aa	ii
ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ						
uu oo ee						

The numerals are .

ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ
1	2	3	4	5
ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ	ᵕ
6	7	8	9	0

of the reflexive conjugation are written etymologically, e.g. *qaladtay* for *qalattay* 'you are/she is born', etc.

These features are generally absent in the Gadabuursi script as written by its inventor, Sheikh 'Abdurahmaan, although he sometimes writes the article suffix separately from the noun which it qualifies.¹

2. *The Gadabuursi Orthography*

This script was devised in about 1933 by Sheikh 'Abdurahmaan Sheikh Nuur of the chiefly lineage (Reer Ugaas) of the Gadabuursi clan.² Sh. 'Abdurahmaan's father, Sh. Nuur, is a well-known figure and was for many years Government *Qāḍī* of Borama District in the west of the Protectorate. After some years as a teacher of religion in the Education Department, Sh. 'Abdurahmaan succeeded his father as *Qāḍī* at Borama and holds this post at present. He is a learned man with a wide knowledge of the history of his clan.³ The script is known and used only by a small circle of the Sheikh's associates in Borama and outside the Gadabuursi country very few people have heard of it. Unlike 'Ismaaniya the script has not been taken up seriously by any protagonist of written Somali. Nor does Sh. 'Abdurahmaan himself regard his invention as a contribution to the problem of finding a national orthography for Somali. For these reasons the script has languished in obscurity and the few modifications which would make it phonetically as accurate as 'Ismaaniya have failed to be introduced.⁴

The script has no character for the glottal stop (although *hamza* could be employed as in 'Ismaaniya) and there are 21 consonants:

ƒ	J	P	O	q	ɣ
b	t	j	d	g	h
ɣɪ	ɣ	T	S	3	6
kh	h	d	r	s	sh
ɣ	ʃ	ʒ	I	ɾ	ŋ
c	f	q	k	l	m
U	Q	ɣ			
n	w	y			

¹ See the examples below.

² The Gadabuursi clan inhabit the west of the British Protectorate and the northern part of the Harar province of Ethiopia. See Lewis, 1955, 25.

³ He has written in Arabic some MSS on Gadabuursi history.

⁴ My attention was first drawn to the script by my friend Mr. J. Gethin, H.M. Consul, Mogadishu. I studied the script with its inventor, Sh. 'Abdurahmaan, while on a visit to the Gadabuursi of Borama District.

The seven vowels are :

<i>T</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>⊥</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>CC</i>
a	e	i	ii	u	uu

<i>o</i>
oo

In contrast to 'Ismaaniya the consonants *y* and *w* are not used as vowels except in diphthongs. Short *o* is normally written as *u* (*C*) and there is no differentiation between *a* and *aa*, and *e* and *ee*. These failings could very easily be remedied with only slight modifications in the script. As with 'Ismaaniya the script is written from left to right and the article suffixes are sometimes separated from their nouns. But the other etymological features of 'Ismaaniya are lacking and in this respect the script is potentially phonetically more accurate than 'Ismaaniya. None of these Somali orthographies take account of tone (which is not always important)¹ but they could easily be written with tone marks where necessary. Six texts written by Sh. 'Abdurahmaan are published here with transliterations (in italics) and phonetically more accurate transcriptions (in roman type). Fairly literal English translations accompany the texts.²

¹ For the problem of tone in Somali, see Andrzejewski, 1956.

² Mr. Muuse Galaal and Mr. Yuusuf Maygaag have very kindly advised me in the writing of this article and in the transcription and translation of the texts. I wish to thank also Mr. F. J. Raine of the Education Department, British Somaliland, for his expert help in the preparation of scripts and texts for the printers.

TEXT I

A Qasiida in praise of the Prophet

ገጥ ሀገሪኝ ጌጥጥር ዊጥ ጌጥጥር ሀገራዊ።
 ገገገጥጥ ገገጥጥ ሀገራዊ ጥ ገጥ ገጥጥጥ።
 ገገጥጥ-ገጥ ሀገራዊ ገጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።
 ገገጥጥ-ገጥ ገጥጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።
 ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥጥ ገጥጥ
 ገጥጥጥ።
 ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥጥ።
 ገጥጥ-ገጥ ገጥጥጥ ገጥጥ-ገጥ ገጥጥጥ።
 ገጥ ገጥጥ ገጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።
 ገጥጥጥ-ገጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።
 ገጥጥጥ-ገጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።
 ገጥጥጥ-ገጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።
 ገጥጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ ገጥጥ።

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

Ya nabiyi salatu wa salamu 'aleka
Ya nabiyi salaatu, wa salaamu 'aleyka
Qasiidan qorayay Rabow a iga qalo'in
Qasiidaan qorayaaye, Rabbow hayga qalloo'in
Quruh-dii nabigeni ya qiyasi karaya
Quruhdii nebigeenii, yaa qiyaasi karaaya
Qorqa-dii timihisa qigta logu qiyasay

Qurḍadii timihiisa, degtaa loogu qiyaasay
 Qurah dad argien buu qariyuu ka 'adaday
 Qorraḥdaad aragteen buu, qariyuu ka 'addaaday
 Haduu qafilo ra'o qamam kuu haḍinayay
 Hadduu qaafilo raa'o, qamaamkuu haḍinaayay
 Quri-gii qutanshana quyan buu nuqunayay
 Qorigii qotonshaana, qoyaan buu noqonaayay
 Nin haday is qabtana qolḥun muu oḍanayno
 Nin hadday is qabtaanne, qawlḥun muu oḍannayno
 Qalbigiisiyo laabtana, qushkii ba laga mayḍay
 Qalbigiisiyo laabtana, qushkii baa laga mayḍay
 Qadad kiisa nin joga qalbiguu ka arkayay
 Qadaadkiisa nin jooga, qalbiguu ka arkaayay
 Qusul kiisu ma qafin qoluhuu yara qawin
 Qosolkiisu ma qaafin, qooluhuu yara qaawin

TRANSLATION ¹

All hail Prophet, may blessing and peace be upon Thee.
 May the qasida I write flow smoothly, Master.
 The beauty of our Prophet, who can gauge ?
 His waving hair, reaches to His ears.
 He eclipsed the sun, and shines more brightly.
 The caravan He accompanied, travelled under shade-giving clouds.²
 The dead stick which He sets upright, becomes green ³ (with life).
 If He quarrelled with a man, He would not insult him.
 His heart and breast, are pure from all evil and uncleanness.
 The man who stands behind him, He sees in his heart.⁴
 When He laughed He never exposed, more than His canine teeth.⁵

¹ In these translations I have tried to adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning within the requirements of reasonably intelligible English. This is probably most difficult in a *qasida* although it is difficult also in Somali secular poetry because of the use of imagery and metaphor. This *qasida* was written by Sh. Isma'ul Farah (d. c. 1910) of the Habar Awal clan (Reer Ahmad). For the Habar Awal clan, see Lewis, 1955, 23 ff. The *qasida* is well-known in the Protectorate.

² When the Prophet went with a caravan he caused clouds to shade its journey.

³ *Qoyaan*, lit. 'wet' as opposed to *qors* 'dry, dead wood'. The phrase refers to the miraculous life-giving power of the Prophet.

⁴ This sentence means simply that through his miraculous power, the Prophet would be aware of the presence of someone standing behind him.

⁵ This sentence refers to *ḥadīths* describing the Prophet's demeanour when he smiled which has set a style of propriety in expressing pleasure or mirth. This religious tradition is probably associated with the common Somali idea that a man who opens his mouth wide when he smiles or laughs is not to be trusted.

The following words have the Arabic correspondences shown: *nebi* Ar. n-b-y; *salaat* Ar. s-l-ṭ-t; *salaam* Ar. s-l-ṭ-m; *'aleyka* Ar. 'l-y-k; *qasida* Ar. q-s-y-d-t; *Rabbi* Ar. r-b; *qiyaasi* Ar. q-y-ṣ-s; *qaafilo* Ar. q-ṣ-f-l-t; *qamaam* Ar. g-m-ṣ-m; *qawl* (in the compound *qawlḥun*) Ar. q-w-l; *qalbigiis* Ar. q-l-b.

TEXT II

A letter from Borama

3HΓTγ

QTTTIL TU PHγGT 4C3HU.3TGT
 NTT. TUT9C QT UTJTT. SHS IL QC-
 4C YTΓ OJJD. TES IL QHUT QT-
 YT γCUTY FIJTY. TTΓ UT QCC
 YINOT. TGTJJ QTY UT 3D 9TOTJ.
 UD 3D TII 3CJT9. 4DYTUT QTY
 JINOT. QTTTΓ IT 9CCΓHT QC4C
 JT9TY 4TJ9H3T.

UCCS JIΓH

JDSTNT.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

*Sela'**Seyla'**Walal kii an je'la, Huseen. Salamad.**Walaal kii an je'laa, Huseen. Salaamad.**Anagu wa nabad. Rer kii wuñu yal Doobo.**Annagu waa nabad. Reer kii wuñu yaal Doobo.**Awr kii wena waña 'unay libaah. 'Ali na wuu yim-iid.**Awr kii weyna waña 'unay libaañ. 'Ali na wuu yimid.**Alabti way na soo gaḍay. Noo soo dir subag.*

Alaabtii way na soo gaaday. Noo soo dir subag.
Hooyana way timid. Walal ka Guuleed wuhu
 Hooyana way timid. Walaal kaa Guuleed wuhu
tagay Hargeisa.
 tegay Hargeysa.

Nuur Bile

Nuur Bile

Boorama

Boorama

TRANSLATION

Zeila.¹

My beloved brother, Huseen. Peace.

I am well,² the *reer*³ is at Doobo.⁴

The big burden camel has been eaten by a lion. 'Ali has come.

The goods have been received by us. Send us (some) ghee.

Our mother has come. Your⁵ brother Guuleed has gone to Hargeisa.⁶

Nuur Bile,

Borama.⁷

¹ The ancient but now deserted town, at various times capital of the Muslim state of Awdal (ninth/tenth-sixteenth centuries), on the north-west coast of the British Protectorate. Well-known place-names are here spelt as in common administrative usage in the Protectorate.

² Lit. 'it is peace', meaning above all spiritual equilibrium, not simply the absence of war. A rather perfunctory greeting, as here, the writer would be somewhat disturbed by the loss of the camel.

³ Here, the nomadic hamlet, comprising a man's hut, sheep and goats, and possibly some milch camels and cattle, with his wife and children (by her) and probably a few families of close kin with their huts and stock. Each wife normally has one hut. The word *reer* is also used in other more general senses, as e.g. to mean 'people', but this is its basic meaning. For a general introduction to the structure of nomadic Somali society see my *The Somali lineage system and the total genealogy* (duplicated), Hargeisa, Somaliland Protectorate, 1957.

⁴ A village in the west of the Protectorate.

⁵ The article *-kaa* indicates that the person spoken of is more directly related to the recipient of the letter than to the sender. This possibly refers to the recipient and sender being of different mothers (Som. *kala hooyo*).

⁶ The capital of the British Protectorate, of recent foundation and with no traditions of any considerable antiquity.

⁷ The administrative centre of Borama District in the west of the Protectorate, home of Sh. 'Abdurahmaan author of our script.

TEXT III

A Gabay by Ugaas Nuur

QTYT JIOI C9T3 UCCS

HJC UIU I TTSTU NTYTU TTSJT YCSH 3H46TY.

P1OIC UIU CUD TOUTU NTYTU YTTT C 3LTT3TY.

NT TT9T9 HY 4TYTTT NTYTU ST9 C TCGJTT YH6TY.

UIU I TT43TUTYT NTYTU NTGTJ TCSGCC 3LYTY.

9DSJTU TTQTSIT C SD9C HU YHGTTC C TTT6C.

TTJU ITU C O9TY ICGICC TT9TGT 3D 3TSD.

IBT9DU TIIULU JTJU NTYTU IT9T TTYTU 3LYTY.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

*Waha yidi Ugas Nuur**Waha yidi Ugaas Nuur**Eboow nin ii daran maħan darta hure seħshay.**Eebbow nin ii daran maħaan daarta hore seeħshay.**Jiidku nin unoo doonan maħan hadal u siidayay.**Jidku nin anu doonayn maħaan hadal u sii daayay.**Ma dagdag ey ħajada maħan rag u dulqaad yeshay.**Ma degdeg ey ħajada maħaan rag u dulqaad yeeshay.**Nin ii daqsanaya maħan malab durduur siiyay.**Nin ii daaqsanayaa maħaan malab durduursiiyay.**Geortan dawarka u roogoo en ħelada u dadshu.**Goortaan dawaarka u rogo een ħeeladda u daadsho.**Dabin kan u digay kulkuu dagalka soo saroo.**Dabin kaan u digay kolkuu degelka soo saaro.**Isagoon dikniin qabin maħan kaga dayan siiyay.**Isagaan digniin qabin maħaan kaga dayaan siiyay.*

TRANSLATION

As *Ugaas* Nuur said,¹
 Oh God!² How often have I made a man hostile to me sleep in the
 front part of the house.³
 How often have I allowed a man against whom my flesh turned to
 continue speaking.
 I am not hasty in dispute,⁴ how often have I shown forbearance.⁵
 How often have I given a second helping of honey⁶ to the man who
 only waited to hurt me.
 When I turn the sewing machine and scatter the seeds of treachery
 (or trickery).⁷
 The trap⁸ which I have prepared for him (my enemy) when he sets his
 chest⁹ on top of it.
 How often have I caught him unawares.¹⁰

¹ Lit. 'What *Ugaas* Nuur said'. *Ugaas* Nuur *Ugaas* Roobleh, Sultan (*Ugaas*) of the Gada-buursi clan, is said to have died about 1898.

² *Eebbe* is an ancient and still-used Somali name for God.

³ This rhetorical continuative emphasized in the arrangement of the words is continued throughout the *gabay*. For information on Somali folk-literature and poetry see Kirk, 1905, 170 ff., Maino, 1953, 44 ff., and Laurence, 1954, 5 ff.

⁴ Lit. 'in the matter'.

⁵ Lit. 'yielded patiently to people (*rag*)'.

⁶ Metaphor for any kind, or sweet, action as rendered here by the speaker to his enemy.

⁷ The speaker sows a scheme of treachery to catch his enemy. From his brooding will come the seeds of the plan which will secure his enemy's downfall. *Daadi* 'to scatter' is used of feeding grain to poultry.

⁸ A trap for wild animals and game.

⁹ *Degel-ka* usually means an old camp-site, deserted, but sometimes returned to; here it has the less common meaning of chest associated with the idea of bringing near. The whole theme of the poem is that the speaker bides his time waiting only until the time is ripe to strike his enemy. The proud nomad does not forget an insult although he may appear to do so.

¹⁰ The construction here is involved. The speaker gave his enemy *dayaan* (lit. 'the crashing sound of a blow') with some unstated object implied in the use of *kaga*. The first three words mean 'without him taking warning'.

TEXT IV

A Geeraar by 'Alī Bu'ul

ḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ

ḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

Gerar, 'Ali Bu'ul, wu'hu yiqi,
 Geeraar, 'Ali Bu'ul, wu'hu yiqi,

Bula'har gudub ked iyoo
 Bulla'har gudubkeediyo
Almis goodyadeeda iyu
 Almis goodiyadeeda iyo
Gubka wen Hargesaa iyu
 Gobka weyne Hargeysa iyo
Galihii Haraw ayuu
 Galihii Haraw ayuu
Galab is ku marayh
 Galabis ku maraayeh
Ma daruur gudgudayoo
 Ma daruur gudgudaayoo
Gulahu ku hiqna nana
 Golohuu ku hiqnaana
Gooheen ba kaba'hiyay
 Gooch weyn baa ka bahaayaye
Ma ar goosan watayoo
 Ma aar goosan wataayoo
Goobangoobin 'idla
 Gabangoobbi 'idla
Iyuu gelal soo tu iya
 Ayuu geelal soo tu'yaaye
Ma gub reeroo q'dayoo
 Ma gob reero qa'daayoo
Hal garad ka dushiisa iyoo
 Hal garaadka dushiisa iyo
Gund ka buu ka 'adaday
 Guudka buu ka 'adaaday
A ma galool uba'hiyayoo
 E ma galool uba'hiyaayoo

TRANSLATION ¹

Geeraar, 'Ali Bu'ul, what he said,

Bulhar ² and beside it, and the country of Almis, ³
 And Hargeisa with its great *gob* tree, ⁴ and the valley of Harawa, ⁵ in
 an evening he compassed,
 Is he the speeding rain-cloud ? ⁶
 From the place ⁷ he was tethered, a great noise came forth,
 Is he the leader of a pride of lions ? ⁸
 In the lonely camp (of the raiders), he (brings) the (stolen) camels to
 kneel, ⁹
 Is he (like) the noblemen ¹⁰ laying waste the camps
 The long hairs of his tail, and mane are pure white, ¹¹
 Is he the acacia tree in flower ? ¹²

¹ In this poem the poet praises his horse. Very many *geeraar* have such a theme.

² A small town, formerly more important and prosperous than it is to-day, to the west of Berbera in the Protectorate.

³ A mountain in the west of the Protectorate.

⁴ The *gob* (*Zizyphous mauritiana*) is one of the largest and most noble of the common trees in the Protectorate. Its fruit is relished by man and beast and its shade is much sought after.

⁵ A place in the Gadabuursi country to the west of the Protectorate.

⁶ *Gudgude-ha* is a swiftly moving night rain-cloud. The word is related to *gud* 'to travel by night'.

⁷ *Gole-ha* 'a place where men (and certainly formerly horses) gather'; a meeting-place.

⁸ *Aar-ka* 'the male lion', *gool-sha* 'the lioness'.

⁹ *Gabangoobi-da* 'a flat area or plain', here deserted, and the retreat of the raiders whose presence is implied. Lit. 'he kneels (*tui*) the camels'. The horse is here praised for its part in stock-looting. Its prowess and stamina enable the rider to capture many camels and bring them back to camp to unload.

¹⁰ *Gob* means 'noble, of aristocratic birth or lineage', as opposed to *run* (lit. 'the bottom') meaning of common, undistinguished, birth. The word *gob* is applied to anyone, with the general exception of the despised leather-workers, smiths, etc. (the Midgaans, Tumaals, Yibirs, etc.) whose actions conform to the Somali conception of noble conduct. *Reer* means here 'nomadic hamlet', as in Text II, p. 147, n. 3, above.

¹¹ *Hal* 'one (of anything)', here denotes a single strand of hair.

¹² *Galool*, the acacia tree, *Acacia bussei*, bursts into a cascade of light feathery yellow flowers at the beginning of spring with the coming of the rains. The image here is not only of the colour of the flower but contains also the implication that its blooming heralds the long-awaited spring rains. The *galool* also flowers again later in the year.

TEXT V

Fragment of a Gabay by Ugaas Nuur

9CSTJTTTC IINTYT ETYTJ OI9JT
 NHF TSCJSTYTH. 6IINTJ JCUT TSCJ-
 ITJ OIBJC IYTY CJTT IT 9H3TYH.
 IYTIITJT JNTT 13 OT7IYH TES
 IC ITTTSJUH.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

Gurayadu ilmaha waḥay dīḡta mel arooriyahe
Gorayadu ilmaha waḥay dīḡtaa meel arooryahe
Shimbir tuna arooskay dīstu iyay ubad ka gesaye
Shimbirtuna arooskay dīsto ayay ubadka geysaaye
Iyakaba 'qala is dafiye awr ku kalaroone.
Iyakaba 'aqlays qaafiyaaye awr ku kala roone.

TRANSLATION ¹

The ostrich puts her child in the unsheltered plain.
 But the bird ² builds a large bridal house ³ to put her children in.
 Their brains are not in keeping with the difference in their sizes. ⁴

¹ This fragment comes from a well-known *gabay* by Ugaas Nuur, see Text III, p. 149, n. 1.

² The Somali divide the feathered vertebrates into two main classes. Birds of prey are known collectively as *had-ka*. Other (non-carnivorous) birds are called *shimbir-ta* usually translated in English as 'bird'. This is only partly correct as birds of prey are not *shimbir*. The ostrich belongs to neither class and is not considered as a bird. It is grouped with all game animals (*ugaad da*) and is hunted, less frequently now than formerly, for its excellent fat used for making ghee. The antithesis is here between the great ostrich which shows less ingenuity in the care of its young than any small nesting bird.

³ *Aroos-ka* is the house built for the bridal couple by the parents of the girl in return for the bride-price (*yarad-ka*) paid by the husband and his kin. It also means bridegroom, or marriage. The *aroos* is in fact the newly constructed, abundantly equipped, especially adorned, house, built for the bride and her husband before the wedding and which they will probably occupy for the rest of their lives. In the interior it is the collapsible mat and skin-covered hut (*aqal*), built on a frame of boughs lashed together, of the nomads.

⁴ *'aqlays* from the Ar. *'a-q-l* plus contracted *is*. *Awr*, literally 'male burden camel', is used metaphorically here as a unit of large size. This is quite a common metaphorical use. These three lines have assumed almost the currency of a proverb to the effect that bulk and brawn are not the same as ingenuity.

TEXT VI

A letter from Borama

QETGTF-ITY 7TFI 3HGT7
 QT UTJTT. ICGITT 4H6IT 6TSTJ-
 TTU 1 3D TIS ITJC IYC NTYTQIB
 IYC ID7IYT IYC 9TST9TGT. SHS
 ILUT QCC 9CCSTY. QETGT6T 4C-
 7CU QTY JIOT. 4TOCCO ILUT
 QT GT JCNTY. UD 3D TIS QTSJ.
 TUI9C QTYTU INTU 3TYTU TTUJH.
 UTJTT 9TGYD.

3C9TG 7TJTI. JOSTNT.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

<i>Walal-kay</i> 'Ali.	<i>Sela</i> '
Walaalkay 'Ali	Seyla'
<i>Wa nabad. Kulkaad heshid waraqdan ii soo dir</i>	
Waa nabad. Kolkaad heshid waraaqdan ii soo dir	
<i>kabu iyu ma'awis iyu koofiyad iyu garbagala.</i>	
kabo iyo ma'awis iyo koofiyad iyo garbagale.	
<i>Rer kiina wuu guuray. Walasha Hufun way timid.</i>	
Reerkiina wuu guuray. Walaasha Hufun way timid.	
<i>Haquuq kiina wa la tumay. Noo soo dir waraq.</i>	
Haquuqkiina waa la tumay. Noo soo dir waraaq.	
<i>Anigu waħan iman sahan dambe. Nabad galyoo.</i>	
Anigu waħan iman sahan dambe. Nabad gelyo.	

Sugal 'Abdi, Boorama.

Sugaal 'Abdi, Boorama.

TRANSLATION

Zeila.

My brother 'Ali,

We are well. When you have received this letter ¹ send me shoes, and a *lungi*,² and a hat,³ and a shirt.⁴ The family ⁵ has moved. Your sister, Hufun, has come. The sorghum has been thrashed.⁶ Send us a letter. I shall come the day after to-morrow.⁷ Good-bye.

Sugaal 'Abdi, Borama.

REFERENCES

- Andrzejewski, B. W., 'The problem of vowel representation in the Isaaq dialect of Somali', *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 567-80.
 — 'Accentual patterns in verbal forms in the Isaaq dialect of Somali', *BSOAS*, xviii, 1, 1956, 103-29.
 — (ed.), *Hikmad Soomaali*, by Muuse Hqaji Ismaa'iil Galaal (SOAS. Annotated African Texts, iv: Somali), London, Cape Town, O.U.P., 1956.
 Armstrong, L. E., 'The phonetic structure of Somali', *MSOS*, xxxvii, 3, 1934, 116-61.
 Bell, C. R. V., *The Somali language*, London, Longmans, 1953.
 Corulli, E., 'Note sul movimento musulmano nella Somalia', *RSO*, x, 1, 1923, 1-36.
 Galaal, M. H. I., 'Arabic script for Somali', *Islamic Quarterly*, i, 2, 1954, 114-18.
 Kirk, J. W. C., *A grammar of the Somali language*, Cambridge, University Press, 1905.
 Laurence, Margaret, *A tree for poverty*, Nairobi, Eagle Press for the Somaliland Protectorate, 1954.
 Lewis, I. M., *Peoples of the Horn of Africa* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa: North Eastern Africa, Part 1), London, International African Institute, 1955.

¹ *Waraaqdan*, cf. Ar. w-r-q-t.

² cf. Ar. m-c-w-z.

³ cf. Ar. k-w-f-y-t.

⁴ *Garbagale-ha* 'shirt', from *gal* 'to enter' and *garbo* 'shoulders', the garment the shoulders enter.

⁵ For the meaning of the word *reer* see Text II, p. 147, n. 3.

⁶ The sorghum (*haaḡuuḡ-ka*) is grown in the Protectorate only in significant quantities in Hargeisa and Borama, Districts in the west of the country, and is harvested between September and December according to the year. There is generally only one main crop each year. Much of the crop is brought into the markets of towns like Hargeisa by trade truck and sold if a good price is offered very shortly after it has been cut and thrashed in the fields. The money thus obtained provides ready cash for the purchase of necessities such as clothes and cooking utensils. At this time of year, unless the harvest has been disastrous, people are normally contented and happy, and during and immediately after the harvest the marriage season of the cultivators in the west of the Protectorate is in full swing.

⁷ *Sahan dambe* 'the day after to-morrow' is Gadabuursi dialect. In the centre and east of the Protectorate the expression is *saa dambe*.

- Lewis, I. M., 'Sufism in Somaliland: a study in tribal Islam', *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 581-602; xviii, 1, 1956, 145-60.
- Maino, M., 'L'alfabeto "osmanla" in Somalia', *RSE*, x, 1951, 108-21.
- *La lingua somala strumento d'insegnamento professionale*, Alessandria, 1953.
- Moreno, M. M., *Il somalo della Somalia*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955.
- Webber, J. M., 'Contrast in Somaliland, Part II, festival', *Corona*, June 1956, 211-13.

SAYINGS OF THE ỌKỌDKỌ SOCIETY OF THE IGBO-SPEAKING PEOPLE

By M. M. GREEN

INTRODUCTION

IN a previous article¹ I quoted two or three sayings of the Ọkọdkọ society of the Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria and very briefly outlined some of the main features of the cultural setting of Igbo unwritten literature. I also suggested that we needed not so much odd specimens of this literature as considerable collections of the various genres in their social environment.

I give here over a hundred of these sayings, which were collected in 1947, among the Ọhūhū Igbo² near Umuahia, after I had had the good fortune to see an Ọkọdkọ masked dance.³ They are of considerable linguistic interest, but it is from the cultural angle rather than that of language that they are considered here.

An Arụ Igbo friend and I were taken to the dance by a young mission teacher who was one of my linguistic informants at that time. The dance was in his own village, in February, during the dry season, that is to say when farming activities are in abeyance. He said that Ọkọdkọ had only been revived here the year before. Both he and our companion said that everybody who was anybody used to belong to the society. Even now a non-member—known as ụkpụd—⁴is despised. Only women and poor men used not to join. It cost something to join. When he himself was a baby his people paid to make him a member, and all he would have to do now if he wanted to join would be to bring a bottle of illicit gin. In the old days people would have no say in the affairs of the village unless they belonged. Also non-members were not, and are not now, safe from being seized if they stumble on Akan being done, as it is always insisted that they have seen it. Akan and Ọkọdkọ are one, he said, but in this part of the country it is Akan that is so secret. Now that Ọkọdkọ has been revived, he explained, all the educated people belong to it as well as the old people. But mission teachers like himself would lose their job if they joined. If it were not for that he would certainly be a member. There is nothing anti-Christian about it. I asked him how he knew, since what is done is secret,

¹ 'The unwritten literature of the Igbo-speaking people of south-eastern Nigeria', *BSOAS*, xii, 3-4, 1948, 838.

² See Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking peoples of south-eastern Nigeria*, O.U.P., 1950, 42.

³ *ibid.*, p. 20. 'Among some Cross River groups and the Ohuhu-Ngwa (Southern Ibo) are found "secret societies" or men's associations of the more usual type, which are widely distributed on both sides of the lower Cross River, among the Ibibio, the Yako, the Ekoi and other peoples. Various known among the Ibo as *Ekpe*, *Akang*, *Obon*, and *Okonkon*, they similarly secured authority and privilege for the wealthy who could pay the admission fees, but also claimed to control supernatural sanctions through a secret ritual.'

and he replied that there used to be a sacrifice but that this had been dropped when the educated people joined. He felt badly about not belonging and his elder brother was down on him for not being a member.

On the day he took us to see the *Okonko* dance we heard music as we approached the place and he (A), said that *Akan* was being done and that it would be very secret. He went ahead to prospect and came back saying that *omu*—young palm frond—had been put up and we could not go on until *Akan* had stopped and *Okonko* had begun. We eventually reached a small space surrounded by young palm frond and cleared for dancing. There were some elderly men there who were said to be the people who had been doing *Akan*.

The *Okonko* dance was performed by masked figures to the accompaniment of a group of drummers. The first masker, covered from head to foot in what looked like a black knitted suit, and with seeds round his waist, ran up and down to the drumming, rattling his seeds. He was led by a man who kept addressing him—'spurring him on' as A said—and he would run up to the men in the audience and they would shout at him. He soon disappeared and the drummers went out of sight. Then women and children came running in, with alarm that did not look very serious, and the drummers came in slowly and two maskers. One, again in black, was lively, with amusing gestures. 'We take him to be smart' said our *Arụ* companion. The other, covered from head to foot in a grey costume, with rattling seeds all over it, was more stately. Later he changed his dress. He was preceded by a man holding a piece of young palm frond and chanting and guiding him.

At one point the drummers sat down to drum and sing without the dancers, but moved off when we tried to hear the song, as it was 'rather secret'. There were not many spectators and the women and children kept their distance and ran whenever the maskers came near. Now and then some of the old men danced. Before we left we offered a small 'dash', which a youngish man came forward to receive.

After seeing the dance I asked A if he could collect from the *Okonko* people some of the sayings that were chanted in front of the maskers by their guides. He went to them some days later and, for several bottles of illicit gin 'to put them in the mood', he obtained from them, on various occasions, the collection given here, and information about them. I discovered later, by chance, that, thinking to please me as I was working on the *Qhūhū* dialect of Igbo, he had asked for the sayings to be given him in that dialect. This was regrettable as it would have been interesting to see how much or little local the language was. I do not know how much, if at all, the chanters who gave him the sayings did in fact modify the language. It still contains non-local words such as *ubl* 'farm', and some words unknown to A or to other *Qhūhū* speakers I consulted.

The sayings are given here in the order in which A gave them to me. I did not ask him whether this was the order in which they were given to him, but there are links of word or subject association or of repetitive phrasing between a number of successive sayings which suggest that they are mnemonic devices,

helping the chanter to memorize his store of sayings. For example, the word **ama** occurs in 2 and 3, the homonym **abò** in 6 and 7, the notion of blindness in 10 and 11, the word **ɲwa** in 19, 20, 21, and 22, the notion of deafness in 23 and 24, the word **egho** in 29 and 30. There is a parallel form of wording in 95 and 96.

On a later occasion I asked one of the chanters how he had learned so many sayings and he said that when they are young they listen to their fathers and that he came of a family of singers. Some of the sayings could, he said, be used by anybody but some only by Okoko people.

When I returned to England I went through all the sayings with one or other of two sophisticated Qhuhu Igbo speakers and corrected mistakes I had made in tones or spelling. I also asked them for their interpretations of the sayings, many of which were unknown to them though one of them had been an Okoko member for a short time. In the notes which here follow the sayings, the explanations marked (A) are those given by A himself, those marked (X) being those of one of the other two informants. Those given by the Okoko people to A are marked (Q). As A himself put it, they find it easier to apply the sayings in daily life than to explain them in the abstract. It appears from these notes that the sayings have a wide possibility of interpretation, even allowing of contradictory applications.

THE SAYINGS

1. Okwu dháwa ikpèghè ɲwa ògbuénýè àgbalagha.¹

'If a quarrel begins to involve money (i.e. a lawsuit) a poor man runs away.'

2. Ònye fùta ònye fùta 'ama èju.

'Let one come out and another come out and the meeting place will be full.'

¹ Igbo has an eight vowel system but no one set of symbols has yet been accepted. The diagram below gives the set used here and, in brackets, the parallel set of the so-called 'revised orthography'.

	Front	Back
Close	í (i)	u (u)
	ì (e)	ü (ø)
	e (ɛ)	o (o)
Open	a (a)	ɔ (o)

Tone Notation. The high tone syllables are unmarked.

'a 'higher than high' tone (usually interclausal) ǎ low rising to high tone.

â low tone â high falling to low tone, or to mid if the following syllable is mid

ā mid tone â' mid falling to low tone or to mid if the following syllable is mid

3. **Ôme ìh̄ye dī ikh̄ē 'anya wū ya l'ama.**
 'Doer of a bad deed, his eyes are on the gatē' (i.e. because he expects someone to come in and catch him).
4. **Ūgidh̄ē onye àwò ọfū m mara àwò gaa l'ọfū, è ruo n'ubì à ñughl̄kwa ìh̄ye o mèrè.**
 'If the spider, early comer to farm work (the description is sarcastic), goes early to farm, when one gets to farm one does not see after all what he did.'
5. **Ñn̄awir̄iṅwe ed̄ē ẹnwēghi oṣu 'na àkhwa oṣū.**
 'A wild cat has no corpse yet it keeps on mourning for a corpse.'
6. **Nd̄orī dī àbò àbò àkpa urī.**
 'Doves go about together in pairs.'
7. **Ọgbut̄ur̄i amāghī àbò wu ọwa Bende Ūga Enyi.**
 'The one who slew but did not know how to cut up was the son of Bende Ūga Enyi.'
8. **Dkw̄a a t̄ur̄i isi laàwò, khwee yā isi laàwò, nd̄iṅ kw̄a n̄i on̄u o jì èkwu l'ama.**
 'A drum hollowed at both ends, covered at both ends, where is its mouth with which to speak in the square?'
9. **Ọ d̄ikw̄a mb̄ā ọọr̄o Ìbh̄om m̄a ọ wūghī Oru ? Oru n̄a àd̄o ibi, èri mgbaāsi.**
 'Is there a people greater than Ibhom except Oru? Oru people cause hernia and practise witchcraft.' (The sayer is boasting of being strong, like Oru.)
10. **Onye isi anāghī àt̄u ọwa agb̄u n'elū. Ọ ḡa it̄ū ñk̄ē onye m̄ur̄u ?**
 'A blind man does not toss into the air a baby with teeth yet uncut. Whose will he throw?'
11. **Onye anya kp̄or̄o k̄ā ib̄ē ya ọr̄a ārañ̄u m̄a ãhyiṅȳē m̄a ụj̄iel.**
 'A blind man sleeps more than his fellows both by day and by night.'
12. **Aḡalāba òt̄ile dī mma àb̄az̄o ; ọ d̄ighī onye t̄ur̄u yā n̄ih̄oro n'elū.**
 'The fork of the buttocks is good as a support, but no one has laid a cross beam on it.'
13. **Elu igw̄ē' m̄ur̄u ụm̄u aghalarī ; o jì ọkoc̄j̄ jì miri.**
 'The sky has various children ; it has the dry season and the wet season.'
14. **Ūj̄iel mèr̄ē k̄ā ìh̄ye jì f̄o.**
 'Night causes food (or things) to remain.'
15. **Ọgb̄ed̄ē ọwat̄a a n̄a àkhwa mb̄hȳa ḡa àkhwat̄ukwa ọṅwe ya 'n'ih̄ȳi n̄a ọ d̄ighī onye a ọor̄o ahȳa agh̄ara ịz̄ū.**
 'A child that is well cared for must also look after itself because the market will go on whoever is being looked for'
16. **Àkpa às̄i awūghī urī.**
 'Going about with people and criticizing them is no friendship.'
17. **Ọd̄h̄u m̄ ọd̄h̄u às̄i m̄ ìh̄ye kw̄aa na ọḡē.**
 'One who should advise me but talks against me, be consistent.'

18. **Nnadị gbūru àlà si àlà adighị mma.**
'The free born who brought the place into disrepute said the place was bad.'
19. **Onye mūtara nwā gūzie yā aḥwā ; aḥwā ọma nà ọhyi dī kà ụba hyiri.**
'One who has got a child should give him a good name ; a good name shines like wealth.'
20. **Onye kwūrū ugwō 'la ẹbe akhwā ọ gārà iri ugwo nwa nṅbòh ẹri ?**
'He who pays his debts reluctantly, would he prefer to deprive an innocent man of his money ?'
21. **Onye mūtara nwā agùlā ya Ọbya Ọsu.**
'He who has a child, let him not call it troublemaker.'
22. **Nne eghū na ọwa ọbhā 'nwa yā na ẹle yā anya.**
'When the mother-goat breaks into the yam barn her child watches her.'
23. **E vuru l'ahụ jụwa ogù. Mmūọ anāghị anụ nḥùh ekpe.**
'If someone is injured invoke a deity (i.e. for protection). The spirits don't hear requests for pardon.'
24. **Ọkpọ ọkù onye nwūrū ọnwu jisie olū ikhe 'n'ihyī nà onye nwūrū ọnwu ọtaala aghū.**
'One who calls a dead person should raise his voice because a dead person has eaten giant lizard' (i.e. is deaf, as the giant lizard is believed to be).
25. **Ọ nà ẹme a gbàwa okhā ihu anāghị ọdị eghū mma.**
'Whenever a fence is made goats are unhappy.'
26. **A tawa akhū weta ọcịcà ọkukò ẹbewe 'n'ihyī nà ọcịcà awūghị fi yā.**
'If nuts are eaten, with ọcịcà (type of coco-yam), fowls weep because ọcịcà is not their food' (i.e. it is too hard for them).
27. **Iró kà nà nwannē.**
'Hatred is greatest among relatives.'
28. **Okhe okpòrò laàwā bī l'otù uyọ, nṅbē a nūrū akhwa nnaā nnaā ọgala n'ubī jhe iwā jī.**
'Two bachelors who live in one house, when the cry of one is heard the other has gone to farm to cut yam' (i.e. to die).
29. **Ụzū nà ọkpụ ụkà anāghị ọkpuru ọnyị egbo. Ọ nà ẹme ụkà rie ọkpòghò ya ọdhajụọ.**
'The blacksmith who forges a quarrel does not forge any money for us. Whenever a quarrel has consumed money it subsides.'
30. **Abàlị nyere mī ucè ya nye mī egbo, 'mụ ọkwu ugwō 'nwere ọnwē m, 'n'ihyī nà ugwō wī ọrịrị.**
'Let the night, which gives me anxious thoughts, give me money so that I may pay my debts and feel secure, because debts are a degradation.'
31. **E zùò ọkè gbaa ọsọ ọkhwā otù onyē nà ẹvute yā.**
'If everyone runs to pick up a breadfruit only one will get it.'

32. **Otù onyè' nwè okhe òkpà mà òhà nwè ùbe yā.**
 'One individual possesses a cock but the community possesses its crowing.' (The crowing of the cock tells the time and is useful to the community.)
33. **Ukhwù ojī agāghī mbà mà akpūrū ya āgazūo.**
 'The kola tree does not travel but its seeds do.' (They are sold.)
34. **Òmegbu nwa mbhī ò kpò kè ya àla mmūo ?**
 'Will the oppressor of an orphan take his own son with him when he dies ?'
35. **Ama là āso āriri hā ejīle ugwo. Hā jidhe ugwō āriri eruole hā n'uyò.**
 'A family which fears humiliation must not have debts. If it is in debt humiliation will be in its midst.'
36. **A gbaghāara onye ukpā ākhū ya ērichaa hū.**
 'If one leaves a poor man wealth he gets through it quickly.'
37. **Ìgbò méré ndị nà ādhū okhū, 'ndị nà ājukwa oyi.**
 'Some (Igbo) people are go-ahead, some are slow.'
38. **Èribite m ākhū byāmeghāa m.**
 'Sharer of my wealth come and get me out of my difficulty.'
39. **Dgwūzo nwa onye ukpā adighī mma n'āzū qbhā ; mà o neègwūzòwè ya ādị kà ò byàrà iwèrè jì.**
 'It is not good for a poor man to stand behind a yam barn ; if he stands there it looks as though he had come to steal yam.'
40. **'Enyi ka nwannè', ò wū mgbè anyị nò n'orū anū nà ùdū māl. Ozu ālwe iāl, 'Enyi ka nwannè' ālaa.**
 "'A friend is more valuable than a brother", that is when we are feasting on a leg of meat and a pot of wine. When a corpse is smelling (i.e. when trouble comes) "A friend is more valuable than a brother" disappears.'
41. **Òme kà òme, anya òhà ābyala ūle.**
 'Boaster, the eyes of the public have come to inspect.'
42. **Di egwū āyā sī òhà gbāwa yā ochi.**
 'The expert performer says let people watch his performance critically.'
43. **Otū nwā' gārā ijhè : uoè egbuole nne mūrū yā.**
 'When an only son goes on a journey his mother is very apprehensive.'
44. **Di jì m riri jì yā 'ò wū kè m kwèrè.**
 'It is the expert farmer whose yams I ate that I believe to be a farmer.'
45. **Ibèkū ndi itū, ndi ābhū, 'ndi mēre onū 'ukā èrie hā, 'ndi jì mgbāmgbā efè, gbuo onye naādighī ifyè o méré.**
 'Ibeku, people with yaws, people with chronic ulcers, people who boast and yet lose their case, people who are prejudiced and kill an innocent person.'

46. **Akhwa òwà anāghị èru mm̄ño.**
'The crying of the world does not reach the spirits.'
47. **Ọkwò m̄ n'āzu ụkwụ na àphụ m̄ n'ala z̄le m̄ ka mu ēgbewe.**
'He who carries me on his back with my feet dragging on the ground, let him put me down and let me crawl.'
48. **Uhye abòsì nà ēgbu akwà.**
'Camwood of the abòsì tree (i.e. its juice of the colour of camwood) spoils cloth.'
49. **Ọnụ kàrà ihye nà èwe obi.**
'The mouth speaks that which vexes our hearts.'
50. **Ọ nà ème a kpukpọ ụyọ à hụ ụkhū.**
'When a house is broken up one finds firewood.'
51. **Òmēgbùrù ọwannē sị àya anāghị àga àgbùgbà. Ọ nà ème a gawa àgbùgbà è vuru ekwē ?**
'One who injured his brother says he doesn't incite others against him by injurious tales. Does it happen that one carries a drum when one tells such tales ?'
52. **À naghị' ekhwē ūcọ Ọkọkọ àgbà igbugbo mm̄ño.**
'One does not dance to the igbugbo drum of the spirits on account of the pleasure of Ọkọkọ.'
53. **Onye ụkpà' jhèrè rie ùdélè kpọọ yā anụ. Ùdélè awūghị ezi anụ.**
'A poor man ate vulture and called it meat. Vulture is not real meat.'
54. **Ọ nà ème àkọ bhàa n'enyi mma ārọ.**
'Whenever meanness or cunning comes between friends friendship is spoilt.'
55. **Ọnụmà kwaa uté dhoòruo àlà ura anāghị àtu ọwa ògbuényè.**
'When sorrow spreads its mat and lies down the poor man does not sleep.'
56. **Òthù e cèrè ga ikpè awūghị òthù ikpe kpèrè.**
'The way one hoped the case would be decided was not the way it was decided.'
57. **Ọgba nn̄n̄n̄ kùo yā aḥwà, Dkelū ọwa onye ịbàrà ānwumò l'ọsọ.**
'Let him who shoots a bird call its name, lest Dkelu (name of bird), the playful one, die of running.'
58. **Njọkoro dī eyīhū ndhàrà m ekpe.**
'Having an ugly husband is better than being a widow.'
59. **Mkpèkerè jìgbò eyīhū akhu ñcìrìkì.**
'The soft covering of cassava is better than kernels without anything to chew with them.'
60. **Nnà nnà ña ndị nà àgbà igwè nà àghurū m̄ eyè jì.**
'Their grandfathers, people who plant igwe yam, tell me about the seasons of yam cultivation.'

61. **Okhe ikòrò sòrò ùkà jhe biri n'ama ; ukà àdù ikòrò fù ɔ'ama.**
 'The big ikoro drum, afraid of being involved in a quarrel, went and lived in the open square ; the quarrel followed it into the square.'
62. **Ezè nà èkpe àlà ya bikhò bhèrè ohíyí èzù. Mgbè ọ na àg: zúo ohíyí 'íkpe yá àrùola.**
 'Let the chief who dispenses justice please refrain from stealing. Supposing he goes and steals, his judicial work is invalidated.'
63. **Ùkè kpalaña ùkè ibè ya la nkhu, 'ya àsì ọhò gàrà n'ohya ọjọọ jhe kpaa hū.**
 'If one age mate collects more firewood than another, the latter says he went into the bad bush to get it.'
64. **Àya nà ọwatà wu ebiri, o wū n'ọnū ; ke jì ikpèghè àyà cōrọ.**
 'He and the child are the same age group, in theory ; but whoever has money is the elder.'
65. **Àjọ òkè nà amì ohíyí.**
 'A scrambler for shares brings forth theft as his fruit.'
66. **E wèrè e kwèghì wu ohíyí.**
 'Taking without admitting is theft.'
67. **Kà m jhezi n'ọdhù ghà wù òtùtù.**
 'Taking and showing at my place in the market turns into swindling.'
68. **Onye mūtara ọwā agulà yà ' Ọkhu bhàa n'iyí '.**
 'Let not him who has a child call it " Fire go into the stream " .'
69. **Ọgbèdè ọwatà nà àkhwa ọwà, ọ òrì naànjí ya ?**
 'Small child who complains about his lot, is he the only one ? '
70. **Ìkpèghe bèkèè awūghì ọyà mà ọ nà àma ànyí oyi.**
 'Money is not sickness but it makes us ill.'
71. **Ivù naàdighì ikpèghè wu anụ ìmamañmà.**
 'Bulk without money is mere flesh.'
72. **Dwaanyi nnekwu mēziri àgwà wu ezè n'èzì dī ya.**
 'A first wife who has a good character is the queen in her husband's household.'
73. **Mgbèrèci nà àwa àlà hūrù onye nà àbara yá ajha.**
 'Coco-yam which breaks through the soil (i.e. grows) does so because someone covered it with earth.'
74. **Ihýe nà àkpọ ọnū nkhu awūghì ogòrò naàni. Ọnùmà nē àkpọ ọnū nkhu.**
 'It is not only the harmattan which dries the lips. Grief dries them.'
75. **Đkpù ùkà wù mai.**
 'Drink is the moulder of words.'
76. **Thukūmà nne jidhe mu nà onye ọkpà 'ya jidhe mu nà ọwàrà àba nà àkhwa mbhyà. A lịwa onye mbhyà ya èmee.**
 'Instead of my mother bearing me and a poor man let her bear me and a rich man who is mean. If one shames a miser he will pay out.'

77. **Ọ yōrọ ubi gbuo eghū nà ògburu ndi ọfū ya. Ọ wūkwani mà m gàrà mu ẹriri.**

'He who returns from farm and kills a goat kills it for his workers. I can only partake if I go.' (i.e. to work or go uninvited to his house; there is a double meaning.)

78. **Ọha okhe ẹhyi hākwa okhe ọgàrànyà. Ẹhyi gbable ọgàrànyà àcūwa yā.**

'Let him who rears a bull also rear a rich man. When the bull breaks out the rich man will get it back.'

79. **Ọkpa àkhụ akpāla ndhandha. Ọ nà ẹme ifye mādū fūe 'ya ẹšowe ụkwū fū.**

'One who collects wealth should not collect sugar ants because when someone's property is lost he follows its trail.' (Sugar ants do not leave one.)

80. **Di ji gbūru ògwèrè wụ onye ifo ya. Ọgwèrè nà ẹjhe ubi, ọ naghị ẹri ji.**

'A farmer who kills a lizard does it out of unprovoked hatred. A lizard goes to farm but does not eat yam.'

81. **Onye mūtara nwā akpōla ya Ẹkekē. Ẹkekē khàrè nnū, ọ maghị ọghu ji o khèrè.**

'Let not him who has a child call it Ekeke. Ekeke tied four hundred stocks of yam and doesn't know how many yams he tied.'

82. **Dwokhō naāgbaghị àhwū ọnū' kwàrà ihu nnē ya.**

'A man who does not grow a moustache and beard has a face like his mother's.'

83. **Ifo ama alá là àgwū mbà. Ya gaa zuo ikhē kà anyị fọ.**

'Enmity among people living together destroys a community. Let it go and rest that we may survive.'

84. **Dwantà ẹgwukhwurule ekē l'ọnū, lūo obi.**

'A child digging a hole has found a python and thrown away his stake.'

85. **Dwantā gbūjiri onye ikhē eghwū nà àtu yā. Ọ ghà gbūjiri aka yā laàwà o ji akhū ọkhū?**

'If a youth breaks the axe he is cutting with he is frightened. Has he then broken both his arms with which he works?'

86. **Ọnwụ amāghị òkè ẹthu.**

'Death does not know how to distribute shares.'

87. **Ifye nà aka njo ẹhyi o mèrè.**

'A thing is worst on the day it is done.'

88. **O jidhere onye ucé bhère akā àtu; ọnụmà buru ụzọ jie yā.**

'Let him who catches a man lost in thought refrain from boasting; grief had first caught him.'

89. **Ọgwèrè ubi aghọjheweale aghū, ẹhīhè ẹzịheweale.**

'The farm lizard has begun to change into a giant lizard, the season has begun to be good' (i.e. because giant lizard is bigger than farm lizard).

90. **Olu di egwū' dhātārā àkhū òhà kòriri n'ime amā.**
 'The voice of the expert singer earned the money the community shared in the public meeting place.'
91. **Àja ùghò ná àwa onye isi omùru ; ọ gá n'ịcị ùghò n'aka, ọ dighị isi o ji èthu hū.**
 'A sacrifice involving an eagle's feathers has been allotted to a bald headed man ; he will have to hold the feathers in his hand, he has no hair to wear them in.'
92. **‘ Ọ hūrū àkhū mībū ’ ná àma ehyi arā.**
 'One who sees wealth for the first time buys a mad cow' (i.e. squanders his money).
93. **Akwá ọhwuọ ná àkpa mamiri.**
 'A new cloth induces urine.'
94. **Mgbè iwu eghū garà n'òkukò ndi nwē àlā ànụola mēi.**
 'When the fine of a goat is reduced to a fowl the authorities have drunk palm wine' (i.e. have been bribed).
95. **Òkpu onye àbhū nyiri onye anụnụ ngwā.**
 'Even a man who likes wearing fine clothes will not wear the hat of a man with an ulcerated face.'
96. **Adà aṣé nyiri ndi ná àkpa ngwa ofé.**
 'Even people who collect ingredients for soup will not collect dung beetles.'
97. **Dkùtụ nwā nkùtụ nwā, 'onye nwé nwā àkùru nwā ya.**
 'A child is held for a little, held for a little, then the mother comes and carries it away.'
98. **Òbu aka gbúrú nwa mbhị umụ mmụọ ná àtụ egwu ọghù ná ọnwéé.**
 'The household where an orphan is killed, the spirits chant their war songs there.'
99. **Akhwa boro cị 'nne nwā ná àkhwa nwā ya.**
 'The cry that goes on till daybreak is of a mother mourning for her child.'
100. **Onye gā imere onye agō hye, kpọtụ onye aka ebé. O ná àme ukà rawa àhụ à kpọtụ onye aka ebé.**
 'Let him who is going to do something for someone who always denies, call a witness. Whenever a dispute becomes serious a witness is called.'
101. **Akhwa ọkukò ju èkète ònyé mātārā ke wū ọphara ?**
 'If a basket is full of eggs who knows which is the eldest son ?'
102. **Onye ilughilū ná èrì àkhū onye nwūru ànwu má lá ọ nwūtārā ọsọ.**
 'A foolish man gets through the wealth of a dead man as though he were picking up a slave for nothing.'
103. **Dwa ọgbuényé byārā wuru àlā ọhyā, 'mmà ndi ji ikpèghè àfụola yā.**
 'If a poor man were farm land, people with money would have farmed him.'

104. **Ọjị ụwa mbhị ama ehyị, Agbaaghwu azuola laa.**
'Seller of an orphan to buy a cow, Agbaaghwu market is over and gone.'
105. **E dhòzilrè ụwa mbhị oce ; ọ wū mgbè ọfū.**
'A good seat is placed for an orphan ; it is in the farming season.'
106. **Onye m määrà mälho m ämaghikwa m onye ọ wū.**
'If someone I know wrongs me I don't know him any more.'
107. **È hūla ñgà umū nnà m liwèrè ụzọ liwe ehyị. Onye ilūghu ilū àghàrà ụzọ jhe phurū ehyị.**
'See how my relatives tethered a road and tethered a cow. A foolish man leaves the road and goes and drags the cow away.'
108. **Ọjị ụwa nnà ya ànụ mäl jì ònwe yā na ànụ.**
'One who drinks against his brother drinks against himself.'
109. **Mmegbu ụwa mbhị esighi ikhe ; ọ dī na ndi ajuju. Ọ nà ème mgbè ndi ajuju jūwäärà ñkikā akāwa.**
'Oppressing orphans is not difficult were it not for those who ask questions. Whenever the questioners ask, tales are told.'

NOTES

1. A poor man cannot compete with the expense of going to court.
2. People attach great importance to being many, to having many children (A).
This emphasis, in a village, on being many was found as a recurrent motif in a different Igbo area, also.¹
4. The one who does things first does not always do them best (A). The saying suggests the hare and tortoise fable (X).
5. A busybody gets into trouble poking his nose into what is not his concern (A).
The reference is to someone filled with self-pity (X).
6. People of similar character go about together (A).
7. This refers to someone who cannot express himself in a law case. The name was first used by Bende people, contact with whom was through the slave trade (A).
8. This means that someone who breaks two laws should be punished for one but let off for the other. This is custom (A).
Burning the candle at both ends could be one interpretation (X).
9. Ibhom is renowned for 'medicine' but Oru is more famous. The speaker is thus boasting of his people being strong like Oru people (A).
A said that Ibhom and Oru were towns in the Calabar area, but an Aru informant said that Ibhom was an Aru village and that, for him, Oru were people of the Oguta, Onitsha part of the country—people living near water, that is to say. He said that Oru means 'foolish people'. The

¹ See M. M. Green, *Ibo village affairs*, London, 1947, 13.

point to note here is the constant association of the practice of witchcraft, in Igbo minds, with people living near water, as in Cguta, Onitsha, or Calabar.¹

10. One does not experiment with other people's precious things (A).
Don't give things to inexperienced people (X).
11. The meaning appears to be that one who has cause for grief (*ònnùmà*) is more full of anxiety (*ecioè*) than his fellows (A).
The meaning may be that a dead man is free from care (X).
12. This may mean that there are many good things in the world but one shouldn't try for them all (A).
13. Of someone with an inconstant character one may say, *Ọ nà àkpà agwà aghalari*. This saying might be used, perhaps, about such a person (A).
The saying might just mean that some people prefer the dry or wet season (X).
14. If it were always day people would go on eating and working and die for lack of rest. Night brings rest (Ọ).
Night conserves food because otherwise people would go on eating. By extended meaning it saves people from overdoing things (X).
15. Let a man of good reputation be careful of his own affairs. If trouble comes his people are not going to give up everything to look after him (A).
18. *Nnadi* is the word used by old people for 'freeborn' where the young would use *dialà*, the opposition being between freeborn and *osu* 'cult slaves' and not *ohù* 'slaves'.
19. Names are important; they help to mould a child (A).
21. cf. 19.
22. As a mother is so will her child be (A and Ọ).
23. If you have injured someone gravely don't offer an apology because he will refuse it, the injury being so great (A).
In another part of Igbo country a ceremonial protestation of innocence is known as *itĩ ogù*. Here, *jùwa ogù* also means 'Protest your innocence'.
24. If you have an incorrigible rascal in your house, correct him harshly and get other people to help you (A).
The saying could be used to encourage someone to 'buck up'. The giant lizard is eaten, but is not thought to make people who eat it deaf. It is thought to be deaf itself because it is slow and sluggish and hardly moves if people shout. It lives in the tree tops (X).
25. This means that restraining offenders is not popular. An example is the local purveying of illicit gin (A).
26. This might be said if someone is unexpectedly asked to do something that is not in his line and has to refuse (X).
It means that if one brings irrelevant ideas into conversation people will be annoyed (A; X agrees).

¹ *ibid.*, 7.

27. This is because relatives know one's possessions and covet them (A).
It is because feelings are strong and ties close among relatives and therefore injuries are felt more keenly than from a stranger. This is a well-known saying (X).
28. If two people of like character live together and one is always criticizing, the other must have offended in some way (A).
The literal meaning of *iwā ji* is 'to cut yam'—either to cut yam sets for planting or to cut yam at new yam harvest. A had to ask the Ọkọkọ people the inner meaning. Neither he nor X knew the meaning, 'to die'.
29. Often a man who has a quarrel has no money and his brothers have to provide money to save him from shame (A).
33. A man may have many children who will travel but he may stay at home (O).
The saying might mean that all actions have repercussions (X).
37. *Igbò* here means people in general. As A put it, till recently Igbo people thought they were the world.
A and X differ both as to the translation and the interpretation of this saying. For A, *idhū ọkhu* suggested being hot-tempered and *ijū oyi* being gentle, and he said that it was the latter that was admired. But X was clear that the latter meant being sluggish and *idhū ọkhu* meant being quick off the mark, a go-getter, and that this is what is admired.
39. Someone of poor reputation will tend to be suspected (O).
So will a man who has no one to speak up for him (X).
40. This supports the idea that many children are desirable (A).
43. Here again is the motif of the desirability of many children, but if you have only one don't let it travel (A).
45. This is a typical example of local rivalry. The Ibeku are a neighbouring, non-Ọhūhū group. A said that the older people despised them and have handed the feeling down. I often met scathing remarks about their dialect and there was also a dispute in progress because Ibeku wanted Umuahia, with its important market, to have the name Ibeku tacked on to it.
In this saying A did not know the meaning of *itū* but was told that it meant yaws and was an Abiriba word. He explained that Ibeku people do not 'forbid' yaws as do the Ọhūhū, and if any of the latter have them they are sent to Ibeku.
46. What appear like wrongs to human beings may look quite different to the spirits (A).
When people wail after a death they are told to hush as the dead person does not hear. This saying could be used to show that it is useless to appeal to certain people (X).
48. Bad things contaminate good ones (A).
The saying could be used about anything not genuine (X).

50. One should not fear to take risks (A).
Actions will have reactions either good or bad (X).
51. A commented that *igā agbūghā* 'to tell injurious tales' is held to be very bad. If someone does it others may kill a goat or a cow for him and he will have to pay. Cf. no. 49.
52. Don't do things to excess (A, X).
53. Beware of imitations (A); of amateurishness (X).
55. If trouble comes a rich man will be able to get out of it, it is the poor man who has to worry (Q). A commented that this is not true to facts; that rich men worry more than poor. X said that in this saying *nwa ḡgbuēnyē* must be understood as 'stricken man'—that grief is a state of mind that overwhelms rich and poor.
57. Be precise, not vague, in such matters as accusation of crime (A).
59. The meaning is the same as that of no. 58, that anything is better than nothing. The point of this saying is that eating palm kernels alone gives a person stomach ache (A).
60. There is no inner meaning. *Igwè* is the earliest yam to put forth shoots in the yam store and thus shows that the time for planting has come. It is the first yam to be planted and harvested but is not much cultivated nowadays. The seasons are shown in various ways. *Egbe* 'kite' disappears at the time of staking the yam vines. People say it is because the sticks would put out its eyes when it dives on its prey (A). The saying might be used about amateurs trying to teach others, since *igwè* is an inferior yam (X).
61. This may mean that one's fate will come whatever it is (A).
It may mean that a person's reputation will follow him (X).
63. A successful rival will be suspected of foul play (A).
65. If anyone persists in taking more than his share he will end by stealing outright (A).
Sharing, as, for instance, a feast or a fine, and its minute regulation, is a prominent motif in Igbo society.
67. This could be used about people trying to get out of something they ought to do—like a buyer at market trying to avoid paying by taking some object off to show the people who sit with her and not returning to pay for it (A). (Such showing is customary, to avoid being swindled by the seller.)
68. This again shows the importance attached to names. Fire is quenched by water (A).
69. Only old people are supposed to complain. Others don't know what life holds for them (A).
The saying may mean that the child is egotistical; others may be worse off (X).
70. Those who lack money worry (A).
A more general meaning is that one may not consider a thing important

but it may be necessary. *Ikpèghè* (or *òkpòghò*) originally meant the brass, or occasionally gold, bars used as currency. The word is now used for money in general (X).

73. If someone without money spends it there must be someone helping him (O).

A did not know the meaning of *ngbèrèci* but was told it was coco-yam. X did not know it either. Their word is *edè*. A said that the root of coco-yam does not normally come out of the ground though yam does. X said either might come out and coco-yam would have to be covered with soil to prevent it splitting in the sun.

74. The harmattan is the cool, dry, desert wind which blows about January.

75. Palm wine enables people to do things like telling a powerful man he's wrong, which they wouldn't do without it (A).

The saying could be used about bribery (X).

78. If one has big projects it is important to have money to support them (A).

79. If you are wealthy and buy things, buy valuable things. When trouble comes you can sell them (O).

80. Don't punish someone of good character who is innocent. For instance, if a man of good character comes to your house while you are out and talks to your wife and you take offence, you are like the farmer who kills the harmless lizard (A).

81. The importance of names is again stressed. A child should be named after a good and successful person, not after a man like the one here depicted (A).

82. Behind this saying is the feeling that a boy should be like his father and a girl like her mother both in body and in character. The mother trains the girl and the father the boy and he will not like it if the boy wants to go about with his mother (A).

84. This could be said about people running away from trouble. It is a description, not a condemnation (A).

85. People should not be discouraged by one disaster (A).

86. Death takes the innocent and guilty alike (A).

Death comes anywhere and not in equal shares to families, for instance (X).

87. Time heals sorrow (A).

89. A did not know the word *ehiñè* for 'season'.

90. As in no. 32, the fact that the community profits by the good fortune of the individual is commended (A).

91. If a man has no money he cannot take the opportunities that present themselves. An eagle's feather in the hair is the sign of a great deed or an important person (A).

A man can only do what he is capable of (X).

A sacrifice is allotted by divination.

93. This would be said about someone who has achieved an important position and shows off. If people have new clothes they will seek any occasion for showing them off, as by getting up and going out of church to urinate and coming back again (A).
The saying has much the same force as no. 92. But the surface meaning could also be, 'A new cloth causes the retention of urine', i.e. for fear of spoiling it. The deeper meaning would then be that people should be careful of new or precious things (X).
97. Don't borrow things; have your own (A).
98. The spirits are angry (A).
101. This could be said if someone has many things to do and does not know where to begin (A).
It is difficult to judge people or things on their face value (X).
102. A did not know the word *òsò* for 'slave'.
104. This is to remind people of the old days when people could be sold. Agbaaghwu (Uzuakoli market) was an important slave market (A).
105. An orphan is well treated only at the times one needs his services (A).
107. The general meaning is that a gradual, steady progress may be better than a sudden, quick one. The metaphor of tethering a road—*liwàrè ụzò*—refers to making friends on a road one wants to use, so that one can pass safely. This is more laborious than quickly acquiring a cow but may be more profitable (A).
108. In drinking people talk against each other. If anyone talks against a kinsman others will include him himself in the accusation. A family is judged by its members; one member can bring shame on all (A).

COMMENTS

A rough analysis of the subject matter of the sayings gives, at the top of the list, 24 references to animals, birds, and insects, of which 15 different kinds are mentioned. Ten of the references are to domestic animals. Igbo folk stories—*ifè*—are full of animals and particularly leopard and tortoise, who, it will be noticed, are absent here. But the tendency to interpret the world through animal characters is still present.

Next in the list come 17 references to money or wealth and 13 to farming,¹ reflecting the two great Igbo activities, trading and agriculture. There are 12 references to orphans or poor men—the same word often designates either—the theme of oppression being prominent and deplored. Twelve references to litigation, quarrels, or bribes, throw light on significant cultural tendencies, as do 13 references to children and 11 to kinship matters. The supernatural sphere is mentioned six times.

There are many vivid glimpses of the ordinary concerns of daily life—collecting firewood (50, 63), the feast of a goat offered to people who have worked

¹ i.e. the cultivation of yam, coco-yam, cassava, and the vegetables used as relishes.

for someone (77), the conventions of sharing which play such an important part in Igbo life (65), market habits (67), a local dispute (45).

Certain motifs recur, as of the squandering of suddenly acquired wealth (36, 92, 102), the importance of having many children (40, 43), the significance of personal names (19, 21, 68, 81), the snare of talking (49, 51, 75, 109).¹

The sayings are of different kinds. Some are proverbs with an inner meaning, some are straightforward aphorisms, the wise saws of what A called men of experience, and all throwing light on Igbo cultural values. Friendship (16, 54), the love of a mother for her child (43, 99), the crime of theft (62, 66, 67), the humiliation of debt (30, 35), reciprocity (32, 38, 77), are among the themes for the observation, reflection, or moralizing of the chanter. With their economy and felicity of expression the sayings, institutionalized in Okonko, are clearly one of the ways in which Igbo culture is handed down from one generation to another.

¹ cf. the song in Green, 'The unwritten literature of the Igbo-speaking people', *BSOAS* XII, 3-4, 1948, 843.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

Ad 'SISSOO AT SUSAN', *BSOAS*, xix, 2, 1957, 317, l. 5

In the above-mentioned article, I unfortunately overlooked the fact that the Elamite equivalent of OPers. *yakā-* is known, as Professor C. J. Gadd has kindly pointed out to me. It is ^[GIS]*še-iš-šc-ba-ut*, a word which by its close resemblance to Skt. *śimsapā* confirms the proposed identification of the timber imported by Darius: cf. V. Scheil, *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, xxiv, 1933, p. 109, l. 29; E. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 15, l. 2; W. Hinz, *JNES*, ix, 1, 1950, p. 2, l. 30.

LYA GERSHEVITCH

NOTES ON TWO PROBLEMS IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

Hans Hendriksen's article 'Two problems in New Indo-Aryan' in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 329-33, makes a suggestive contribution to the problems of NIA with reference to the West Pahārī branch. In this there are, however, two assumptions he makes incidentally which I feel call for some comment.

1. Hindi *yah* 'this', *vah* 'that'

'... [The] origin [of the *h* in S *ijho*, cf. S *iho*, *iā* beside *io*, *iā*] is no doubt to be sought in the emphatic *h* which also appears in e.g. Hi. *yah* "this", *vah* "that", in Si. *sabhu* "all", etc.'¹ Hendriksen seems to have in mind here Bloch's suggestion² regarding the 'aspirée non étymologique' (of e.g. M *hā*, etc., Khovar *haiya*, etc., Nuri *aha*, etc., Sgh. *hē*, as well as of e.g. LP *eh*, *ih*, o.pl. *inh*, S *he*, *hi*, *hin*, etc.): 'Le cas de pj. *eh*, etc. est... embarrassant: le plus simple est de l'identifier à s. *he* [since he has been satisfied, *ibid.*, with the explanation of the forms with *h*-initial as connected with Ap. nom. sg. masc. *aho* < Pkt. *aha*, for which cf. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 432]. Il y a aussi ap. *eho* considéré comme équivalent de pkr. *eso*, skr. *esa*: ceci pose une fois de plus la question du traitement irrégulier de *s* intervocalique. On pourrait concevoir qu'une combinaison (a)ha e- ait abouti à *eh*- aussi bien qu'à *he*-. La clé de toutes ces formes est sans doute l'existence de *h*- expressif...'. This he had referred to earlier in the same work: 'On rencontre enfin de façon sporadique quelques *h* initiaux non justifiés par l'étymologie, et destinés uniquement à renforcer l'expressivité de certains mots...'.³ That the *h* element is here an *emphatic* seems to be at least questionable, and in the absence of any special evidence which might cause it to be so regarded—for

¹ op. cit., 330.

² J. Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, Paris, 1934, 199.

³ *ibid.*, 67. Bloch's opinion on the nature of the *h*-initial appears to have remained constant, cf. his *Les inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris, 1950, 52: 'C'est à l'expressivité qu'il faut attribuer l'apparition irrégulière de *h*- devant la voyelle initiale de certains mots...', e.g. *hesā* < *egā* in the Erraguḍi inscription.

pronominal forms can be unstressed as often as stressed—it seems preferable to seek another explanation.

In the first place, Bloch's view of the 'traitement irrégulier de *s* inter-vocalique' has been called in question in Turner's review of *L'indo-aryen*¹ in *BSOS*, VIII, 1, 1935, 210–11: 'To refuse the development *-s* > *-h* in certain conditions for nearly all IA languages is to make unnecessary difficulty. That *-s* in a pronoun . . . should become *-h* earlier than in other words holds nothing surprising, when the phonetic history of unstressed pronominal forms in whatever language is considered. There appears to be no objection to deriving Apabhramśa *aho*, *eho* from Skt. *asáu*, *eśā* (Pkt. *eso*)'²—thus rejecting the necessity of Pischel's proposal.

This view can be taken further, to explain LP *eh*, S *he* simultaneously: in both the syllable can be analysed as *syllabicity* + *frontness* + *aspiration*, and the modern spoken and written forms represent different crystallizations of the prosodic constituents—i.e. once aspiration is admitted as a prosody of the syllable the place in which it is indicated is not necessarily relevant;³ from this point of view the *h* of S *he* does not necessarily represent an initial *h*—historically, and there is no necessity to invoke 'emphasis' to explain it.

The persistence of *-h* in these pronominal forms, in orthography—referred to again below—and speech, must be considered, as well as its radical nature. This persistence is at least partly due to analogy with the 'regular' *-h* (< *-bh*-) of the plural forms, represented in modern IA by H *inhē*, *unhē*, *inhō(-ne)*, *unhō(-ne)*, etc., Lakhimpurī *inḥ*, *unḥ*,⁴ LP Braj *inh*, *unh*⁵; perhaps partly due also to analogy with the regular 2 pl. pronominal base *tumh-*, cf. also the Ap. forms *maha*, *tuhu*. A parallel analogical introduction occurs in the *-s* of the obl. sg. HNP *is*, *us*, N *tyās*, etc., which, since only *tāsu* and *jāsu* are known in the Avadhi of Tulsī and Jaysī, thus represents a comparatively recent development. Similarly, the '*h*-element' of the 'general oblique' H *sābhō*, cf. P *sabh*, S *sabhu*, reflects the *h* of the obl. pl., and it is unnecessary to see here an 'emphatic' element.⁶

The persistence of this *h* in modern Hindi *yāh*, *vāh* may be noticed, where the phonetic exponent of the 'aspirate' is regularly a front half-open vowel in certain definable contexts: e.g. *yāh* [jɛ^h], *vāh* [vɛ^h], particularly in the deliberate

¹ It may not be inappropriate to add here that the necessity of using this review as an indispensable adjunct to Bloch's book is yet another measure of Sir Ralph's greatness in the Indo-Aryan sphere. His reviews, which were not included in the bibliography of his works in *BSOAS*, XX, are of great significance in Indo-Aryan linguistics.

² cf. also Baburam Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi*, § 245. The Ap. forms nom. sg. m. *jehe*, f. *jehī* are also relevant here.

³ cf. W. S. Allen, 'Some prosodic aspects of retroflexion and aspiration in Sanskrit', *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, 944 (discussing the Skt. aspect of 'Grassman's Law').

⁴ cf. Saksena, op. cit., §§ 244, 241.

⁵ Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, 197–8.

On the initial *h* of the Marāṭhī forms *hā*, etc., cf. G. V. Tagare, *Historical grammar of Apabhramśa*, Poona, 1948, § 124, specially p. 233. A study of the Southern Apabhramśa forms in the *Harivamśapurāṇa* (ed. L. Alsdorf, Hamburg, 1936) is instructive here.

utterance of educated speakers; cf. *rəhnā* [rɛ̃^hnā], *kəhnā* [kɛ̃^hnā], where the 'fronting' is not particularly associated with the speech of a certain class. The utterance of *vəh* just quoted may, indeed, be recent, and due to a consciousness of the spelling, cf. *kəh* [kɛ̃^h], base of *kəhnā* [kɛ̃^hnā], contra *kəhā* [kə̃hā]; such utterance contrasts with the utterance of *vəh* in all contexts by Muslims and by Hindus of less education, [vɔ̃], [vɔ̃^h]¹—possibly also with the utterance of *vəh* unstressed in the continuum of speech by the same speaker. These words *yəh*, *vəh* as they appear in the Urdū script, ۛ ۛ, require the final Perso-Arabic *he* not as a marker of aspiration but as the indication of a final 'short' vowel, cf. ۛ [nɛ̃]; but in view of the H pl. forms *ye*, *ve*, not now used in U, and the spelling ۛ known certainly as far back as Tulsī, the possibility of 'contamination' with the U orthography is remote.

2. The -to -tā forms in NIA

Hendriksen (op. cit., 332) follows up Bloch's contention² that M *hotā* 'was' is 'actually the pres. part. of *honē*' with the remark that this 'may be due to influence from the neighbouring Gujarātī which can use the pres. part. to indicate the habitual past: *te karto*: "he used to do". But for Gujarātī to exercise an influence on the more distant languages Braj, Bundelī, Avadhī, Himāchalī is improbable . . .

There is no reason to look as far away as Gujarātī for an 'influence'; for example, the Hindi -tā is used regularly, without auxiliary,³ to express past time. The first, the 'impossible condition', e.g.:

(*əgər*) *vəh ātā to mē jātā* 'if he had come I would have gone'

while relevant to my own analysis of the Eindi -tā forms, is not immediately so for the forms Hendriksen has in mind. The second usage, parallel to the Gujarātī form Hendriksen cites, is the 'habitual past' of narrative Hindi, both literary and colloquial; the following extract from Bhagvati Prasad Vajpeyī's well-known short story *Mithāī vālī* affords an excellent example⁴:

bahut hū mūṭhe svarō ke sāth vəh gəliyō mē ghūmtā huē kəhtā: 'baccō ko bəhlāne vālā, khilone vālā!' is *ədhūre vākṛ ko vəh ese . . . dhamg se gāker kəhtā ki sunne vāle ek bār əsthīr ho uṭhte. us ke . . . kəmṭh se phūṭā huā . . . gān sunkər nīkəṭ ke məkāndō mē həcəl məc jātī. . . yuvliyḍ cīrō ko uṭhāker chəjjō pər se nīce jhākne ləgtī. gəliyō . . . mē t̃helte . . . hue baccō kā jhūmḍ use*

¹ The forms in use in modern Khaṛī Bolī are, however, [jɔ̃] m. [jə̃] f., [vɔ̃] m. [və̃] f., contra m.f.pl. [jɛ̃] [vɛ̃]; the pl. forms corresponding to H *ināḥ*, *unāḥ* show no aspiration: [inē], [unē] (from unpublished material collected by my colleague, Mr. Ganesh Dutt Gaur, to whom I am indebted for this information).

In this sense Khaṛī Bolī (KB) is used to refer to the speech (*bolī*) of the Meerut area; this is the local term actually in use, and it seems preferable to employ it in preference to Grierson's rather cumbersome 'Vernacular Hindōstānī'.

² *La formation de la langue marathī*, § 248.

³ cf. Burton-Page, 'Compound and conjunct verbs in Hindi', *BSOAS*, xix, 3, 1957, 471-2.

⁴ The transcription differs from that which I normally use by writing *ā*, *ī*, *ū* for *aa*, *ii*, *uu*; cf. my 'The syntax of participial forms in Hindi', *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 94, n. 1.

gher letā, or *tāb vāh khilone vālā vāhī beḥkār khilonō kī peṭī khol detā. bāce khilone deḥkār pulkit ho uṭhte. ve pese lākār khilonō kā mol-bhāv kerne lēgte. pūchte, 'ich kā dām kyā he, ol ich kā, ol ich kā ?' khilone vālā . . . dekhtā, or . . . pese le letā, or bācō kī icchānusār khilone de detā.*

'With a very sweet voice he would cry, wandering round the lanes, "Children's delighter, toy-seller!" He would go on singing this fragment of a sentence in such a way that those who heard him were struck still. On hearing that song coming from his lips, a commotion would break out in the neighbouring houses.¹ The young girls would start to lift up the *chiks* and peer down from the roofs. A crowd of children playing in the lanes would surround him, and the toy-seller would sit down then and there and open up his pack of toys. When the children saw the toys they were thrilled; they would produce their money, and start finding out the prices. They would ask "What's the price of *vis* one, an' *vis* one, an' *vat* one?" The toy-seller would look at them, and take their money, and give out the toys each child had chosen.'

If 'influence', then, were needed, Hindi—which is based on the KB of the Meerut area²—would certainly be sufficiently close geographically to exert such an influence on Himāchalī, etc. But is the suggestion of 'influence' really necessary? That the *-to*, *-tā* forms are regularly used with this value (G, M, H, Avadhi,³ B,⁴ etc.) points more to such use being a general legacy of Indo-Aryan; it is, moreover, not of recent introduction, cf. Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, 264, for Apabhramṣa examples of the 'passé duratif' and 'conditionnel irréal'.⁵

Hendriksen's difficulty, ' . . . regarding the forms in question as present participles is an unsatisfactory explanation even in the case of Gujarātī; it would be better if they could be shown to be past participles',⁶ seems to have arisen from a confusion of formal and semantic principles; for Hendriksen has apparently fallen a victim of the ambiguity of the traditional terminology which applies a notional label to a formal category. But formal identity of the modern *-to*, *-tā* forms with the ancient *fatṛ* forms in *-anta-* certainly does not imply identity of semantic function. The modern reflexes of the *fatṛ* and *kta* forms are generally statable in terms of imperfective and perfective aspect rather than present and past time, and each aspect may be associated with either time-indication (for the reverse of the problem under discussion, i.e. perfective aspect used with reference to present time, cf. H *mē abhī āyā* 'I'm

¹ The anacoluthon of the translation follows that of the Hindi.

² cf. n. 1, p. 176.

³ Sakseña, op. cit., § 315 (a).

⁴ Here with 'personal endings', *-tum*, *-te*, *-ti*, *-to*, *-ten*; cf. S. K. Chatterji, *The origin and development of the Bengali language*, § 693, and, for examples, W. Sutton Page, *An introduction to colloquial Bengali*, 150-1. The corresponding Oriya forms are significant in retaining *-nt-*, cf. Chatterji, op. cit., § 694.

⁵ cf. also L. P. Tiesitori, 'Notes on the grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani', *IA*, XLIV, 1915, §§ 113, 123, and Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛtasarvasva*, XVII, 62: *sarvādā fatṛ: honto bhavaṇ bābhūva bhavagati vā*.

⁶ op. cit., 332

just coming', 'I'll be with you in a moment', Nepali *her, gāṛ āyo* ! 'Look out, there's a car coming !'). There is thus no necessity to try to regard forms such as M *hotā*, etc. as 'past participles': they are historically reflexes of the *fat* forms, and their employment to signify 'past time' does not vitiate their assignation to a modern 'imperfective' semantic category; consequently, the need to explain them as analogical formations on the pattern of H *sonā* : *sātnā* does not arise.

These reflections are to be understood as confined to the two points discussed above, with particular reference to Hindi, which have figured only incidentally in Professor Hendriksen's theory; they are not intended as a destruction of the fundamental points of his argument.

W. BURTON-PAGE

REVIEWS

ENRICO CERULLI: *Storia della letteratura etiopica*. (Storia delle Letterature di Tutto il Mondo.) 279 pp., 9 plates. [Milano]: Nuova Accademia Editrice, [1956]. L. 2500.

ENRICO CERULLI (ed. and tr.): *Atti di Krestos Samrā*. (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Vol. 163, 164: *Scriptores Aethiopici*, Tom. 33, 34.) 2 parts: [iv], iv, 80 pp.; [iv], xvi, 59 pp. Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956. Belg. fr. 180 and 105 respectively.

The two works under review add lustre to Dr. Cerulli's vast and varied output. Few orientalists of our day have had so full a scholarly and public career, and even fewer have written with equal authority and distinction. He has also extended his work as *ethiopianist* and *islamist* into the sphere of medieval European literature and culture, especially those of Spain and Italy, and has traced the Oriental elements in their European ambience in a number of magisterial treatises.

The books now under notice take Dr. Cerulli back to his study of Ethiopian literature (he includes a most useful treatment of Amharic literature up to the present). In relation to what can be said, in the absence of further investigations of detail, and to what must be considered the peculiar limitations of the Ethiopic literary *genre*, we are reasonably well placed for comprehensive sketches of Ethiopic literary history.¹ Yet, Cerulli goes some way beyond the pioneering work done by Guidi, Conti Rossini, and Littmann. He is (with some exceptions, mainly on aspects to which he had himself devoted detailed studies in the past) less concerned with the minutiae of literary criticism than with the great sweeps of historical development and literary connexions. The series in which Cerulli's literary history

appears has no doubt prescribed the popular approach to the subject and, while allowing scope to scholarship, it has dispensed with most of the learned trappings and research accessories. The student who wishes to go further will still require access to the superb bibliographical coverage offered in Guidi's [*Breve*] *Storia della letteratura etiopica* which Cerulli's brief bibliography (pp. 267-9) was not, of course, meant to supersede. It now remains a *desideratum* of Ethiopic literary research to produce a bibliographical supplement for all the relevant writings that have appeared since Guidi's book was published in 1932 and to fill in the minor gaps in Guidi's documentation.

From Ludolf to the present day the main attraction of Ethiopic literature to European scholars has undoubtedly lain in all that that literature had preserved, in translation, of earlier and more original literary creations. Thus the great interest in the Ethiopic version of the book of *Enoch*¹ derived, of course, from the fact that in the Ethiopic language alone the complete text of that work had been preserved. Furthermore, the literary and cultural relations between Ethiopia and other countries of the Christian Orient were examined with a view to a clearer understanding of the origin and development of the Oriental Christian Churches and Oriental Christian literatures. It was for these reasons that the main attention had hitherto been given to translations rather than to the original aspects of Ethiopic literature. Cerulli's work, therefore, sets out to break fresh ground in redressing the balance: not, of course, to deny the profound influence of Greek and Arab Christian literature in Ethiopia, but to present a new view of a literature *che si rivelerà inattesa e ricca di pregi* (p. 8). The stress on *inattesa e ricca* is fully justified, for few students of Ethiopic literature had hitherto been able to detect in it a surfeit of literary merit. In fact, it had rather been a commonplace, practised by the expert and the uninitiated alike, to refer to Abyssinian literature somewhat condescendingly

¹ See esp. C. Conti Rossini, 'Note per la storia letteraria abissina', *RRAL*, 1899; *idem*, section *letteratura* in entry *Etiopia* of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Milano, 1932; *idem*, 'Le lingue e letterature semitiche d'Etiopia', *OM*, I, 1921. Littmann, *Geschichte der äthiopischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1909; *idem*, 'Die äthiopische Literatur', *Handb. d. Orientalistik*, III, 3, Leiden, 1954, 376-85. I. Guidi, [*Breve*] *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma, 1932. In English: J. M. Harden, *An introduction to Ethiopic Christian literature*, London, 1926. E. Ullendorff, *Exploration and study of Abyssinia* (esp. pp. 39-65), Asmara, 1946.

¹ M. J. T. Milik (*Revue Biblique*, LXIII, 1, 1956) reports that eight MSS of *Enoch*, all of them in Aramaic, were recently found among the Dead Sea scrolls. It appears that the relationship to the Ethiopic text is one of considerable complexity. Five MSS of *Jubilees*, in Hebrew, have also been discovered; in this case the Ethiopic version seems to be a faithful rendering of the Hebrew original. One must express the hope that circumstances will permit an early publication of these most important documents.

as either 'purely ecclesiastical' or 'merely translational'.¹

To what extent Cerulli has succeeded in sustaining his claim, will remain partly a matter of literary taste and partly a question as to how truly representative of the whole body of Ethiopic literature those well-chosen extracts adduced by the author can be judged to be. Of course, he has selected the gems from texts edited and unedited (and it is for the latter in particular that we are indebted to Dr. Cerulli) in the collections of the Vatican, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the British Museum. And there can be little doubt that the copious literary illustrations offered by the author do convey an impression of both artistic merit and historical relevance to the main theme and thesis of the book. We should not, therefore, expect a complete catalogue of works Ethiopic but rather the recital and discussion of those aspects only which, in the author's view, are of significance to the *visione d'insieme* that he wishes to present.

But even that part of Ethiopic Court and Church literature which is predominantly translational exhibits what Cerulli has rightly called a *ricettività altissima*. This 'most active receptiveness' is shown in additions, changes, and transformations which foreign originals, mostly Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, have undergone in the process of 'translation'. Outstanding examples of such treatment are the *Book of the Miracles of Mary* (to whose medieval Latin and Romance sources Cerulli had devoted an earlier study) and the *Fetša Nagast*, the Ethiopic law code. But the author is right to exclude from this type of literature the famous *Kebrä Nagast* ('Glory of the Kings'), the central literary creation of Ethiopia, which seeks to prove the origin and descent of the Ethiopian dynasty from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Even though many of the peripheral Patristic and other elements are no doubt owed to Christian Arabic *Vorlagen*, the central theme is clearly of indigenous composition and based on the literary strands derived from the Judaeo-Arab cultural atmosphere of pre-Islamic south-west Arabia to which Ethiopian civilization is so heavily indebted.

Dr. Cerulli's contribution to the *CSCO* (he is now in charge of its Ethiopic section) takes the form of an edition and translation into Italian of the Ethiopic *Acts of Krestos Samra*, a female saint of the fifteenth century. The edition is based on a copy specially made from a manuscript in the monastery of St. Stephen

¹ Most recently, a renowned Semitist, Harris Birkeland, has even spoken of Ethiopic literature as not being 'of the same relevance as that of the chief Semitic languages' (Roman Jakobson, *Festschrift*, 1956, 51).

of Hayq in central Ethiopia. The critical apparatus makes use of a MS in the Bodleian Library (Aeth. e.4 = No. 78) which the present reviewer, in his *Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. II (Oxford, 1951), thought to be unique. The publication of the Bodleian catalogue had the fortunate result of apprising Dr. Cerulli of the existence of the Oxford MS, which could thus be used for collation and for certain additional material (see below), and of preventing wasteful duplication by the abandonment of the intended Oxford edition.

As Cerulli's MS, though otherwise a copy of the St. Stephen of Hayq codex, has—according to Ethiopian custom—a colophon of its own, nothing can be said of the date of the original Hayq volume, but the Oxford MS dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. Both versions present a reasonably good text and differ only in variants of little consequence, but the Oxford MS has several appendices in both prose and poetry which have been fully considered by Cerulli.

Krestos Samra came from a rich Shoa family. In a moment of great anger she hit (and accidentally killed) one of her servants. She is so overcome with shame and remorse that she abandons her comfortable life and takes refuge in the monastery of Debra Libanos, Ethiopia's premier monastic institution. There she is ordained a nun and then escapes to the solitude of the Lake Tana region where she leads the life of a hermit. Her fame spreads, however, and brings about the advent of a female as well as male monastic community on the small island of Gwangut near the eastern shore of Lake Tana. The precise location of this island is not known, mainly because the name Gwangut used in the *Acts of Krestos Samra* has not survived. It is, however, almost certain to be identical with a place called Ahun Wata (cf. R. E. Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, London, 1936, 172) by the Gumara river which is now connected with the mainland but appears to have formed previously part of an island in the lake. Krestos Samra's association with this region is attested by the existence of an eponymous church dedicated to her memory.

The contents of the book are mainly concerned with a large number of visions; it also describes ascetic practices, fasts, and meditations and prayers in the waters of Lake Tana. It is certainly one of the more interesting descriptions of Ethiopian Saints' lives.

Edition, translation, and introduction are a model of accuracy and erudition. Both the works here reviewed greatly enrich our knowledge of Ethiopic literature.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

WOLF LESLAU (ed. and tr.): *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*. (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie [de l'Université de Paris], LXL.) ix, 98 pp. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1957. Fr. 1000.

The present booklet is yet another example of Professor Leslau's astonishing industry. While his earlier book on the Falashas (*Falasha anthology*, New Haven, 1951) offered a translation of the principal works of Falasha literature, he now presents the results of his inquiry into their customs and beliefs undertaken during his first trip to Ethiopia in 1946-7. There is no need to rehearse here what little we know about the origin of the Falashas: the author mainly reiterates what he has said in his previous book and elsewhere, and the present reviewer may, perhaps, refer to his own remarks in this journal (*BSOAS*, xv, 1, 1953, 177) and especially in *JSS*, i, 3, 1956, 216-56. Professor Leslau might with advantage have taken note of the few further rays of light that were thrown on the Falasha problem since he wrote in 1951. He is, perhaps, inclined—as H. J. Polotaky has said in another context (*Notes on Gurage grammar*, p. 11)—to have 'the ignorance which prevailed up to 1946 . . . painted just a shade too black'. The Jewish impact on pre-Islamic South Arabia and the subsequent penetration of Judaizing tendencies into Abyssinia have been given a good deal more substance by the epigraphic material which has been published and historically interpreted by G. and J. Ryckmans (*Le Muséon*, LXVI, 1953). S. D. Goitein's observations in *Ha'arets* of 25 March 1955 are also apposite in this connexion.¹

Professor Leslau's inquiry was carried out in the Gondar area. A sketch map of the region might have helped us to fix those localities mentioned by him which are not marked on the available maps. Uzaba lies, I seem to recall, to the south-east of Gondar; thus also in *Falasha anthology*, p. 221, but on p. 5 of the present work it is situated 'au Sud-Ouest de Gondar'. I take this to be a slip of the pen?

Professor Leslau took the occasion of the Passover feast to establish himself in the local synagogue where he conducted his inquiry in Amharic. He had been fortunate in obtaining the secretarial services of Ato Taddese Mellese, a young Falasha in the employ of the Gondar Municipality. Ato Taddese noted down, and later arranged under proper heads, the replies elicited in response to Professor Leslau's questions. His questioning must have been

extremely skilful, for he has succeeded in bringing together a collection of considerable ethnological interest and value covering most aspects of Falasha religious life as well as village organization and trade, birth, marriage, divorce, death, etc. There appear to be certain regional variations in customs and beliefs, for—as Professor Leslau points out—not all his observations tally with those of his predecessors.

Ato Taddese appears to have taken his notes in telegram style, and they also seem to reflect the short utterances which considerate Ethiopian informants produced in response to an inquiry conducted by a European. The Amharic style is thus in marked contrast to the lengthy and involved periods of normal Amharic syntax. What it lacks in idiomatic authenticity it gains in clarity and precision; a kind of Amharic without tears. And for those without interest in that language Professor Leslau has provided a French translation. Altogether a most interesting and well arranged collection.

EDWARD ULLENDOERFF

ARMAS SALONEN: *Hippologica Accadica*. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, Tom. 100.) 338 pp. [includes 20 pp. of photos.] Helsinki: [Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia], 1955 [pub. 1956]. Fmk. 1500.

The bilingual title quoted above does not reveal that this book is written in German. More important, it is reserved for a comprehensive sub-title and for the Vorwort to explain that much more is included than *hippologica* alone (admitting the authenticity of the word and even giving it the widest extension). This author has already put us in his debt for a series of three monographs devoted to the methods and instruments of travelling and transport in ancient Mesopotamia, both by land and water. The present work concludes his study with the general subject of transport-animals, their kinds, uses, equipment, fodder, training, and care, about all of which a multitude of absorbing details is exhibited here, testimony alike to the wealth of information we now have about this great civilization (quite unknown only a century ago), and to the ability and industry of the author.

The Babylonians themselves had not omitted these matters from their own kind of study, for most of them found some place in the lists of classified objects which are the distinctive form of their scientific literature. And although much more information has been obtained from texts of historical and commercial, even literary, character, not to mention material

¹ Further bibliographical references may be found in *JSS*, i, 3, 1956, 220-5.

evidence, the list-form is still present in the arrangement of this book which (for more essential reasons, of course) appears mainly as a lexicon, and, as such, contributes much to the vocabularies both of Akkadian and Sumerian. It is in lexicography that the author is mainly (and necessarily) interested, but his theme is, after all, a very practical human concern, and although Dr. Salonen has evidently been at pains to consider the material remains and ancient representations of his subject it might pass as a general criticism that he sometimes seems to take less account of things than of words—this despite a good deal of recent literature, devoted particularly to the horse and the camel in antiquity, with which the author is well acquainted, although he does not anywhere mention the very interesting book of Commandant Lefebvre des Noettes, *L'attelage: le cheval de selle à travers les âges*, which has many excellent observations about the maladroit ancient use of this resource, which rendered it largely ineffective and kept it quite subordinate to the easily available and far more flexible man-power—the Psalmist might have reversed his order, 'he delighteth not in the strength of the horse; he taketh no pleasure in the legs of a man'. There was the strangling effect of the yoke-harness, in use before the medieval invention of the horse-collar (this observation is ascribed here, on p. 94 f., to a later writer), and another disabling factor was the failure to see that animals must be harnessed in file to obtain their effective output of power. This seems to have been sometimes done with oxen in ploughing, but the strength of horses was wasted in their side-by-side position under the yoke. It is not, incidentally, the case that no information about the form of the yoke is given by later illustrations (p. 105), for there is an interesting fragment of a Sennacherib sculpture (published in the reviewer's *Stones of Assyria*, pl. 18, p. 178) which shows clearly enough a four-horse yoke with the neck-bands. Still continuing with *Realien* two other criticisms suggest themselves with some emphasis. The author is sceptical in a note (p. 92, n. 1) of objects in museums and found in excavations claimed to be ivory, yet he substitutes for this the strange assertion that 'manche als Elfenbein betrachtete Gegenstände in der Tat aus dem Horn des Nashornes hergestellt sind'. But what evidence is there for this? The rhinoceros was in fact hardly known at all to the ancient Near East—one or two might be slain by an Egyptian Nimrod (Tuthmosis III) in the extreme south, and there is the Indian representation on the well-known 'Indus' seal from Tell Asmar (see also recently R. D. Barnett, *The Nimrod Ivories in the British Museum*, p. 165, n. 11,

but the Black Obelisk depicts a very dubious creature); the possible examples must be few indeed, and neither the material nor the appearance of articles made from rhinoceros horn have any resemblance to ivory. In another note (p. 152, n. 2) it is said to be scarcely, or rather not, possible to shoot with a bow from horseback without the use of stirrups, which, it is well known, antiquity had not invented—another of its disabilities in the exploitation of animal power—and Ashurbanipal is consequently charged with falsehood for depicting himself as hunting in this manner. Yet in fact mounted archers were tried in the Assyrian army already in the reign of Ashurnasirpal, riding in pairs with a horse-manager, but they were unsatisfactory and seem to have been discarded, only, however, to come in again later. For antiquity in general it is sufficient to consider the *hippotoxotai* in various nations, and even the proverbial 'Parthian shot', to see how much Dr. Salonen underestimates the athleticism and practice of the old warriors.

While it is not possible to discuss all the details which suggest themselves in reading the author's exhaustive lists and discussions of the 'hippological' words and ideas, a few observations may add a little to the wealth of information which he has amassed: pp. 12-13, there is specific mention of horses as used in a chariot by Sargon of Agade in the (admittedly late) omen-text of the *šumma ālu* series published in *CT*, part XI, 33, but the truth of the tradition may be accepted: p. 15, that use of horses as mounts for riding is found 'erst von der Perserzeit an' is not sufficiently qualified by 'hauptsächlich', and is indeed modified by implication later in these pages. Some further examples of abbreviated writing (p. 32) have been given by J. Lewy in *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern*, XXIX, 1949, 66 f. On p. 59 is a misprint 'anwesendes (for abwesendes) Fohlen', and with this may be coupled p. 132 where in the text and in n. 2 are several blank page-references. P. 66, on the stone and plant called *biššur alāni* the two dictionaries of R. C. Thompson might have been consulted, and p. 75 the plant mentioned is perhaps (though very uncertainly) to be read *uranu* rather than *šamranu*, see *ZDMG*, LXXIV, 1920, 444—if so, Thompson's discussion is affected. Pp. 87 ff. there is no mention of the lively representations of dromedaries in the sculptures of Ashurbanipal's Arabian campaign (although a very minute illustration of a fragment appears in *Tafel V*, 2): p. 104, *pān niri* is also used by Sennacherib: p. 103, *dubbin* has now been read *umbin* (*MSL*, II, 116, line 231): p. 116, there seems to be an implication that horse-bits of silver have been more frequently found

than of copper, which can hardly be true—even if it were, taking copper in the strict sense, it is certainly not true of bronze, as exemplified particularly by the 'Luristan' bronzes, which the author does not mention. P. 123, it is not very easy to understand what is meant by 'Boden' and 'Rand' of reins, and this may suggest a doubt about the meaning of *appatum* in the single passage quoted: p. 130, *manninnu* appears also as a golden object in the treasure of a goddess at Qatna (*Syria*, xi, 1930, 320, line 206): p. 149, the use of metal-studded leathern cloaks as defensive armour is probably shown already on the celebrated 'Standard' of Ur: p. 177, *agargaru* is further explained as *kibrit galimtu* (*DOG*, 38 f.): p. 198, *maštu* as *mašlum* is found already in an Old Akkadian tablet (I. Gelb, *Old Akkad. inscr. in the Natural Hist. Museum of Chicago*, p. 207). Pp. 208, 213 ff. have a very interesting discussion of the chariot crews at various periods, especially the 'third rider', to whom there is added, in the late periods, a fourth as well. In the time of Ašurnasirpal the 'third rider' was undoubtedly present, and it seems clear that his prime duty was to hold on behind by two hand-grips to save the principal occupants, especially the king (cf. 2 Kings, vii, 2), from being actually jerked out of the chariot by its violent starts and bounds (cf. *Iliad* xxiii, 368 f.), and we find him also supporting a wounded master (1 Kings, xxi, 35). Bidkar had been the 'third' to Ahab (king) and Jehu (driver) according to 2 Kings, ix, 25, this being in the reign of Shalmaneser III, and from this example it seems that the 'third' might look for promotion to be driver himself. It may be suggested that the two 'third riders' (*tašli-šunu*), 'of the right' and 'of the left' (p. 217), are the two who are seen sometimes both in the war and in the hunting chariots of Ašurbanipal. P. 232, the *hubšu* were prominent at Alalakh, and there have consequently been more recent discussions than the author names: p. 260, *ne* is doubtless used of the 'return' from a journey, especially a hunting battue, in the chariot, and the medical 'reviver' quoted by Dr. Salonen might be administered in the circumstances depicted 'functionally' in Room G of the Palace at Nimrud; these sculptures impressively display the rest and refreshment of Ašurnasirpal on his return from an organized hunt hard by the Palace—the king sits drinking, fanned and revived by his lay and 'spiritual' attendants.

Subjects of the 20 *Tafeln* are judiciously chosen, and praise must be given to the elucidation of some by diagrams. Their rather unsatisfactory reproduction seems to be caused mainly by their having been taken from books rather than originals, even when these were available. Two particular observations

may be made—why is the (very poorly shown) object of Tafel VII described in the Verzeichnis as 'Fruhsumerische Joche', to which it has no visible resemblance, when the author from whom it is borrowed more plausibly called it 'Herde und Gehoft'? Secondly, Tafel XVIII, 3, 4, are taken from the Simkhovitch bowl, said to be Assyrian, in the Oriental Institute of Chicago; despite the high authority of the much-regretted Henri Frankfort not all would agree that it can be safely used to illustrate ancient iconography and workmanship.

C. J. GADD

ÉTIENNE DRIOTON and others: *Les religions de l'Orient ancien*. [Par] Étienne Drioton, Georges Contenau, J. Duchesne-Guillemin. (Je Sais — Je Crois: Encyclopédie du Catholique au xxème Siècle, 141. Quatorzième partie — Religions non chrétiennes et quêtes de Dieu.) 143 pp. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1957. Fr. 300.

Despite the fact that this small book forms part of the Encyclopédie du Catholique au xxème siècle and bears the *imprimatur*, its treatment of the three religions concerned is objective and scholarly, as indeed one would expect from its distinguished contributors; only to Professor Duchesne-Guillemin's account are a few brief footnotes attached which discreetly indicate the orthodox view. As essays in lucid exposition of recondite subjects these contributions may be commended to scholars as examples of what may be achieved in the field of 'vulgarisation'.

M. Drioton draws upon his immense knowledge of ancient Egypt in his account of the religion of that land. Since his survey necessarily covers familiar ground, it will probably be best in the limited space of this review to comment only upon points of special interest. Accordingly it may be noted that the continuance of polytheism, despite a strong and early tendency to monotheism, is explained by the Pharaonic policy of encouraging the cults of local gods, which were already well established in the predynastic period. M. Drioton gives full value to the use of the unqualified word for 'God' in the ancient Egyptian wisdom literature and dismisses the suggestion that it was due to young scribes at the royal court instinctively thinking in terms of their own local deities. Consequently, in view of this long tradition of monotheism, he sees Akhnaton's reform as an attempt, inspired by his cult of Truth ('nous dirions la logique'), to end the culpable contradiction perpetrated by the educated in professing a

philosophic monotheism, while continuing to subscribe to polytheistic practices. The vexed question of the origin of Osiris is passed over by M. Drioton, and he states that it was only in the XIth dynasty that Osiris 'devint et resta définitivement le grand dieu des morts'; but this statement surely requires qualification in view of the place which this deity has in the Pyramid Texts, particularly the evidence which exists therein of the hostile attitude towards him adopted by the Heliopolitan priesthood. Space will only permit noticing that the mortuary rite of 'Opening the Mouth' is explained in terms of a primitive ritual of capturing the soul after death and reintegrating it with the body before burial, and the weighing of the heart in the Osirian judgment-scene in the *Book of the Dead* is interpreted as a test of the truth of previous avowals of innocence made by the deceased. In the description of the Egyptian temple it should surely have been noted that the solar temple at Heliopolis and the Aton temple at Akhetaton differed significantly from the general form, and it may perhaps also be said that in this study the crucial part which the Pharaonic kingship had in the structure of Egyptian religion is not brought out.

M. Contenau was faced with a more diffused subject in dealing with what he terms 'Religions asiatiques'. Accordingly he has dealt very summarily with the religions of the Hittites, Hurrites, Elamites, and Phœnicians in order to deal more adequately with those of the Mesopotamian peoples. However, he prepares his way for this by stressing the fact that these 'Asiatic' religions were essentially 'religions naturistes', being based on the principle of fertility and fecundity expressed in a divine pair, namely, a great god of the mountains and storm and the great mother-goddess of the earth or nature; with them was often associated a young god, their offspring. Although the fact of this general pattern may be accepted, it should be noted that M. Contenau does not face up to the problem implicit in the relationship between Aliyan and Môt in Ugaritic mythology. The nature of the religion of the Sumerians before their subjection to Semite influences is explained in terms of the basic pattern of the 'Asiatic' religions, which enables the astral character of the well-known Sumerian pantheon to be accounted for as due to the fusion which took place with Semitic concepts. The Adapa myth is interpreted as explaining the origin of death, but nothing is said of the literary and philosophical motives underlying the extant form of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. M. Contenau makes the interesting suggestion that the mysterious deity Dumuzi was the adversary of Ishtar in her beneficent rôle of goddess of

fertility. This suggestion naturally prompts the equally interesting question whether Ishtar might have been a 'dying god' in Mesopotamian mythology. According to M. Contenau there is no ground for thinking that, in the celebrated legend of her descent into the underworld, Ishtar went in search of the dead Dumuzi (Tammuz); but it must be noted that not only is the beginning of the legend lost, but there is some reference to the resurrection of Tammuz at its end. It may be remarked in conclusion on M. Contenau's very able account that it is curious that, after laying so much emphasis on the fundamental fertility pattern in these religions, he says nothing about the so-called 'Myth and Ritual' thesis which has been advanced in terms of this very pattern.

Professor Duchesne-Guillemin prefaces his study with a note of lament which all must surely appreciate who have concerned themselves with the recent works of those expert in Iranian studies: 'Comme ils ne sont d'accord sur presque rien, toute vulgarisation tentée par l'un d'eux l'expose au blâme des autres'. By presenting his account in the form of a 'petit dictionnaire de la religion iranienne', Professor Duchesne-Guillemin is able to touch upon all the salient topics of his complicated subject. Of outstanding worth is his concise account of the Avesta and the later Pahlavi writings, containing, as it does, excerpts from his own translation of the Yasnas. Again space only permits the briefest mention of certain notable points in a truly brilliant survey. He sees Zarathustra's conception of Ahura Mazda as combining two aspects of sovereignty which found expression in the Vedic deities Varuna and Mitra. The Amasha Spantas are explained in terms of Dumézil's theory of a tripartite organization of Indo-European society. Ahriman is identified with the lion-headed monster, whose statues are found in the *mithras* and who represented a form of Zurvan—the case for this identification the author recently set forth in an article in *Nouvelles études de la religion iranienne*, II, 3, 1955, 190–5. The account ends with an interesting discussion of the possible relationships holding between the Iranian religions and Greek, Hebrew, and Gnostic thought; what is said here in connexion with the Qumrân documents is of particular value, because the issue involved has so far been rarely discussed by experts in Iranian studies.

S. G. F. BRANDON

NAHMAN AVIGAD and YIGAL YADIN :
A Genesis apocryphon : a scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. Description and contents of the scroll, facsimiles,

transcription and translation of columns II, XIX-XXII. 48, 6, 40 pp., 8 plates, 2 corrigenda slips. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press of the Hebrew University and Heikhal ha-Sefer, 1956. (Distributors: Publishing Department, Jewish Agency for Palestine, P.O.B. 7044, Jerusalem. \$4.50.)

This is a dual-purpose edition: it contains the same text twice over, at the one end in Modern Hebrew, at the other in a competent English translation (by Sulamith Schwartz Nardi); in between are eight half-tone plates, five containing a column each of the MS; on opposite pages their transliteration is given.

The scroll to which they belong is one of the original seven found in Qumran Cave I. It was in a much worse state of preservation than the others. Unlike them it could not be unrolled. It was only recently, after it had been acquired by Israel (1954), that it was opened, thanks to the skill of J. Biberkraut. Of the 22 columns of writing very little has survived; only the last three—i.e. the innermost ones—are practically intact. The beginning and the end of the scroll are missing. At the end, the seam that originally connected the last sheet with another one is preserved. Only five columns are here published: the four final ones and col. II. The decipherment of what remains of the rest of the scroll is still in progress, but a brief summary of the contents is given.

The first five columns deal with the birth of Noah; the story resembles that in the 'Book of Enoch'. There are, however, some important differences. The narrator is at first Lamech but later Noah himself. In the story of the Flood and the making of the Covenant—told in one of the following columns—there are a number of close correspondences with 'Jubilees' (e.g. the 'mountain of Lubar', 'one of the Ararat mountains'). 'Since the version in the scroll is fuller and more detailed than in *Jubilees*, the former gives the impression of having possibly been a source on which the writer of *Jubilees* drew.' Columns 13-15 contain, i.e., a section parallel to Noah's injunction to his sons in Jub. vii. Columns 16-17 deal with the division of the earth among the sons of Noah; a similar passage occurs in Jub. Columns 19-22—the well preserved ones—constitute the core of the book under review. The subject matter corresponds to Gen. xii, xiii, xiv, and the beginning of xv. However, Abraham speaks in the first person. Many of the details are absent from the Bible, the Midrash, and Jub. There are a considerable number of place-names, some differing in form from those in the Bible and Targum.

The authors come 'to the definite conclusion that the Scroll is actually a sort of apocryphal version of stories from *Genesis*. . . . The work is evidently a literary unit in style and structure, though . . . it may perhaps be divisible into books—a Book of Lamech, a Book of Enoch, a Book of Noah, a Book of Abraham. . . . For the time being . . . we may confidently emphasize the close connection between the scroll and many parts of the *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Jubilees*, leading at times to the conclusion that *the scroll may have served as a source for a number of stories told more concisely in those two books*. In the light of this assumption, it is particularly difficult to fix the date of the scroll's composition, which must have been contemporary with or previous to the date of composition of *Jubilees*, the *Book of Noah*, etc.' (variously ascribed to the fourth, third, or second century B.C.E.).

The authors quote Y. Kutscher's dating of the text on linguistic grounds as first century B.C.E. or C.E. and add: 'This does not, of course, fix the time when the original text was written, for our text may be a translation of a Hebrew original or an edited version of an Aramaic original'. They then go on to point out the great similarity between the script of this MS and that of the 'War Scroll' and place it, accordingly, at the end of the first century B.C.E. or the first half of the first century C.E. This date had elsewhere been arrived at by Yadin,¹ on the basis of internal evidence for the time of its composition. That would not necessarily be the time when the MS was penned but just the *terminus a quo* for the script. However, it so happens that this period is almost the identical one arrived at by me on purely palaeographical grounds: approximately the third quarter of the first century C.E. for both MSS.²

In their final summing up, the authors of this excellent, scholarly work say: 'This scroll may be described as the earliest Aramaic example of pseudoepigraphic literature that has come down to us. It . . . fills a distinct gap in the history of Aramaic during one of the most decisive periods of its development'.

S. A. BIRNBAUM

R. C. ZAEHNER: *Mysticism, sacred and profane: an inquiry into some varieties of praeternatural experience.* xviii, 256 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. 42s.

Mysticism is described by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as 'a phase of thought, or rather

¹ *Mgyll mlhmt bny 'wr bby hwdk mmgyhot mdr yhudh*, p. 225.

² Birnbaum, *Hebrew scripts*, Nos. 87B, 87C.

perhaps of feeling, which from its very nature is hardly susceptible of exact definition'. One must therefore applaud the courage with which the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in the University of Oxford has embarked on a thorough-going comparative study of various types of mystical experience, in an effort to clear the ground of certain prevalent misconceptions and over-simplifications. His friends know Professor Zaehner as a man of perceptive wit and great erudition; he is able to draw freely on the original texts of the Hindu and Sūfi mystics, as well as ranging widely through Proust, Rimbaud, Baudelaire, and other European writers and applying the results reached by such psychological investigators as Jung, in order to construct his own system of categories of mystical experience.

The spark which set off Professor Zaehner's brilliant display of dialectical pyrotechnics was Aldous Huxley's book, *The doors of perception*, in which the exalted sensations enjoyed under the influence of mescaline are likened to those experienced by the great religious mystics, in consequence of which Mr. Huxley thinks it would be a good thing for humanity to jerk out of its prevailing indifference towards spiritual values by availing itself widely of this exciting new 'religion surrogate'.

The present reviewer, who has long delighted in Mr. Huxley's capacity to stimulate and to shock, would hardly have thought to take this suggestion seriously. Professor Zaehner, however, has taken up the challenge and nobly does he rise to the occasion. He even went to the trouble of testing the effects of mescaline on himself. The resultant phantasmagoria, fully recounted in Appendix B, should be sufficient to dispel faith in Mr. Huxley's nostrum for religious 'self-transcendence' through drugs. According to the record of Professor Zaehner's impressions and behaviour which he and his collaborators kept at the time, the rose window of Christ Church Cathedral appeared to expand and contract in a rhythmical manner; the victim's feet felt cold and crooked; *The golden bough* seemed on reflection to be 'one of the great comic classics', and its author, Sir James Frazer, to be playing the fool; an urge was felt to ring up the Warden of All Souls; in short, the patient, far from undergoing a great mystical experience, felt himself caught up in a world of farcical meaninglessness, until normality at length returned, attended by a desire to listen to Berlioz's *Te Deum* which for Professor Zaehner (as for the reviewer also) has religious as well as musical significance. In short, it would seem that the efficacy of mescaline for the attainment of holiness is much the same as that of neat whisky.

After pulverizing poor Mr. Huxley, Professor

Zaehner discusses the 'Nature mystics', amongst whom he classes Rimbaud, whose demonic character encourages the association of Nature mysticism with psychotic and manic-depressive states. Wordsworth, who might be regarded as pre-eminent among English Nature mystics, is disqualified on the grounds that even in his most deeply felt lines, 'there is no trace of an actual experience at all, either of union with Nature or communion with God. There is a dim perception only that there is a unifying principle in the universe'. By placing in the centre of his stage so atypical a genius as Rimbaud, or an intermittent manic subject like Mr. J. Custance, may Professor Zaehner not risk being unfair to those harmless enthusiasts to whom it is given to lie in the grass on a summer's day and feel themselves mysteriously transfused by Nature?

In his reflections on the underlying conflict between the theistic and the monistic view of the universe and approach to mystical experience, Professor Zaehner shows a decided animus against the monists, who cannot, he thinks, distinguish between inspirations proceeding from God and the temptations of the Devil, and to whom both must be equally illusory. (Compare, however, the dilemma as to whether belief in God is essential for moral virtue: many respectable eighteenth century *philosophes* maintained it is not.) In his painstaking analysis of Indian mysticism, Professor Zaehner does not, of course, oversimplify the picture; nor does he represent as characteristic of the whole of Hindu thought the outlook expressed in the extreme non-dualist Vedānta of Śaṅkara and his followers. Indeed, he brings out the cleavage which this issue actually produces within Hindu thought, pointing out that Rāmāṇja and other Indian theistic philosophers strongly criticize Śaṅkara and his school for their extreme monist viewpoint. In Professor Zaehner's sympathetic and comprehensive account of Muslim mysticism, particular interest attaches to his conclusion that purely monistic ideas in Sūfism can be traced back to Abū Yazīd of Bisṭām, who was apparently influenced directly by the Vedānta. An impression of the breadth of Professor Zaehner's horizon is gained from the passage in which he describes the gulf which divides the monist from the theist mystic:

'This is not a question of Christianity and Islam *versus* Hinduism and Buddhism: it is an unbridgeable gulf between all those who see God as incomparably greater than oneself, though He is, at the same time, the root and ground of one's being, and those who maintain that soul and God are one and the same and that all else is pure illusion. . . . Hinduism has its theists as well as its monists; and the Bhagavad-Gītā as well as

Rāmānuja stand nearer to St. John of the Cross than they do to Śaṅkara. This is a quarrel that cuts clean across the conventional distinctions of creeds. In each of the great religions there have been upholders of both doctrines. Even Christianity has not completely avoided the monistic extreme even though it makes nonsense of its basic doctrine that God is Love. Meister Eckhart, for instance, at times adopted a fully monistic position, and Angelus Silesius could well be interpreted monistically. . . .

It is impossible to lay down this book without an enhanced respect for Professor Zaehner as a fearless and original thinker.

D. M. LANG

W. MONTGOMERY WATT: *Muhammad at Medina*. xiv, 418 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. 42s.

In continuation of his study of Muhammad's career, Dr. Watt repeats his theory that the Prophet's age was one of *malaise*; this he assigns to the transition from a nomadic to a settled economy in Mecca. The Meccan leaders, he believes, adhered to the old tribal standards and customs when it was to their advantage, but those who were not tribal leaders were chiefly afraid of the disadvantages.

To the extent that, *at the very beginning of his mission* Muhammad was obliged, for lack of other supporters, to take up with menials despised by his own class then as now, there might be a faint justification for such an idea, but apart from this there is nothing in the *Sīrah* to justify his thesis. To the reviewer the theory appears as a misunderstanding of the situation so fundamental that it invalidates all of Dr. Watt's study which is coloured by it! Even if the view that the episode of Muhammad and the Meccans consists of a struggle between hierarchies, and individual groups or members of hierarchies for power in Arabia through influence over the tribes be unacceptable to him, Dr. Watt's study still does not accord with the facts as presented to us by the first Arab historians.

Sociological concepts cannot be so crudely applied to Arabia. Mecca does not display the characteristics of a transition from the Desert to the Sown. In the first place it is notoriously a barren spot; it is unlikely that seasonal trading could support a tribe or induce it to settle; moreover tribes despise trade. The pattern of settlement of marginal lands by successive waves of Bedouin tribes may apply to the Fertile Crescent, but not necessarily to Arabia proper. In fact as the reviewer has stated in *JRAS*, 1951, 168, a settled group controlling the market can control the tribes, especially if that control has the sanction of

religion. This is exactly the Meccan pattern. Secondly an arms-bearing tribe may be settled for hundreds of years in towns and villages without losing its essential tribal organization. Quraish seems to have been a tribe with certain houses (*bayt*) in which spiritual power resided. Perhaps the whole tribe had this distinctive character. Not only are the armed tribes of Arabia organized in family groupings, but even the despised artisan groups have such organizations with their own headmen and customary laws. The theory of transition from a tribal to a territorial organization on these and other grounds is absolutely untenable.

To propose that the ancient Arabians treated old tribal standards and customs in such contemptuous fashion as Dr. Watt suggests is contrary to all experience of Arabia and of Islam. Adherence to ancient custom at all periods is considered nearly morality in itself—the very word for heresy, *bid'ah*, implies a novelty. Muhammad and Quraish are governed in their actions by strict conformity with tribal law and custom. Only Muhammad's more ardent supporters do not regard his breaking with these as breaking with the law; but it is on rare occasions that he does so, and then he bolsters opportunist action with a pretext, or at the last resort a revelation justifies his policy. Muhammad acts according to well-known Arabian patterns, rigid to a degree incomprehensible in twentieth century Europe, patterns followed in Arabia to this day. His religion, too, is after all the religion of Abraham which had been corrupted by novelties.

On the dust-cover it is stated that this book includes sociological investigations of a pioneering character. This statement is unacceptable, for the sources used are mostly the works of an older generation, and recent researches have hardly been utilized at all. The work of Philby, of G. and J. Ryckmans (apart from a single reference), Ettore Rossi's fundamental study, 'Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen', *RSO*, xxiii, 1948, more recently Werner Caskel's *Das Rechtswesen der heutigen Beduinen*, Hilma Grandqvist's studies in Palestine, do not seem to have been taken into account, nor yet the works of an administrator like Kennett or a soldier like Sir John Glubb which throw valuable light upon the customs of ancient Arabia. For the study of the Hebrew Bible, scholars found it valuable to refer to modern Arab Palestine; and for the study of the *Sīrah* many gaps can only be filled in by recourse to such works as those cited above.

Speculation regarding the interpretation of the age of Muhammad there must be, but this is to be based on a careful investigation of the

language of the *Sirah*, and of parallel circumstances and situations such as those analysed by Rossi for the medieval period. Mere opinion and supposition, founded only on the author's speculation from a viewpoint essentially European, are inadequate; this method of approach does not inspire confidence. Secondary sources, too, have evidently generally been used and no systematic attempt is made to solve the very real linguistic difficulties of interpretation.

To select only a few matters of detail, the treatment of the so-called 'Constitution of Medina' is based on European translations rather than on a serious consideration of the Arabic text. The reviewer concurs with the late Dr. Bell, quoted by Dr. Watt, that this is not one single document. On examination of it, he is of the view that it clearly divides into four or five documents and an appendix, each ending with a formal phrase of the type in the documents reproduced in Wellhausen's *Skizzen*; but each one of these documents belongs to a different period, and they are not in chronological order. They bear a close resemblance to unpublished Hawṭah documents of the last four centuries in the reviewer's possession, not only in content but in language. The difficulties of interpretation disappear on realization that there are several documents here. The first in point of time is probably that which constitutes Medina a *haram*, wherein lies the clue to the whole constitution and Muḥammad's subsequent political career. Since Dr. Watt takes no practical account of this fact, his discussion of the 'Constitution' and the Ummah are baseless. As an example of the importance of the interpretation of the language of the text the word *muhḍiṭh* may be cited. Dr. Watt has suggested that it means 'one who disturbs the existing state of affairs in any way'—which is reasonably close to the truth. In my collection of tribal documents the actual root *ādāṭh* occurs, though more commonly the word *badā* (from *bada* 'to begin') is used. These terms are used meaning, 'to commit an aggressive act following on a settlement made (at some period previously) between two or more parties, thus creating a new circumstance which is equivalent to a breach of the peace'. The so-called 'Constitution of Medina' must be interpreted by the canons of tribal law, or by such law embodied in the *shar'ah*. Nor can the Ummah of Muḥammad be profitably discussed without taking into consideration the communities of the pre-Islamic gods and goddesses, such as 'Aṭṭar (cf. Khalīl Yahyā Nāmī, 'Nuḡḡh khirbat barāqish', *Majallat Kulliyat al-Ādab* (Cairo), xvii, 1, 1956, offprint p. 7, and many other inscriptions). All conceptions of the Ummah such as, for instance, that in the

Encyc. Islām will have to be re-cast in the light of evidence available on the pre-Islamic religions of Arabia especially G. Ryckmans, *Les religions pré-islamiques*.

Dr. Watt's conclusion that until the sixth century the group in Arabia was matrilineal (p. 388) is fantastic. It is not borne out in general by the works on genealogy in which descent through the female, to the best of the reviewer's memory, is rarely mentioned. Nor does it take any account of the evidence of inscriptions. Professor Beeston's 'The so-called harlots of Hadrāmūt' (*Oriens*, v, 1, 1952, 16 seq.) shows that hierodules existed at the time of Muḥammad. Is it possible that Ziyād b. Abīhi was the offspring of such a union, and therefore not known by the name of his father? Many Arabian tribes to-day follow the custom of providing a woman to spend the night with the guest. The offspring if any are known by the name of the mother, but this practice does not imply any established matrilineal system.

Some suggestions are naive, e.g. that it might be possible to explain the lack of references to the marriage of Muslim women to Jews as due to there being insufficient Muslim women available; the obvious answer to this query is that a Jewish man was not regarded by the Muslim as *kuḥ* for his daughter. Dr. Watt seems unaware of the over-riding importance of *kafā'ah* in marriage relationships in Arabia. More naive is the hypothesis that Muḥammad did not proselytize much in south and south-eastern Arabia because he might have had to provide for more people! A brief acquaintance with conditions in Arabia would have shown him that the population is kept down by disease, especially infant mortality, and not by raiding. Recourse to Rossi's article would have resolved his difficulties over *dhimmah* and *amān*.

R. B. SHERJEANT

DAVID AYALON: *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom: a challenge to a mediaeval society*. xvii, 154 pp. London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1956. 30s.

This monograph is neither a military history nor a technical treatise. Dr. Ayalon, in the introduction, reviews briefly the earlier studies relating to his subject and also the two main categories of source material—*furūsiya* works, and historical literature such as chronicles, etc. He then examines, in the first chapter, the chronological data in regard to the appearance of firearms among the Mamluks (siege artillery—c. 1360–80). Further details in chapter III complete the list of dates: field artillery (i.e. a belated attempt to improvise such a corps)—

1516-17 (reign of Tūmān Bāy); artillery for coastal defence and naval warfare against the Portuguese—reign of Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī (1501-16); arquebuses—first mentioned in 1489-90. The second chapter is devoted to a close and illuminating analysis of the terminology used in the Arabic chronicles to denote these new instruments of war. In the third and by far the longest chapter of his book Dr. Ayalon deals with the peculiar reaction and failure of the Mamluks to adapt themselves to this revolution in military technique.

Mamluk sources reveal clearly 'the antagonism of a military society, with its deeply rooted conventions and criteria of chivalry and honour, to the new, revolutionary weapon' (p. xiii). The Mamluks were essentially mounted soldiers. Horsemanship and the art of handling the lance, the bow, and the sword constituted the pivot around which their life revolved, the fount of their 'courtly pride and feeling of superiority' (p. 61). The arquebus was so ponderous that it could not be employed on horseback. To introduce it amongst the Mamluks meant in fact to transform them into footmen—a metamorphosis which, on psychological grounds, had no prospect of success. The use of firearms was therefore assigned to troops of inferior social rank, e.g. the negro slaves, but even then only within narrow limits, for it was obvious that such elements, if moulded into an effective corps of artillerymen and arquebusiers, might soon arrogate to themselves all power and privilege inside the Mamluk régime.

Dr. Ayalon describes how the Mamluks, in 1516, went forth to meet the Ottomans in a spirit of blind self-assurance. The historian Ibn Iyās, himself the son of a Mamluk amir, wrote that each Mamluk was a match for a thousand footmen of the Ottoman Sultan (p. 77). Ibn Zūbul expresses the same opinion still more emphatically and even observes that the Ottomans were 'unable to meet the Persians without firearms' (p. 92). In his view the use of guns and arquebuses led both to a degeneration of personal valour and skill in the arts of war and to a debasement of moral standards, since troops furnished with these unchivalrous weapons tended to become despicable and treacherous (p. 88). If the Ottomans had not possessed firearms, the Mamluks would have annihilated them to the last man (p. 90).

There exists between the utterances of Ibn Iyās and Ibn Zūbul and the words of an Italian writer of this time a curious parallelism of outlook and feeling. Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), in his *Historiae sui temporis* (I quote here from vol. I of the Lutetiae, 1558 edition), declares that the Ottomans defeated the Persians at Chaldīrān (1514) 'casu magis

artificioque tormentorum, quam vera virtute' (fol. 158v) and that the Persian army 'Turcis vel numero inferior ab eximia virtute insuperabilis videri possit, nisi dira hac indignaque fortibus viris vi tormentorum, aut inusitata multitudine copiarum obruatur' (fol. 159r). Of the Mamluks he writes: 'Erant Mamaluchi non tantum virtute, ut qui robore corporis, equitandi peritia et armorum genere praestarent: verumetiam magnitudine animi atque opibus Turcis hominibus minime comparandi' (fol. 197v). Mindful of their success in a previous war against the Ottomans (1485-91) in Cilicia, the Mamluks 'sibi ex ea victoria tantos spiritus, tantam arrogantiam animorum vanitate desumpserant, ut sibi unis praecipuam rei bellicae laudem debere, ac neminem esse in terris, quem armis superare non possent, existimarent' (fol. 197v). Giovio refers to the Mamluks at the battle of Marj Dābiq (1516) as 'Decora certe ac insuperabilis acies, si vera virtute certaretur' (fol. 202r) and 'tormentorum metu magis, quam vera militum virtute pulsos et coniectos in fugam' (fol. 203r). At Gaza (1518), under the arquebus fire of the Janissaries, 'nullus . . . in medio circumventis [Mamaluchis] virtutis locus relinquabatur' (fol. 204v-205r). After the Mamluk defeat at Raydāniya (1517) Tūmān Bāy realized that to fight 'aperto in campo vera virtute' would be hopeless and that nothing was to be gained 'praelio iusto' (fol. 209r). In general, three main ideas emerge from the narrative of Giovio: that the Persian and Mamluk horsemen were superior in skill and courage to the Ottoman sipāhis, that the use of the gun and the arquebus was unchivalrous and even immoral, and that firearms constituted a radical and decisive factor in the brilliant victories of Selim I.

Giovio indicates here and there some of the sources on which he relied for his information concerning the campaigns of Sultan Selim: e.g. he mentions in connexion with the Persian war 'Cassius natione Armenius qui huic bello interfuit' (fol. 154r-v), 'Persis Armenisque hominibus' (fol. 222v), the Grand Master of Rhodes (fol. 156r), and '[homines] qui huic praelio interfuerunt', i.e. at Chaldīrān (fol. 156v), while, in regard to the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt, he consulted the Venetian Luigi Mocenigo, who had been sent to Cairo as ambassador to Selim I (cf. Giovio, *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi* (Venice, 1540), fol. 25v) and also '[homines] qui huic praelio interfuerunt', i.e. at Raydāniya (*Historiae*, 1558, fol. 207v). The fact that Giovio's account is so reminiscent, in tone and outlook, of the Mamluk chronicles might well be due to his dependence, at least in part, on information drawn from men—Persian, Armenian, and also, no doubt, Arab merchants,

etc.—who were themselves antipathetic towards the Ottomans.

This present volume is the more welcome in that Dr. Ayalon has furnished each of the three chapters with ample notes and references. There are also two appendices, of which the first contains technical details about Mamluk firearms (cf. the brief account, given in Giovio, *Historiae*, vol. I, fol. 207r, of the guns that the Mamluks had gathered at Raydāniya: '... magna omnium concursatio ad traducenda tormenta: e quibus plura erant e ferro enormia atque ingentia, quae magnis inclusa trabibus, armillis, ac ferreis confubulationibus rudi et navali veterum artificio continebantur. Ea propter inusitatum gravitatem nisi subditis pluribus iumentis, et soutularum ac vectium impulsu, magnoque cum labore hominum suo loco dimoveri non poterant. Quae vero curribus imposita erant . . .') and also the passage (relating to the same battle) in Giovio, *Commentario* (Venice, 1540), fol. 23r: '... si sforzo di muover l'artiglierie quali erano bombarde di ferro à l'antica inserate con gran ferramenti in le travi senza ruote, et non si potevano facilmente condurre . . .'), while the second is a short, but most valuable note, in which Professor P. Wittek has assembled a number of the earliest references to the use of firearms amongst the Ottomans (siege guns—1422; field artillery—second battle of Kossovo in 1448; hand-guns—reign of Mehmed II, 1451–81). Dr. Ayalon has done much, in previous articles and monographs, to elucidate the distinctive form and character of the Mamluk régime. It is therefore a pleasure to state here that he has now made yet another rich and admirable contribution to our knowledge of this subject.

V. J. PARBY

AMBROSIO HUICI MIRANDA: *Historia política del imperio almohade*. [Primera parte.] (Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigación Hispano-Árabe.) 390 pp., 62 plates, 9 maps. Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1956.

It is perhaps a little astonishing that the Almohades have not been till now the subject of a full-scale work. There are, it is true, the excellent summary treatments in general histories (Terrasse, Julien) and at least one (uncritical) book entirely devoted to them (Millet), but there has been nothing remotely approaching the monumental works of Brunschvig on the Hafsiids or Lévi-Provençal on the Muslims of Spain. Did not the Almohades, after all, represent the apogee of the Berber race? Did not 'Abd al-Mu'min reign over a territory as great as that of the Fatimids

and not much inferior to that of the Umayyads? But a closer inspection reveals the difficulties. The sources are scanty and inconsistent. Of two of the most essential Arabic ones—Baydhaq and the Almohade part of the *Bayān al-mughrib*—the first was published less than 30 years ago, while the second has appeared (in translation only) within the last three years. Ibn al-Qatān and Ibn Sāhib al-Ṣalāt are still in manuscript, besides being incomplete. The Latin, Spanish, and Portuguese chronicles are practically unexplored territory to Arabists, and it is one of Sr. Huici's virtues that he has laid these sources under contribution. It does not seem likely now that there will be further additions to the source materials, so that from this point of view there is no reason why a daring spirit should not undertake to write the first history of the Almohades.

Sr. Huici has wisely refrained from undertaking such a vast task. The present excellent work announces itself as a *political* history of the Almohade Empire, and is designed, as the author says, 'to fix its chronology and so leave the framework set up in which the edifice of its full history will have to be built'. He has not dealt, unless incidentally, with matters of economics or art, nor with religion apart from an initial exposition of the Mahdi's religious ideas.

These ideas have been well known since the publication of the Mahdi's writings and Goldziher's introduction thereto. Though Sr. Huici gives a good account of them as a theological system he passes over in silence the question of the rôle played by this system in the development of the Almohade state. (One does not get the impression that the Almohade caliphs, at least after 'Abd al-Mu'min, were fanatical subscribers to the Mahdi's ideas.) Yet it is a question that should be discussed. The Arabic sources themselves, particularly those closest to the movement, take it for granted that it was the essential correctness of the Mahdi's beliefs and their whole-hearted acceptance by his followers that was the mainspring of the movement. They state how every neophyte had to learn by heart a creed ('*aqida*'); they portray the campaigns as crusades. Nobody, I imagine, will nowadays accept such a simple view of the matter, but it remains mysterious for all that. What is it that enabled an obscure Berber *faḥsh* to set off among a section of the Berber race that heretofore had made no mark on history this explosion which first broke down their extreme clannishness, then welded them into an effective fighting force, and finally achieved the conquest of all Barbary after the Mahdi's death under a leader not of themselves? It is an obscure and perplexing subject, closely

resembling on a smaller scale the rise of Islam itself. Indeed, the Mahdi's followers, like their master, did not hesitate to draw parallels between him and the Prophet. He had his *maghāzī* and his *ansār*; allegiance was sworn to him under a tree; the Council of Ten echoes the '*Ashara al-mubashshara*'; and so on.

It would be interesting also to discuss the question of how the honours should be divided between the Mahdi and 'Abd al-Mu'min as creators of the Almohade Empire. During his lifetime the Mahdi had become the acknowledged master of a big group of tribes in the Atlas, Anti Atlas, and Sūs, but this kingdom was scarcely bigger than that of the Glāwī or Guntāfī of modern times. The Almoravide régime, though badly shaken, was still strong and in possession of the capital, Marrakech, against which the Almohades had already once launched an unsuccessful attack. The basis of the subsequent empire was certainly there, but, without the genius of 'Abd al-Mu'min, would it have developed? But for his presence at the critical moment the Almohade movement could easily have died, a prey to the latent forces of disruption within it, and the Mahdi linger but dimly in men's memories as just another local *marabout* with his little *qubba* and perhaps an annual *ziyāra*.

Sr. Huici does not concern himself with broader and more speculative questions such as these, and in fact they lie outside his avowed scope. His preoccupation is with events and dates, the establishment of a true chronology from the welter of contradictory reports furnished by the historians. Here he is very successful. He has an enviable capacity for keeping clearly in his head variant versions of complicated events, perceiving their discrepancies, and deducing the probable or certain truth. His account of Yūsuf's famous campaign against Santarem in 579/1183 is in this respect first class. Besides recording with precision the chronology of this ill-fated episode he clearly demonstrates for the first time how exaggerated both Christian and Muslim accounts are. The Almohades did not, could not, hope to follow up the taking of Santarem by conquering all Portugal as far as the Douro, and of pressing on thence to Toledo. 'All Muslim activity during the last years had been reduced to the difficult defence of Badajoz with Leonese help and the enduring of frequent Christian raids with the loss of many fortresses. . . .

'Yūsuf's failure in the summer of 1172, when he was unable with an army of 100,000 men [this figure is, of course, exaggerated] to take an almost open fortress like Huete, withdrawing at the arrival of Castilian reinforcements and starving because of ill-organized supplies, could not do less than oblige him

to be very cautious in his expedition against Santarem.' Sr. Huici has a poor opinion of Yūsuf's military capacity, and gives numerous examples besides those of Santarem and Huete to justify this belief—so contrary to the traditional view of Yūsuf and yet, when demonstrated point by point, so manifestly correct.

The volume is well illustrated with photographs and maps. Most of the latter lack scales and suffer very greatly from insufficient commentary. Facing p. 285, for example, there is a map '*Santafla y su región*' on which various points are marked A, B, C, . . . J. There is no key to these letters. And I, for one, cannot see how the aerial photograph of Alarcos (p. 365) fits the map printed on the verso. There is no bibliography, table of contents, or index, but these will presumably be included in the next volume.

I am sorry to say that misprints, especially in Arabic words, are very numerous. On p. 112 there is a whole line upside down. It is a pity that a book as good as this should be disfigured by these irritating blemishes.

J. F. P. HOPKINS

KENNETH M. SETTON (ed.): *A history of the Crusades. Vol. I. The first hundred years. Edited by Marshall W. Baldwin.* xxvi, 694 pp., front., 2 plates, 14 maps. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955. (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege. 96s.)

The late Professor Dana C. Munro had long desired to write a comprehensive history of the Crusades, but death, in 1933, prevented him from realizing this ambition. Professors A. C. Krey, F. Duncalf, and J. L. LaMonte elaborated the project still further, until at last, in the years 1933-41, it assumed a concrete form. No effective progress could be made thereafter until 1946, when the scheme was revived and extended to embrace contributions not only from the friends and former students of Professor Munro, but also from a number of British and European scholars. The death of Professor LaMonte in 1949 led to the appointment of Professor K. M. Setton as the new editor-in-chief. The first volume of this co-operative enterprise was published, under the editorial care of Professor M. W. Baldwin, in 1955.

As it is now conceived, the entire work will consist of five volumes: i and ii—the origin and course of the Crusades to 1300; iii—the Crusades of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; iv—the political, ecclesiastical, economic, and financial structure of the Crusader states; v—the influence of the Crusades on European thought, literature, art,

economic and social life, etc. The project, in respect of its scope and content, has been designed on the most ample lines. Attention will be given to Spain, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Cyprus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the Crusader principalities of the Morea and the Aegean, to commerce and the role of the Genoese and Venetian Republics, and also to more specialized fields of interest, e.g. numismatics, sigillography, and heraldry.

This present volume contains 19 chapters (the second divided into four parts) which are the work of 15 different authors. The chapters fall into two main sections, I-VI describing the background to the First Crusade, VII-XIX relating the course of events from the Councils of Piacenza and Clermont in 1095 to the siege of Acre in 1189.

There are deficiencies common to almost all enterprises of co-operative scholarship—the failure to achieve an organic view of the subject under discussion, the proneness towards juxtaposition rather than integration of the component chapters, discrepancies of judgment and interpretation, omissions, and the like. This first volume—considered perforce in isolation from the as yet unpublished portions of the history—cannot be wholly exempted from strictures of this kind. Adequate room might well have been found in the earlier chapters for such problems as the ‘foreign relations’ of the Pope in the period preceding the First Crusade, the theoretical developments associated with the concept of a ‘holy war’, and the religious enthusiasms of the Crusaders who, in general, are depicted as men actuated by motives of a pre-eminently secular nature, i.e. by personal ambition or by political and economic interests. Some of these inadequacies will no doubt be made good in the later sections of the work. This volume contains, for example, a chapter on Byzantium in the years 1025–95, but nothing on Byzantium during the period 1095–1189. It is reassuring, therefore, to learn (p. E59, n. 22) that the reigns of Manuel Comnenus and his immediate predecessors will be examined in the second volume.

The chapters which describe the condition of the Muslim world before the First Crusade constitute a most welcome feature of the book. Sir Hamilton Gibb emphasizes (pp. 92 seq.) the importance of the reorganization carried out in Egypt after the grave internal crisis of 1060–77. The Fātimid régime ceased to pursue the dream of a ‘universal’ Shi‘i domination; Egypt became in fact a self-contained state, intent on two main objectives—the avoidance of a major conflict with the powerful Seljuq Turks and the exploitation of the lucrative transit trade from India through the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. The ‘spirit of particularism’ rather than

‘sectarian divergence’ between Sunni and Shi‘i Islam accounts for the weakness of the Muslim world, and above all of Syria, at the moment when the Crusaders appeared on the scene. Professor B. Lewis outlines the origin and rise of the Assassins and their repeated attempts to gain a solid base of operations in Syria—an ambition which was at last achieved in the years 1132–51. Dr. Cahen analyses the complex factors favouring the growth of the Seljuq power, the endless tension between the central régime of the Seljuq Sultans and the nomadic Turks who followed them, the deflection of the tribes into Asia Minor, and the fateful events which ensued on the collapse of the Byzantine defence system after the battle of Manzikert in 1071.

The later chapters of the volume are, in general, descriptive rather than analytical in character and provide a detailed account of political and military history during the years 1095–1189. Since it is a question here of ground that has long since been well studied, there was little scope afforded to the various authors for the presentation of new material. Differences of emphasis and interpretation can be seen here and there in the narrative, the attention of the reader being drawn to them, however, through the medium of specific indications in the footnotes (cf., e.g., pp. 160, n. 12, and 316, n. 6).

Dr. H. W. Hazard has contributed to this volume a number of valuable aids to the student: a note on transliteration and nomenclature, 14 maps and a gazetteer of all place-names mentioned in the book. There is also a list of important dates and events for the period 1054–1189. Each chapter, save the first, is provided with bibliographical references. An extended bibliography will be included in the fifth and last volume of the work.

This book will stand as a signal example far more of the benefits than of the disadvantages associated with co-operative authorship. By reason of the detailed and perceptive erudition which have gone to its making, it must be regarded as an authoritative treatment of the first period of the Crusades and, at the same time, as a favourable augury in regard to the volumes yet to come.

V. J. PARRY

J. C. HUREWITZ (ed.): *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: a documentary record*. 2 vols.: Vol. I, 1535–1914, xviii, 291 pp.; Vol. II, 1914–56, xviii, 427 pp. Princeton, N.J., New York, etc.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., [1956]. (Distributed in G.B. by Macmillan. £4 4s.)

This work has grown out of a mimeographed

collection of documents prepared for students specializing in the Near and Middle East. Although Professor Hurewitz describes it as experimental and states that 'it is not, and does not pretend to be, an exhaustive collection', it constitutes in fact a most valuable tool for reference and teaching purposes comprising in all 228 documents. A short introduction to each piece sets it in its historical context and gives a bibliography. This is a valuable feature of the work. Although the theme of the collection is the course of diplomacy (and particularly of Western diplomacy) in the region, the compiler has not limited his choice to diplomatic documents in a narrow sense. The part played by commerce, from sixteenth century trade with the Levant to the rise of the twentieth century oil industry, is fully reflected in the pieces chosen. Other documents are even further from being technically diplomatic but are indicative of factors which were profoundly to affect international relations; such for example are the Hattı Şerif of Gulhane (I, 48) the Hattı Humayun of 1856 (I, 65), the resolution of the Arab-Syrian Congress at Paris in 1913 (I, 107), the Soviet appeal to Muslim workers in 1917 (II, 14), and Sir Anthony Eden's Guildhall speech of 1955 (II, 113).

In his Preface the compiler sketches the major international issues which the documents illustrate; in Vol. I the evolution of the capitulatory régimes in the Ottoman Empire and Persia, the disputes over the Straits and the Ottoman-Persian frontier, the problems concerned with the Lebanon, the Suez Canal, Cyprus, Egypt and the Sudan, Anglo-Indian paramountcy in the Persian Gulf, and the scramble for railway and oil concessions. Vol. II deals with problems connected with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the three great controversial issues after 1918—the Straits, Anglo-Egyptian relations, and Palestine. The diplomacy of oil and the decline of Anglo-French paramountcy in the area are dominant themes of the later years. Most of the texts have already been published but Professor Hurewitz has performed a useful service by assembling them in a single work. All documents are given in English. This will increase the utility of the work to the general student and probably no alternative is economically possible when the original texts, even if available, are in a variety of Western and oriental languages. One might criticize the compiler's decision to use existing translations 'whenever possible, even though their style may be infelicitous and their accuracy open to some question' (I, p. xviii). The work of checking available translations against their originals is clearly an enormous task but some revision, at least of the older translations,

might be possible in a later edition. Among documents printed here for the first time, Professor Hurewitz draws attention to Salisbury's 1879 instructions to Malet on British policy in Egypt (I, 87; P.R.O., F.O. 78/2997)—a most illuminating paper.

The purpose of this work is documentation rather than interpretation and in his Introduction, Professor Hurewitz gives only a brief outline of the course of diplomacy during the period. The first two centuries were a period of growing European influence behind a commercial façade. The movement to establish European political supremacy in the region began with the French occupation of Egypt in 1798 and lasted for 150 years. During most of the period covered, intraregional relations were of minor importance. Before the middle of the eighteenth century they were chiefly connected with Ottoman-Persian frontier tension. At the very end of the period, the rise of the independent succession-states and the decline of Anglo-French paramountcy have given a new significance to diplomatic relations within the region. Between these two points the driving force of diplomacy in the Near and Middle East came from Europe, whether from the interest of the Powers in the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire or from the British desire to guard the approaches to India through Persia and the Gulf or, later, the Suez Canal.

Professor Hurewitz comments on the deficiencies of historical writing on this region and period. The 'massive literature' on the traditional Eastern Question and Anglo-Indian interests in the area contrasts with the paucity of local vernacular research. There is still no inclusive diplomatic history of the area and much remains to be done in preparing the basic documentation. To this work the book under review is an important contribution which will undoubtedly assist further research into the diplomacy and politics of this critically important area.

P. M. HOLT

J. D. PEARSON and D. S. RICE (comp.): *Islamic art and archaeology: a register of work published in the year 1954*. [ii], iii, 38 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1956. 10s.

Islamic art and archaeology is a subject which appeals to a small group of scholars scattered all over the globe. Their books and articles appear in a score of major languages, sometimes in journals devoted neither to Islam nor to archaeology, very often in periodicals of purely regional interest which are not widely known. Inaccessible as the

latter are, and mentally invisible to most of us, their value ought not to be underestimated, since in many cases they are the only records of a given building or object of art.

The need for a bibliography is, therefore, obvious, and every historian of Muslim art will be grateful to the two authors for having undertaken this tedious and unrewarding job. Compiled in a library which under the guidance of J. D. Pearson has become the leading one of its kind in the whole world, avoiding mistakes made by its predecessor, distinguishing clearly between items seen and not seen, modest in price and appearance, it fulfils much more than at first glance it seems to promise. May it enjoy long life and regular issues, the two things which increase the value of a periodical bibliography beyond measure and give it real weight.

The reviewer knows from personal experience that nothing pleases a bibliographer more than constructive suggestions and additions which make his work more complete. Here are a few titles which came to my notice during the last months, too late to be sent to the editors and included in the present volume.

Eyice, Semavi: Yunanistan'da Türk mimari eserleri. *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, XI, 1954, pp. 157-82, 26 figs.

Çeven, Cahit and others: *Azırkapı Çeşmesi*. By Cahit Çeven, Saadi Nâzım Nirven, and A. Suheyl Ünver. Istanbul, 1954. 11 pp., 2 figs., 19 plates, none numbered.

Yetkin, Suut Kemal: Milletlerarası v. Sanat Tenkitçileri kongresi. *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, I-II, 1954, pp. 97-100, 6 plates (with an abridged text of the author's lecture 'Les influences orientales dans l'art de l'Occident').

To come down to minor details: The principles guiding the present edition are not always quite clear: if reviews printed in 1954 of books published before that date are included (as they rightly are, e.g. Nos. 14, 26, 90, 132) why are some important ones excluded, although they make an independent contribution to the subject? Among the latter are those by Ritter in *Oriens*, VII, 1, 1954, 122-4; Erdmann, *ibid.*, 119-22; and Grohmann in *Islamic Quarterly*, I, 2, 1954, 127-30. The original title of No. 32 (on p. 3) is *Türk sanatının varlığını inkâr eden batılı sanat tarihçeleri*; Suheyl Ünver ought to appear in the index under Ü not under S; M. Abdullah Chaghatai and A. Chaghatai are one and the same person and ought to be marked as such.

May I offer two suggestions for the coming volumes? That the typescript—before going to press—be read by an additional editorial

reader, and that a list of all the periodicals examined be appended to each volume.

L. A. MAYNE

M. B. EMENEAU: *Kolami, a Dravidian language*. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. XII.) xvi, 302 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. \$3.

The Kolams of Madhya Pradesh (formerly the Central Provinces) are believed to number 36,000 in round numbers. Several attempts have been made to record their language, but so far systematic inquiries have been brief and incomplete. Professor Emeneau spent six weeks on Kolami in 1937. Since then Shri P. Setumadhava Rao (in 1950) and Professor T. Burrow and Shri Sudhikhushan Bhattacharya (in 1950-1) have collected further material, which has made it possible to make sure of the salient features of the language.

The author has laboured under one serious disadvantage, a shortage of texts, and has been able to record only a few hundred words of folk-story. The remainder of his material consists of short sentences. He naturally disclaims finality for his conclusions, but, until shown to be wrong in any particular, they can be accepted with some confidence.

The first 163 pages are devoted to phonology and grammar, ending with an estimate of the comparative position of the language. Then follow a few pages of text and translation, a vocabulary of 113 pages, and a very useful English index to the vocabulary.

The phonemic scheme at first sight seems little different from a simple Indo-Aryan scheme. But there is no retroflex *ʃ* or flapped *r*, but four post-dentals *s*, *z*, *ɽ*, *ʎ*. *Z* except in a cluster of consonants is an affricate (*dz*). [One suspects here a borrowed phoneme, as a large number of the words in which it occurs are Marathi loan-words. Initial *c* and *j* (palatal) occur solely in loan-words and probably should not be accounted as native sounds. Ordinarily *s* corresponds to Telugu *c* (*ts* before back vowels) and occasionally to *j*. Telugu *tsalla* 'buttermilk' (*tsalki* is 773 *salla* and 774 *salli si'ma* 'black ant' ('white ant' is surely wrong) is Tel. *tsalictira* (Śankaranārāyaṇa, Galletti).] The Indo-Aryan 'smothered' vowel *ə* or *ɐ* does not occur in root syllables, except in a few loan-words. As in other Dravidian languages the symbol *a* is a transliteration denoting a true back vowel. The occasional appearance of retroflex *ʃ* and *ɽ* and of *ts* outside the phonemic scheme (i.e. they are not used for distinguishing meanings) shows, perhaps, that these and other similar sounds

were more generally used, while the complete absence of the dental, velar, and labial fricatives is in marked contrast with the presence of fricatives in Kurux and Malto.

Nominal suffixes differ generally according to the natural gender: A common masculine suffix is *-n* (cf. Kan. *-anu*) and one of the feminine suffixes is *-ad*. (4.21) *Ko-lavan* 'Kolam man' suggests that the suffix is *-an*, while *-ad*, as in *Ko-lavtad* 'Kolam woman', clearly includes what the author calls the non-male suffix *-ad*. There is a non-male plural *-v*, which appears elsewhere in Dravidian as *-avu*, an irrational plural. Male persons, especially members of tribes and castes, professions and occupations (which are very frequently loan-words), bear the suffix *-k* or *-ak*, so *savkarak* 'moneylender', *palliak* 'head-man' with feminines *savkaral* and *palliral* (4.18). Telugu has *-ddu*, *-ddu* masc. and *-rālu* fem. Professor Emeneau considers the *-rālu* suffix to be Kol.-Te. isoglosses separating these two languages from the rest of their family. But the masculines do not correspond and the usages of these suffixes differ, the Telugu suffixes being used formatively to denote loan-words from Sanskrit (the few words of relationship ending in *-udu* (*-ūdu*) have no feminine counterpart in *-rālu*). The suffix *-ak* cannot be traced, but the suffix *-ral* appears to be the epicene plural suffix *-r* plus *āl*, which means in Tamil and Kannaḍa 'person', and so a woman of status. The Telugu *-rālu* is not recognized in two dictionaries and may be of provincial origin. It seems that the original meaning of e.g. *Telgiral* 'a Telugu woman' is 'a lady of the Telugus', while Tel. *ārmārgurālu* 'a female scoundrel' is a word on a different level. The borrowing, like the Latin *bos*, may have been from a neighbouring dialect, here the ancestor of the Kolami dialect.

The plurals have not the same variety as those of Parji, but are somewhat similar. The suffixes are *-r* used only for male persons (4.37); *-v* used only for non-males (4.41); *-l*, *-kul* epicene (4.49, 4.50) and *-ul*, *-sil* used for non-females (4.49). This distribution is unique, but in accordance with the genus of Dravidian.

The pronominals and temporal adverbs have a strong affinity with other Dravidian forms. So *im*, *imā* 'this man', pl. *iv*; *id* 'this non-man', pl. *idav*; and *eppudu* 'when'.

The author has based his treatment of the verbs on a structural analysis and has not ventured to compare the verb-forms with the participial and originally periphrastic paradigms of the three classical languages. The zero negative is normal and the signs of a separate adverbial negative faint, although it appears to exist (5.65, 5.66). Here the author must have been gravely handicapped by the absence of texts.

The vocabulary is a mine of information and of great comparative value. Professor Emeneau has paid much attention to the question of Kolami loan-words from Telugu (10.13, 10.30). There is clearly no one test and no final test of borrowing. Opinions will differ in specific cases. Numerals have often been traps for etymologists who have regarded them as basic elements of a vocabulary. The range of numerals borrowed varies with the sophistication of the borrowing language and so we get 'myriads' and 'millions' in English; *hazār* in Indo-Aryan languages, *sāsira* in Kannaḍa, and *āyiram* in Tamil, all = 1,000.

Words which do not appear to be borrowings are those such as 4 *adum* 'to press'; *andarū* 'all'; *eppud* 'when' (which are also Telugu) and 12 *al* 'to weave'; 13 *alay* 'to be tired'; 51 *a-d* 'to play' (which are also common Dravidian). Words like 8 *adg* (Naiki *arg*) 'to walk' appear to be clearly marked as non-Telugu, although it can be argued that Kolami did not originally possess initial *n*- and would drop it in early borrowings. The early treatment of borrowed *s* in Tamil could be advanced as an analogy.

One point, which the author has not raised, is that the Wardha dialect, which so far as is known has been little exposed to Telugu influence, has many of the words shown as borrowings from Telugu. Anthropological research may be of help here. Hill-tribes visit markets and loan-words, including numerals which are perhaps the first to be picked up, are acquired from such contacts.

The source of borrowings is a variation of the same theme. Hindi seems to be a poorer source than suspected. *Angolā* 'thumb' (10.36) is referred to H. *āgūthā* rather than to Mar. *āgthā*. Marathi has, however, *angothā* (Molesworth). 2312 *siṅgār* 'decoration' is found in Koṅkanī as *siṅgāra*, the correct inherited form replaced in the *Jñāneśvari* by *siṅgāra*. Mar. *jāntāvara* is a distortion of Pers. *jānvar* (entry into the language unknown), but at first *jānvar* may have been used, cf. the alternatives *jānvar* and *janāvar* in Gujarati.

The following may be suggested as additions to the bibliography. Galletti's *Telugu dictionary* by A. Galletti di Cadilhac, London, 1935, a useful compendium of colloquial Telugu in spite of the author's idiosyncrasies, and the revised and enlarged edition of the *Telugu-English dictionary*, by P. Śankaranārāyaṇa, Madras, 1953.

ALFRED MASTER

PAUL LÉVY: *Buddhism: a 'mystery religion'?* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, III.) vii, 111 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1957. 18s.

This work initiates the serious study of

Buddhist ritual, and at the same time suggests a new approach to Buddhist studies generally. There are, of course, scattered descriptions of ceremonies and customs in Buddhist communities in general accounts of Buddhism or in travelogues, but scholars, impressed by the rationality of Buddhist teaching, have directed their main investigations towards the understanding of Buddhist philosophy and its history, guided by the authoritative texts in numerous languages. Only the study of Buddhist art, especially of the evolution of the *stūpa*, has to some extent counterbalanced our preoccupation with *dharma*.

Whether or not Buddhism originated as a purely philosophical or scientific doctrine, it has lived for two and a half millennia as what is loosely called a 'religion'. Though it has never discarded the essentials of its philosophical doctrine, it has flourished among the millions of ordinary people in many countries, one might say in spite of its philosophy, as an important element in the social fabric. Professor Lévy says (p. 4) that in Cambodia the *vihāra* is 'an inn, a communal meeting place, a centre for festivities and an educational establishment' as well as a place of retirement, temporary or permanent. It is this living Buddhism which Professor Lévy approaches as a sociologist and ethnologist. He maintains no thesis, his object being to initiate investigation from a new standpoint. Comparisons with other religions are merely implied and left for less cautious scholars to work out.

The Buddhist ritual practised to-day in various countries rests on traditions which are largely non-textual. They have been maintained by communities of initiated adepts, and though they vary in different countries they have enough in common to suggest archetypal forms from which they have developed. Ritual is to some extent described in the texts, and moreover the legendary lives of the Buddha and of some of his disciples recorded in the texts have some remarkable symbolic parallels in the modern ritual. This ritual, containing much that is not recorded in the texts, or that is only indirectly suggested by the legends, is thus important as an independent source of knowledge of ancient Buddhism as well as of living Buddhism.

The central ritual of living Buddhism is the initiation or ordination of the adepts or 'monks'. Professor Lévy illustrates this in detail chiefly from Cambodia and Laos (it is most unfortunate that none of the photographs which illustrated the original lectures could be reproduced in this volume), adding parallels from reports of the ritual in other countries and from the texts, especially from the legendary biographies.

- Defining a 'mystery religion' as one in

which the 'principal rites and revelations are intended to be kept secret', Professor Lévy in the last lecture reviews his material from that standpoint. From the secret nature of a religion would result the separation of a class of initiates from the rest of society. Here the conception of Buddhism as a universal religion is challenged, including the claim, especially of the Sthaviravāda school, that there is no esoteric doctrine. Certainly the Mahāyāna Bodhisattvayāna claims a special revelation of *sūtras* withheld even from the ordained *śrāvakas*, and the *bodhisattva's* special initiation (taking the vows) has a somewhat esoteric atmosphere. Professor Lévy suggests that the Sthaviravāda monks have in fact rationalized a tradition which was originally esoteric, as their own initiation ritual still suggests.

Did the Sthaviravāda monks rationalize a mystery religion or did the founder of Buddhism himself do this? Certainly these monks elaborated a vast philosophical system apparently irreconcilably rational, the outline of which is supposed to have been given by the original teacher. Yet on the other hand they have elaborated legends out of history and woven stories to make concrete points of doctrine. They have in their chronicles converted the ancient history of Ceylon into a series of symbolic acts adorned with miracles: a long ritual enacted by kings and elders and seemingly based on the idea of physical contact with the Buddha through his relics, the cutting from his Enlightenment Tree, the direct successions of his orders of monks and nuns, and his mythical visits to Ceylon to prepare it to be a safe home for his religion, consecrated with his footprint on its highest peak.

We find in Buddhism a number of features suggestive of tribal or republican social institutions. The constitution of the order of monks has in fact been exploited as an indirect source of information on the government of the ancient tribal confederacies and city states of north-east India. Surely it is to the initiation rituals of tribal societies that we should look for the origin of those of Buddhism. The texts occasionally refer to the pre-Buddhist religion of north-east India, including for example the cult of *stūpas* which Buddhism imitated, and speak highly of its value as a cohesive and protective force in society. To what extent was the founder of Buddhism a protagonist and consolidator of this ancient religion or an originator of something new?

The study of initiation ceremonies in other Indian religions, particularly those which originated like Buddhism in north-east India, such as Ajivakism (with its painful initiation ordeals) and Jainism, which Professor Lévy

proposes to undertake, may help us to determine the significance of the Buddhist ritual. The impressive ceremonies were perhaps merely an inherited formality which proved, however, of great value for the conservation, spread, and popularization of Buddhist institutions and so of Buddhist doctrine. We may suppose that they tended also to transform Buddhism—from a philosophy into a 'religion'?

The ethnologist venturing into the ocean of ancient Buddhist literature may easily get out of his depth. In bringing out the parallelisms between legends and ritual Professor Lévy has unfortunately confused Ānanda with Nanda, and his etymological fantasy on 'Kāśyapa' will not inspire confidence. With reference to p. 90, *Purāṇa* means 'Ancient'; 'Completer' would be *Pūrāṇa* (these two names, however, are sometimes confused in Pali manuscripts, with a tendency to change *Pūrāṇa* into *Purāṇa*, as in the case of the name of the Ājīvaka leader). Professor Lévy has not always been fortunate in his choice of authorities on the texts: thus on the Dhyāna (Zen) school he relies on Wieger, against whom Dr. Needham has issued a caution (*Science and civilisation in China*, I, 75) on the grounds of lack of references, careless renderings, and religious bias. Nevertheless the Dhyāna school, according to the little authentic knowledge of it as yet available to those who do not know Chinese, would seem to offer rich material illustrating the themes of ordeal, 'mystery', and ritual. At times the English translation is a little disconcerting or misleading. On p. 81, line 22, we should read 'the three *uposatha* days which follow' (they do not constitute only one *uposatha*).

A. K. WARDER

Contemporary Indian literature: a symposium. [vii], 299 pp. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1957. Rs. 2 As. 8, 5s.

The Sahitya Akademi, the National Academy of Letters set up by the Government of India in 1954, aims to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in Indian languages. Its achievements in this sphere have so far been mainly confined to the awards of its coveted prizes for outstanding works in the modern literary languages, and to sponsoring of the translation of literary works of high quality into other Indian languages. Its English programme, restricted to 'basic information about Indian writers and their works', has made a most propitious beginning with this volume, in which the Akademi has provided a forum for

15 well-known writers to express their opinions on trends in the contemporary Indian literatures. The opinions expressed are the authors' own, and the Akademi has, wisely, not insisted on any conformity to a set scheme; a theme, nevertheless, emerges—that of the unity of Indian life as expressed in India's literatures. Risley's scepticism about such a unity has often been called in question; this collection of essays certainly provides material for his opponents.

Fifteen indigenous literatures are represented: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarātī, Hindi, Kannaḍa, Kāśmīrī, Malayāḷam, Marāṭhī, Oriyā, Panjābī, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Urdū, and, happily, English. This last is confined to 'literary' works: to examine the English contributions of Indian writers in the more technical spheres would tax the resources of any Academy; for English is still the only pan-Indian language. In all other cases each author has introduced the modern period of his literature against its older background, and some authors have added short translations in illustration of modern trends. The authors' styles are simple, and their English refreshingly free from the common errors of Indian English; where the standard of English is below the norm—the author of the Urdū section, for example, has trouble with the definite and indefinite articles—this is all the more noticeable beside the high standard of the rest. The printing is clear and competent, and the paper of good quality.

The reviewer can claim a knowledge of only one of the literatures presented here, and it would be presumptuous of him to attempt to criticize the others in any but the most general terms. In the section on Hindi literature he finds little to condemn and much to praise. The author's writing is fair and objective, and is not concerned with praising the individual. In his competent summaries of the *chāyāvād* and *pragatīvād* movements, in his description of the Humanists, and in his restrained judgment of the New Poetry or *Nayī Kavīttā* where 'the despair or pessimism of the late romantics and the forced optimism of the Pragatīvāda Golden Dawn In Which The Worker Will Come Into His Own have both been replaced by a sober faith in man which recognises his limitations and littleness' he justifies his contention that Hindi literature 'has always been a literature of trends rather than individual achievement, great exceptions notwithstanding'. His judgment of the Progressives is based on their literary merits and demerits, and is not unfair; yet he has to castigate them for their campaigns against the New Poets, and is aware that by so doing his account is bound to

give rise to some controversy.¹ The words of the writer on Urdū literature may give his point some support: 'The contribution of the "Progressives" is such a jumble of quality and trash that it needs a discerning critic to pick the grain from the chaff'.

The contributions on Kaśmīrī and Oriyā literatures are, as might be expected, the slightest; that on Sanskrit is disproportionately long and is the least convincing. The collection as a whole, however, will be of great value to the student of one Indian literature for the light it throws, in a convenient compass, on the other vital contemporary literatures of India, and will be of great interest for the general reader.

J. BURTON-PAGE

Sir IVOR JENNINGS: *Constitutional problems in Pakistan*. xvi, 378 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1957. 42s.

This book deals with the more important constitutional cases arising out of the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly by the Governor-General of Pakistan in October, 1954, and will be warmly welcomed by the historian and the constitutional lawyer. One may, however, express the hope that the events with which it deals will be a warning rather than a precedent to be followed in other countries after achieving independence.

The President of the Constituent Assembly moved the Chief Court of Sind for writs of mandamus to restrain the Federal Govern-

¹ An example of this, which has appeared since this review was written, is a vitriolic attack in *Hindī Review*, II, 8, 1957, by a 'progressive' critic, Prakash Chandra Gupta. Most of Sri Gupta's points will not bear close examination: e.g. 'his remarks about the Progressives are actuated by deep-seated bitterness and hatred', '[he] goes out of his way to make derogatory references to . . . Krishna Chandra and Khwaja Ahmad Abbas', 'surprising . . . are the adulatory references to some writers of his own coterie whom he has tried to boost . . . because of their polemical talent and thier [sic] ferocity in fighting his literary battles', and so on, are completely unjustified by what the author has actually written. Even more hysterical is 'the gravest drawback of this essay is the praise which [the author] has chosen to shower upon his own work'—in fact, the author, writing as S. H. Vatsyayan, has indeed mentioned his own work written under the pseudonym of 'Ajñeya', but has with delicacy refrained from any actual or implied judgment on its merits. Sri Gupta adds that 'it is a travesty of truth to say that . . . Ajñeya [has] been the victim of a campaign of hate and vilification . . .'; *dictum sapienti sat est*.

ment from giving effect to the order of dismissal, on the ground that there was no provision for such action in the constitutional documents, and quo warranto to remove certain Ministers who had been appointed in defiance of the relevant provisions in the then recently amended Constitution Act of 1935. The Federal Government, in reply, contended that the constitutional amendments which empowered the court to issue the writs, and which disqualified the Ministers were void for want of the assent of the Governor-General. Four Judges of the Chief Court unanimously found in favour of the petitioner (*Mvi. Tamizuddin v. Federation*).

On appeal the Federal Court, by a majority of four to one, held that constitutional legislation was invalid without the assent of the Governor-General. In the seven years which had elapsed since independence, notwithstanding advice to the contrary, the Federal Government had acted, and allowed all other public authorities in Pakistan to act, on the assumption that, whereas legislation of the Assembly, when exercising the powers of the Federal Legislature, required assent, its legislation making provision for the constitution merely required authentication by its President. The immediate consequences of this decision appeared likely to be as catastrophic as those which would have followed from the judgment of the Chief Court, had it been allowed to stand. In an endeavour to prevent chaos, the Governor-General promulgated an Ordinance validating most of the deflated constitutional laws, but in *Usif Patel's* case, the Federal Court held that the Governor-General's powers of legislation by Ordinance were restricted to the field of the Federal Legislature, and did not extend to constitutional legislation. It would seem that, as the Ordinance was issued while a Proclamation of Emergency was in force, it was at least arguable that the legislative field was unlimited. Unfortunately the instructions to counsel for the Federation were in a train running in the wrong direction!

The Federal Government then invoked the advisory jurisdiction of the Federal Court, which gave its opinion that the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly was valid, that a new one could be summoned, and that, until that body had been summoned and had made other provision, the laws held invalid for want of the Governor-General's sanction could be validated temporarily by a Proclamation of the Governor-General. Finally, in *Federation v. Ali Ahmad*, a contentious case binding on all subordinate courts, the temporary validation of the defective constitutional laws by Proclamation was approved. The crisis had been disposed of.

The judgments in these four cases in the Federal Court are reproduced, and the substance of the judgments of the case in the Sind Chief is set out in what is modestly described as an 'introduction', which also gives a clear exposition of the background, the relevant statutory provisions, and other matters affecting the decision on the questions whether the Governor-General's assent was necessary to constitutional legislation, and whether the Constituent Assembly was liable to dismissal.

That the absence of a provision for dissolution in the constitutional documents did not render the Constituent Assembly immune from dissolution, and that the Governor-General had the duty to dismiss it if it converted itself into an unconstitutional body, are propositions which are not difficult to accept, but its unconstitutional activities, including the unconstitutional increase in its numbers were due to the 'traditional interpretation' of the Independence Act, at which the Federal Government had connived. In *Ali Ahmad's* case the *de facto* doctrine was recognized as curing the defect in legislation of the Constituent Assembly arising out of the participation of unentitled members. The occasion for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly appears to have been the enactment of the Government of India (Fifth Amendment) Act 1954, which the Governor-General, no doubt rightly, regarded as unduly restricting his powers. One of the grounds given by the Federal Court as justifying the dismissal of the Assembly was that it had taken an unconscionably long time in failing to make a constitution; while the reviewer has no tears to shed over the first Constituent Assembly or the Constitution it had all but enacted, the delay in making a constitution seems to have been due, in part at least, to a general lack of agreement in the country. At the time when it was dissolved the Constituent Assembly appears to have completed its debate on the clauses of the draft constitution published in 1952, and its decisions had been referred to the parliamentary draftsmen for incorporation in the draft and return to the Assembly. Maybe this constitution was controversial, but so even now are most constitutional matters in Pakistan. There is a strong body of opinion in favour of undoing the integration of West Pakistan; many East Pakistan citizens want almost complete autonomy; the President thinks a constitution with a presidential executive preferable to that now in force. Others regard it as a secular abomination and a betrayal of the purpose for which Pakistan was created.

On the question whether assent of the Governor-General is necessary to the constitutional legislation of the Constituent Assembly,

the introduction presents new matter and marshals old facts and arguments in a way which will prove embarrassing to those who support the view of the Sind Chief Court and Cornelius J. The Federation was obviously fortunate in its legal advisers during the crisis.

But the introduction more than once hints that the views expressed therein are not likely to commend themselves to an Indian court, and the printed judgments of the Pakistan courts since independence suggest that they must have caused widespread mental indigestion in Pakistan. They do, in fact, seem to involve the conclusion that the Acts of the Indian Constituent Assembly, including the Indian Constitution, and everything done under them, are void for want of the assent of the Governor-General. But the Federal Court's decision in *Tamizuddin's* case was an 'overruling of the justice of the nation for years past', and would have involved immeasurable inconvenience which would have been intolerable, had not the Federal Court discovered an emergency remedy in Proclamation. Assuming that the Indian Independence Act, properly interpreted, requires assent to constitutional legislation, an Indian court would probably be prepared to lend a more willing ear to the doctrines of contemporaneous exposition and inconvenience than was the Federal Court, where the Chief Justice held that they were only admissible if there was a doubt about the meaning of Sec. 6 (3) of the Independence Act. This too when the Federal Court itself had previously assumed that no assent to constitutional legislation was required. One could wish to find these points discussed in the introduction with the same meticulous care as is devoted to other matters.

A. GLEDHILL

PIERRE DUPONT (ed. and tr.): *La version mène du Nārada-jātaka*. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, xxxvi.) 281 pp. Saigon: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1954.

This work is the first formal approach to the study of 'Buddhist Mon', the specialized language used in the translation of Buddhist texts, which has hitherto been known to foreign scholars only from the short sample contributed by Blagden to *Festschrift: publication d'hommage offerte au P. W. Schmidt*. This translation-language, which appears to be without exact parallel in other South East Asian cultures, incorporates a complex system of particles for rendering the Pali grammatical categories and, in Dupont's view, a system of

fixed translation-equivalents based on lexicons no longer extant. The procedures employed may have been of a rigidity intended to permit re-establishment of the Pali text from the vernacular, though this hypothesis is less convincingly demonstrated.

The artificiality of the convention limits the value of such texts for the study of Mon as such, and the motives which led the editor to undertake his task were as much Buddhological as linguistic. The large measure of agreement between the various Pali textual traditions in South East Asia is to be attributed more to recurrent contact than to purity of transmission over a long period; hence systematic vernacular renderings may give access to an earlier text than is otherwise obtainable—as two at least of the emendations yielded by the present work suggest. The probability that the Mons were the intermediaries through whom Southern Buddhism passed to the rest of the area adds significance to their tradition. Dupont points out that this could hardly have been elaborated except in the periods of stability preceding the fall of Thaton and under the medieval Pegu monarchy. We may adduce two further pieces of evidence bearing on the antiquity both of the procedures of translation and, in its original form, of the text under review. The establishment of the former is clearly located in the OM period by the passage of *nissāya* translation on face A of the Shwezigon inscription; moreover, the particles *yañ* and *hōn*, used to render the Pali nominative and accusative respectively, are distinctively OM and are not found in general use after that period. The archaism of the *Nārada* text is apparent from some items of vocabulary: notably *ow*, used to form a quasi-imperative of the third person, which again is distinctively OM, and the attributive object particle *min* (not dative as stated on p. 22) 'whom, which, where, when', which occurs three times as often in this text as in the whole of the MM inscriptions (but, as in MM, sometimes doubled by the general attributive particle *ma*).

The assumption of a system of fixed translation-equivalents cannot at present be treated as more than a basis for investigation. It does not work in reverse, as the appended list of correspondences shows; and such instances as the use of *blei* 'red' to translate *ratta* in its general sense of 'colour' may be simply due to malcomprehension on the part of the translator. The word-for-word character of the operation is sufficiently explained by the growth of these texts from interlinear glosses, later written out in the form of *trāy* or *nissāya*, in which each word of the Pali is followed by its separate rendering.

The text is scrupulously presented, though

one or two corrections should be made: *s'an* 'feast' 33.22, 35.16 and *pla* 'to begin' 38.25. etc., are to be read *shhan*, *plam*. The editor's lack of acquaintance with the spoken language has led him to confuse the causative prefix *pa-* [pə] with *pa* [pə] 'to do'; *paamin*, *paḡatut*, *paḡamhi*, *paḡaḡu*, *paḡatau*, *paḡati-sandhāra*, *paḡūjau*, *paḡuḡin*, *paḡabhōk*, *paḡrah*, *paḡrīkat*, *paḡrōk*, *paḡanāsikara*, *paḡahāi*, *paḡhōt*, in which the second element is a noun, are to be read *pa amin*, etc. Of corrections to the translation I note: 27, n. 6, *ma prai prai* 'excellent'; 90, n. 12 *ha gwa' thadañ*, 91, n. 15, *hwa' banah ra* 'showed no interest' (apparently by mistranslation of *paḡikko-santañ*, *paḡikkosi*); 95, n. 8, *ñah gmnān* 'brave men, warriors'; 97, n. 4, *ma ḡap-gow glāi bah-bnuh* 'which one would seek to remember'; 147, n. 5, *Hōt ḡah ra, -au sāk wwa' marhāt lpa pa ḡi ḡah ra* (not *peḡu*) 'Therefore I say, "Do not act thus, Your Majesty"'; 149, n. 7, *camī* 'roof'; 170 n. 12, *lamāt camin* 'ceremonial gifts'. At 124, n. 8, the proposed emendation *ha ncam* is *lot Mon*.

The morphological assumptions made in the Mon-Pali word-list and elsewhere are unreliable. There is not space for a schedule of corrections, but two general observations should be made. The peculiar relation between written and spoken Mon has given rise to a proliferation of orthographic variants, the explanation of which in terms of a root with simple initial and a variety of meaningless prefixes is erroneous. On the other hand, the editor's assumption that CC- and CaC- are orthographic variants in all contexts has led him to 'correct' in the word-list forms accurately transcribed in the text; so e.g. *gwa* 'to be ashamed', *bleas* 'to be released', *smān* 'to ask' are to be distinguished from *ḡawa* 'shame', *balañ* 'to release', *saḡmān* 'question'.

The premature death of Pierre Dupont will be felt in other fields besides archaeology and Buddhist studies. In a terrain as sparsely explored as that of his last investigation, it was inevitable that there should be room for amendment of his findings; and the space here devoted to correction only reflects the value of his contribution to a neglected subject.

H. L. SHORTO

CHÊNG TÊ-K'UN: *Archaeological studies in Szechwan conducted under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the West China Union University*. xxi, 321 pp., including 118 plates and 5 maps. Cambridge: University Press or the Faculty of Oriental Studies, 1957. 70s.

The great majority of reports on archaeological field-work in China relate to the northern and eastern regions, and this is the first attempt at a systematic survey and appraisal of achievements in the potentially rich province of Szechwan. No scholar better qualified than Dr. Ch'ang could have been found to undertake this task. His archaeological training in America was followed by long residence in Szechwan, where he was Curator of the West China Union University Museum in Ch'ang-tu, and himself undertook or participated in numerous excavations.

The book consists of two parts, the first on the prehistoric archaeology of the province, the second on burial remains and kiln sites from the Han to the Sung periods. The first part may be regarded as complementary to such important studies as G. D. Wu's *Prehistoric pottery in China* (1938) and J. G. Andersson's *Prehistory of the Chinese* (*BMFEA*, No. 15, 1943). The author proposes a tentative scheme for the division of Szechwan archaeology into eleven stages, of which the first four cover the Neolithic Age until about 700 B.C. Thereafter, the region did not pass through a true bronze age, but like other marginal areas in Asia, came under the influence of various neighbouring bronze cultures. The strongest, that of Classical China, was introduced by the Ch'in people, who pushed out into the modern provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the sixth century B.C. and began the sinification of Szechwan, then known as the barbarous lands of Shu and Pa, in the fourth century. Later many other elements, such as Buddhism, also arrived from Central China, and significant though less important ones from the south and from the nomads of the north-west.

Though there has been no large-scale exploration in Szechwan, many prehistoric settlements have been located, and each site or group of sites is described with careful illustrated records of the stone implements and potsherds found. The finds are typologically classified and conveniently summarized in tables showing their distribution. For several centuries which may be coeval with the middle and late Chou periods the archaeologists have drawn a blank, but from the Han period onward there is plenty of evidence to support the literary tradition of Szechwanese prosperity and a rich material culture, though this seems always to have lagged behind that of Central China.

Burial in caves was a practice much more fully developed in Szechwan than elsewhere. The caves exist in thousands and are a common sight as square openings in the cliff-faces of river valleys. Brick tombs, carefully constructed and surmounted by mounds, are

also common survivals from the Later Han. Many contain decorative tiles, funerary models, and figurines. While these conform in general with such objects from Northern and Central China, some notable differences in subject and treatment are to be seen. Horses, camels, and attendants of Central Asian racial types are naturally absent. New local types include a crouching, sphinx-like, female figure, a pig with spotted wings, and a human-headed snake.

The products of two important kiln sites, those of Ch'ung-lai and Liu-li-ch'ang, are described and illustrated. The pottery from the first has close affinities with T'ang wares from North China, but tomb finds suggest that most of it dates from the Sung. The Liu-li-ch'ang kiln was established at the end of the T'ang, and specimens were found in the famous Wang Chien tomb of A.D. 918 at Ch'ang-tu. These are porcellaneous stonewares, mostly monochromes with feldspathic glazes. They are more advanced in technique and more creative in style than those of Ch'ung-lai. Some are painted with floral designs in black over a slip and under the glaze, recalling certain wares of Tz'ü Chou type. There is much to interest ceramists in the illustrations, which may help to identify some 'problem pieces' in Western collections.

The bronzes, of which the mirrors are the most interesting, are mainly poor and sparsely decorated. Attention is again drawn to the remarkable Kuang-ch'eng mirror, previously published by the author. This is the mirror with decoration of Late Chou comma pattern, incorporating an inscribed date corresponding to A.D. 938. But for this addition an attribution to the fourth century B.C. would not have been questioned—disturbing evidence of the ease with which moulds for casting mirrors may be made from impressions in clay of genuine specimens of earlier date.

There are a few statements that call for further explanation. In the Introduction, p. xiv, it is said that 'it was an old belief and practice that jade was a food of the gods, and that it should be buried in the ground after the sacrificial ceremony'. Though jade was certainly buried after some sacrifices, I do not recall evidence that the purpose was to feed the gods. It would be interesting to know if such a belief prevailed locally in Szechwan. There is a quaint slip in translation on p. 17, where Ch'ang Ch'u (third century A.D.), deploring the extravagance of those who had 'gone west' and made fortunes in the province, is quoted as saying, 'Hence, a labourer and a merchant were able to have a number of horses for their chariots, and members of any influential family dressed as beautifully as princes'—a vision not merely of a welfare

state but of Utopia itself. In this context the word *kung* 工 means 'a manufacturer', not 'a labourer'.

The book is well produced and generously illustrated.

S. HOWARD HANSFORD

PING-CHIA KUO : *China : new age and new outlook*. xi, 231, viii pp. London : Victor Gollancz, 1956. 16s.

Professor Kuo's book is not a work of scholarship. It is a discursive account of the 'Chinese revolution' in its broadest sense by a man who was, as a distinguished historian and a Nationalist government official, both an observer of and a participant in the Nationalist phase of the revolution. It is obvious throughout that the author's own political hopes were with the left-wing Kuomintang, and his diagnosis of the failure of the Kuomintang and the success of the Chinese Communist Party echoes the frustration of that small brilliant liberal group which was made helpless by the polarization of Chinese politics in the years after 1928. The book does not, however, represent merely the ideas of Wang Ching-wei informed by the wisdom of hindsight. The rather melancholy determinism of the author's diagnostics echoes deeper frustrations; in his frequent return to the importance of the failure of the non-Communist political groups to build up mass support we hear again Sun Yat-sen : 'China is a rope of sand'; and Chiang Kai-shek's demand for *une volonté unie*. The author carefully analyses the methods which the Communist Party used to secure the active and intelligent support of large masses of the Chinese people, and his appreciation of these methods is the main contribution of the book to an understanding of the process of revolution in modern China. He concludes his account of Communist methods with the tribute :

'If ever there was a case wherein the leaders of a revolution may be said to have triumphed by the very strength of a creative imagination, that may well be affirmed about the Chinese Communists'.

Unfortunately, Professor Kuo's insight into Chinese political life before and during the Second World War helps him very little in his consideration of the period since 1949. His judgments on the period of Communist rule are unsure and in some cases rather ill-informed. His statement that 'obviously Peking regards the distribution and control of agricultural output as far more important than its increase' shows a remarkable neglect of Marxist theory, Chinese economic conditions, and the well-advertised economic

policies of the Peking government. In his discussion of the population problem, he shows that he is unaware of the change in the official attitude to birth-control which took place in 1955. His belief that the present concentration of industrial development in North China is politically inspired—the building of a compact economic bastion against the rest of China—suggests that his knowledge of Peking's economic plans is confined to the actual details of the current plan, and is a quite superfluous explanation for a policy which has the most obvious economic justification. A long passage in which the motives of Chinese foreign policy are wholly reduced to chauvinism and planned aggression succeeds in dispensing with the very mention of Formosa.

More important than these particular weak spots is the author's failure to accept the implications of his own analysis for the period after 1949. His appreciation of the virtues of Communist rule is drawn from knowledge of the Communist Party; his condemnations from the platitudes of Western liberal theory. The result is that his praises are convincing, his condemnations unconvincing. The fact which no student of the regime seems yet to have grasped is that precisely the same institutions and ideas which have produced what is good in the regime produce also what liberals regard as bad; this is the paradox of mass organization inspired from above. The local organizations which cater so effectively for welfare, which have produced political consciousness and social conscience where they scarcely existed before, which in a large number of activities are centres of vigorous local democracy, are also (potentially at least) the medium of the most thorough system of thought control and personal surveillance in the world. China's political future will be the result of a dialectic between these two aspects of the same institutions, and it is in these terms that it must be studied. The early pages of Professor Kuo's book raised hopes that this was what he intended to do. The latter half of the book does not live up to this early promise; and if Professor Kuo, with his first-hand experience, his impartiality, his scholarship, and his keen sense of politics cannot give us such a study, it is difficult to see who will.

JOHN GRAY

ANTOINE MOSTAERT : *Erdeni-yin tobči : Mongolian chronicle by Sayang Sečen with a critical introduction*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute. Scripta Mongolica, II.) 4 vols. : ix, 127 pp., 12 photos.; [vi], 272 pp.; [vi], 298 pp.; [vi], 270 pp. Cambridge, Mass. :

Harvard University Press, 1956 (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. £8.)

Until very recently the only available complete text of the Mongol chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* was that printed in 1829 by L. J. Schmidt, an imperfect copy of a manuscript which itself suffered from important errors and omissions, as was pointed out by Zamcarano in his work on the Mongol chronicles of the seventeenth century. The last two years have seen the publication of four manuscripts of this chronicle. In 1955 Professor E. Haenisch brought out a facsimile reproduction of a manuscript owned by the State Library in Ulaan Baatar, and in the work under review the Reverend Antoine Mostaert has reprinted, also in facsimile, three manuscripts in his personal possession, all made in the Ordos region. Five complete texts are at our disposition now, and the preparation of a new critical edition and translation of Sayang Sečen's chronicle is a task both practicable and necessary.

Father Mostaert has prefaced his edition with a long introduction which, together with an appendix, occupies the first of his four volumes. He treats the life of Sayang Sečen and his historical and geographical background, the question of the spelling of his name, and the reception accorded to his work in Mongolia and abroad. He discusses the sources of the chronicle and analyses the colophon with particular reference to the formulas which indicate the date of composition of the chronicle and of the colophon. Further he lists the known extant manuscripts of the chronicle. (To the list of MSS owned by the State Library, Ulaan Baatar, may be added at least two more with the title *Erdeni-yin tobči*, viz. items 813 and 1471 of the 1937 catalogue of the Library. The full title of the MS quoted by Father Mostaert on p. 54 sub II, 3 is given in the catalogue as *Mongγol-un eki urusgal-un bičig*, and in the item II, 4 the word *gan-u* reads *gad-un* in the catalogue.) A detailed description of the three manuscripts reproduced is given, together with a comparison of certain selected passages with the edition of Schmidt. The introduction closes with a short glossary of obsolete or unusual words found in the chronicle. As an appendix Father Mostaert prints and analyses in great detail a Mongol map of the Ordos region, and the volume ends with a number of photographs taken in that area in the early years of this century. The remaining three volumes are devoted each to one of the manuscripts, which are distinguished as A, B, and C. These manuscripts are all modern copies. Father Mostaert found it in general very

difficult to acquire original manuscripts and not always easy to borrow them for the purpose of having copies made. MS A was copied under his dictation from an eighteenth century manuscript written with the calamus. MS B was copied from a manuscript made in 1891 and Father Mostaert was able to collate copy and original. MS C was copied by his own hand. All three manuscripts have been conveniently divided by Father Mostaert into ten chapters, corresponding to the chapters of Schmidt's edition.

It is hardly necessary to say that Father Mostaert's introduction is a model of exact and original scholarship, modest in its conclusions and stimulating to further research. As a book this edition easily maintains the high standard set by its predecessor, *Scripta Mongolica I, Altan tobči: a brief history of the Mongols*, in 1952.

One unsolved problem connected with *Erdeni-yin tobči* is that of the relationship to each other of the various manuscripts and versions, and in particular the question of the identity of the manuscript used for making the Mongol Imperial editions (both manuscript and print). In 1904 Haenisch, on the basis of a comparison of part of Schmidt's edition with the Chinese version *Meng-ku yuan-lu*, expressed the opinion that the Chinese translator cannot have had the same text before his eyes as that which Schmidt published. Zamcarano on the other hand hints that the manuscript used by Schmidt was actually the one sent by the Khalkha prince Cenggünjab to the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1767 and from which the Imperial edition was prepared. The considerable differences between Schmidt's version on the one hand and the Manchu and Chinese Imperial editions on the other have hitherto spoken against this identity. The problem still cannot be solved, but from a comparison of the five texts now available and of the Mongol Imperial print (in the possession of Professor Haenisch), it can be seen that the three Ordos texts now published and the Urga manuscript tend to fall into a group by themselves, while the printed text of Schmidt and the Imperial edition equally tend to belong together. Unfortunately Schmidt's manuscript has never been published and cannot be adduced. Two typical examples of this division of the two groups follow:

Schmidt (p. 280, line 7) *lingdan gutuy-tu gayan-u baya-dur* (Schmidt translates: '(sein Zusammentreffen mit) Lingdan Chutuktu Chagan in dessen Jugend').

The Imperial edition (VIII/18b) also has *baya*, and is followed by the Manchu translation (Haenisch, *Monggo han sai da sekryen*, p. 112/14) *ajigan de*.

The Urga manuscript (91r/28) and the Ordos MSS A (256/10), B (250/3), and C (252/8) all read *bay* 'district, jurisdiction' for *bayā*.

Secondly, Schmidt, p. 232/1 has a phrase: *tabun fayun sifir-iyer kigen doluyan erdeni*, which text is found also in the Imperial edition (see Haenisch, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung*, II, 3, 1954, 458). Against this the Urga manuscript (76v/4) has an expanded text: *tabun fayun sifir-iyer egudug-sen erdeni mönggün mandal: arban sifir allan-iyar kigen doluyan erdeni*, a text found with slight variations in A (214/5), B (194/10), and C (208/10). It seems as if a copyist made the clerical error of omitting a whole line between *iyer* and *iyar*. This may be only a coincidence between the text of Schmidt and that of the Imperial edition, but very probably does point to a direct connexion between the texts at some time, especially as many other similar examples can be found. The grouping of texts suggested here cannot be carried through without exception. For instance, in dating certain events in the life of Bayan Mongke, the text of Schmidt (p. 178/1-2) gives his age in figures differing by twelve years, or one whole cycle, from those given by the Urga manuscript (61v/4-5), which in this instance coincides with the Imperial print (v/36b). The general impression, however, left by a cursory comparison of these various editions is that Schmidt's edition stands very much closer to the Imperial print than do any of the four other texts, though it cannot be decided whether or not it actually served as the model for this latter. A more detailed inquiry into the relationship of Schmidt's text to that of the Imperial edition is required, as is also a comparison of the Mongol, Manchu, and Chinese Imperial editions, which might shed considerable light upon the methods of translation employed in making such parallel editions.

The considerable value of the three manuscripts now published can be judged from an examination of the improvements they permitted Father Mostaert to make to those passages from Schmidt's text which he has investigated. Together with the manuscript published by Professor Haenisch they will form the basis for the much-needed new critical edition of *Erdeni-yin tobči*. All Mongolists will be grateful to Father Mostaert for his generosity in permitting these manuscripts from his private collection to be published, and also to the editor of the series, Professor Francis W. Cleaves, and to the Harvard University Press for a most pleasing edition.

C. R. BAWDEN

H. E. LAMBERT: *Ki-Vumba, a dialect of the southern Kenya coast*. (Studies in Swahili Dialect, II.) Kampala: East African Swahili Committee, Makerere College, 1957. 101 pp.

Mr. Lambert is well known in East Africa for his interest in Swahili studies, and his work on the Vumba dialect of Swahili, spoken principally by the Sharifian families of Wasin Island and Jimbo, near Tanga, is a welcome addition to material on Swahili dialects. Since the main emphasis has been upon the standardization of Swahili, the dialects have been largely neglected by scholars of the language. It is more than 40 years since Stigand wrote his *Dialect in Swahili* (Cambridge, 1915). Most work on the language since then has had to have some practical bearing, chiefly in adapting the language to Western educational needs, and with the exception of the study of Swahili poetry academic studies in the Swahili field have not been much encouraged for their own sake. Emphasis on the dialects would tend to detract from what was considered to be the essential interest in standard Swahili.

It is encouraging, then, to know that the East African Swahili Committee is now concerning itself with such studies as the present one, which cannot by any stretch of imagination be regarded as having any practical use whatsoever, but which is of considerable interest to scholars of the language. In view of the academic purpose of such work it seems a pity that the Committee should not, in publications of this kind, depart from the conventional method of description and employ methods more in line with what is being done in the field of comparative Bantu. Mr. Lambert's contribution would have increased in value if his material had been more scientifically presented, but it is recognized that to break away from the conventional approach is no easy matter in view of the strong position that Swahili holds as a lingua franca. And yet if academic studies are to be made of particular aspects of the language, the break must surely be made.

Besides some useful grammatical notes, the author provides some texts and a short historical account, based on earlier work by Hollis, of the people of Vumba. Many of his examples in the grammatical section are taken direct from the oral tradition of stories and proverbs. For most Bantu languages one would hesitate to use proverbs as examples of grammatical behaviour, because proverbs tend to become fixed formulae outside the current stream of every-day speech. But since Mr. Lambert does not depend on them exclu-

sively for illustrating grammatical features, no harm is done.

LYNDON HARRIES

J. C. D. LAWRENCE: *The Iteso: fifty years of change in a Nilo-Hamitic tribe of Uganda*. xx, 280 pp., front., 10 plates, map [in end-pocket]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 36s.

The subjugation of the Teso in 1899 by the Ganda general Kakunguru radically altered the whole pattern of Teso culture; their age-set system was suppressed, and a Ganda type of government was so firmly established that 'it is even believed by some of the modern generation that the present system is indigenous' (p. 22). Thus it came about that by the time it was practicable for Europeans to write about them, the old order—or much of it—was gone, which may perhaps partly account for the small amount of literature on the Teso. The publication of a monograph on this tribe (the second largest in Uganda) is therefore to be welcomed, though the welcome to this book must be restrained. In 280 pages the author (who was D.C., Teso, for five years) tries to cover all the ground, and where much is in the nature of a 'reconstruction', the result is somewhat disappointing.

The book is divided into six parts. Part I (pp. 3-47) deals with the traditional and political history of the tribe, and its modern political organization; in some respects this is the most interesting and satisfactory part of the book. Part II, entitled 'Social organization' (pp. 51-83), takes in the family (with a list of relationship terms) and the clan; but the list of terms is all we are given about kinship, and the context in which the terms are used is hardly mentioned. In commenting on the difficulty of finding a suitable word to translate *ateker* ('clan'), Mr. Lawrence makes the remarkable statement that the Iteso 'in common with many other Nilo-Hamitic peoples, had no idea of tribal unity and no word in their vocabulary to express it'. While this *may* have been true of the Teso, it is certainly not true of many other Nilo-Hamites: the Nandi, for example, who in spite of possessing no word for 'tribe', have a very strong sense of tribal unity. Part III describes (pp. 87-100), under the heading 'Social ceremonies and customs', birth, naming, marriage, death, and burial. Part IV (pp. 103-49), entitled 'Mode of living', deals with dress old and new (the old having been very scanty indeed), children, slaves, 'feminization' (men behaving like women), narcotics, homesteads and housebuilding old and new, food

and drink, war and hunting, agriculture, and trade. There is some important material in this part, and especially useful are the plans and illustrations of houses, granaries, stools, pottery, wooden vessels, and other objects. There is also a chapter on animal husbandry, in which 'the religious and social importance of livestock' is not adequately brought out in the paragraphs devoted to this aspect of the subject. Part V (pp. 153-90), entitled 'culture', is a rather miscellaneous collection which embraces music and dancing (with some useful illustrations of musical instruments), visual art, language (with some proverbs and riddles), and religion and magic. The treatment of religion, compressed into one page, is very far from adequate. There must be something unusually difficult about the religion of the Central Nilo-Hamites, for I have not yet read a satisfactory account of the religion of any tribe of this group of the Nilo-Hamites; Mr. Lawrence not only tells us very little about it, but hardly even attempts to analyse the place of Christianity in this tribe, of which he says 'perhaps 70 per cent of the menfolk have been baptized'. The last part (VI), headed 'Law', is the longest section of the book (pp. 193-271). It is based entirely on records of court cases, and as such forms a useful reference-book for administrative officers. But no indication is given as to how much of it is traditional law, how much adapted traditional law, and how much modern innovation. For the ethnographer (and especially the comparative ethnographer) it is therefore not so useful. Moreover, many of the sub-sections are undocumented statements which often need further clarification.

Like all books printed by the Oxford University Press, this book is well, even lavishly, produced—there are no less than 17 blank pages, four of them bearing only such words as 'Part I, History', etc. It would have been more profitable for the reader if some of these blank pages had been used to amplify some of the very meagre sections: on kinship, for instance, we are given practically nothing more than a list of terms without even the reciprocals. Surely even the Teso, however much of their own culture may have been lost in 1899, have behaviour patterns which could have been summarized. We are not told anything about this aspect of kinship, and it is not stated whether the mother's brother has the important position that he has among the Nandi; this last omission is regrettable, since Teso, Karamojon, and Nandi all have the same term for this relative (*mamai*, *mamae*, *mama*). It is true that the author expressly disclaims any anthropological knowledge; but he has presumably read some of the anthropological works to which he refers both in his

text and in the bibliography, and these should have given him an insight into the kind of material that is required, and the method of presenting it. The absence of theoretical discussion to which he refers (p. vii) does not mar the book, but the final result is rather suggestive of a glorified District Book—as such it would be a positive mine of information for District Officers. Since the first part, dealing with tribal history, is said in the Preface to have been published already in the *Uganda Journal* (1965), a summary could have been given in the book, and space would thereby have been released for further details of some of the aspects of Teso culture that are described so sketchily. At this stage in anthropological studies we expect something better than books like Roscoe's *Bagesu*.

I do not mean to imply by these criticisms that the book is without value or interest. On the contrary; it does help to fill the gap in the literature on the Teso, and is particularly useful in the field of material culture. I am grateful to the author for what he has given us, even if he has not given us as much as we want. Perhaps some day he will add to his record of the Teso.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

R. GALLETTI and others: *Nigerian cocoa farmers: an economic survey of Yoruba cocoa farming families*. By R. Galletti, K. D. S. Baldwin and I. O. Dina. xxxix, 744 pp., 5 maps. London: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board, 1956. £5 5s.

This massive volume provides an interesting contrast with the slender study by Miss Polly Hill, entitled *The Gold Coast cocoa farmer*, which was noticed in a previous issue of the *Bulletin*. The Gold Coast research had limited objectives, limited financial resources, and a small staff; the Nigerian investigation, on the other hand, had wide objectives ('a factual report which would record in detail how the cocoa farmer and his family lived, worked, and secured their livelihood'), with particular reference to 11 special topics; it had considerable money (£70,000 approximately) behind it; and a large directing and investigating staff, starting off with a high-powered committee located in England, and with three senior research officers together with a number of junior staff in the field. Organizational difficulties quickly manifested themselves: the division of direction between Africa and the United Kingdom does not seem to have worked well; supervision of junior field research staff seems to have been a

problem; the questionnaire and interview method of eliciting information on family budgets was not feasible because of the unreliable character of the answers.

There were problems of statistical method as well. The sub-title of the book more accurately represents the scope of the inquiry, which was limited to Yoruba areas because an investigation covering all the cocoa-producing areas in Nigeria was not practical with the time and resources available. But further cutting down of the field, even within Yorubaland, was necessary; and particular tracts were chosen for survey in detail. These tracts could not be selected by random sampling; and the question arises of the extent to which they can be taken as typical of the Yoruba area as a whole. The same difficulties arise with the selection of particular cocoa-farming families in the chosen area for special study.

These problems lead one to wonder whether this survey, which could not claim to describe a representative sample of the total cocoa-farming population, and which was harassed by unreliable recording by some of the junior staff, could not have been carried out in a different manner—perhaps more expeditiously and cheaply—by single trained observers conducting an intensive investigation of one or two strictly limited localities. To say this is not to deny the vast amount of labour which has gone into the accumulation and analysis of the mass of socio-economic data presented here. Undoubtedly there is here a rich store which sociologists, economists, and administrators will gladly draw on in the future. The economic background, commercial organization and marketing; physical, financial, and human resources; the pattern of consumption and living; the geographical and social conditions within which cocoa-farming takes place, are fully described; the factors of production (labour, processing, etc.), and the income and expenditure and indebtedness of cocoa-farming families, are studied in some detail, the results appearing partly as a general narrative supported by a multitude of statistical tables, and partly as a record and analysis of accounts within specific localities and families.

Much material is included on the Yoruba social system and land tenure system, which was obviously essential if any full account was to be given of cocoa-farming and cocoa-farmers. Vital though such material is, it is in some ways the weakest part of the book. The account of Yoruba social organization has been criticized elsewhere; the terminology used and the mode of exposition appear alike, with respect, to be confusing and confused. There is no need to adopt the extremes of technical anthropological jargon, and useful

English words like 'family' and 'household' may be retained, provided their function is defined (one is glad to see that the authors avoid the needless exactitude of 'polygyny' in favour of 'polygamy'); but I believe that the vernacular terminology, and the social structure described by it, vary from one part of Yorubaland to another, and that these variations may not have been sufficiently recognized. The material on land tenure is valuable (though fuller descriptions have appeared elsewhere), but might have been improved if use had been made of a precise legal vocabulary—words like 'title' need especially careful handling.

It is to be hoped that all the effort put into the work under review will aid the student of peasant agriculture, the economic planner, the lawyer and community development officer, all those, in short, who are concerned with the social and economic development of West Africa, in their varied approaches to their common purpose; and one trusts that the more enlightened governments of African territories will devote or continue to devote a reasonable share of their revenues to the investigation of the social and economic conditions of the people under their care. Much more research, even if it does not follow the pattern of the survey under review, is needed in Africa.

A. N. ALLOTT

KENNETH L. PIKE: *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Parts I-II. Preliminary edition.* x, 170 pp.; v, 85 pp. Glendale, Calif.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954-5. \$5 and \$2.

Of a work planned to comprise 24 chapters in its final shape we are concerned here with the preliminary edition of the first 10. Each chapter concludes with valuable 'bibliographical comments' and each Part with a detailed bibliography and index. The rigorous integrity and great industry of the author appear here as in his other works, and a notable feature of the book so far is the full discussion it contains of other linguists' views, European as well as American. Misprints are on the whole few but in places there are signs of haste (cf. 'feature' for 'distribution' in the running titles of p. 131 and p. 133; also the classification on p. 70 of Part I of *beātus ille* as Russian). Professor Pike is in the line of Sapir rather than Bloomfield, and since he is perhaps the least stereotyped of American linguists, it has seemed desirable to present a summary of the book before evaluation and comment.

'The activity of man constitutes a structural whole, in such a way that it cannot be divided into neat "parts" or "levels" or "compartments" with language in a behavioral compartment insulated in character, content and organization from other behavior.' Verbal and non-verbal elements may 'substitute for one another in function'. There are two stand-points for the description of behaviour—the 'etic' aprioristic one in which data are studied, identified, classified, and described in terms of an over-all, universal system, and the 'emic' *ad hoc* approach which involves statements valid for only one language or culture at a time. 'Emic systems . . . are in some sense to be discovered by the analyst, not created by him. Etic systems are . . . created by the analyst . . . for the handling of data before its emic ordering can be ascertained.' Theoretical priority is given to the identificational features of units rather than to relationships between them.

A church service is an example of a 'large behavioral emic unit'. 'Though a single continuum of physical activity', it is divided up into 'significant major chunks of activity'. By reference to what participants say, do, and feel, the significance of a chunk or segment is decided upon and the segment given emic status. Within larger segments there are smaller ones, e.g. stanzas in hymns, the introduction, development, and conclusion in sermons, etc. Thus behaviour is of 'hierarchical structure'; 'focus' by either participant or analyst may be on a higher or lower level at any given time. Segment classes are established by the appropriateness of segments to a given 'spot' in a whole structure, e.g. some hymns are acceptable in a given spot, others not. Spots are functional; segments particular and specific. On any level of focus, every emic unit is 'divided structurally into three specific kinds of complex overlapping components which [are called] "modes"'. These are termed the 'distribution', 'feature', and 'manifestation' modes. The distribution mode of an emic unit will account for the class to which the unit belongs, for its spot function, and for the spot distribution of its segments; its manifestation mode will deal with the physical characteristics of 'variants', conditioned or free, simple or complex; its feature mode will define those elements marking the unit as different from others and at the same time giving it its identity. The meaning and purpose of participants in an activity are 'highly relevant to segmentation of the feature mode'.

A unit of behaviour such as the church service is termed a 'behavioreme', and a verbal behavioreme is an 'uttereme'.

Smaller units within a behavioureme, which also contain evidence of closure, purpose, and structuring are 'included behaviouremes'. There must be a lower limit to the size of behaviouremes but there is theoretically no upper limit. The minimum behavioureme is handled in terms of minimum units of the three behaviouremic modes: the minimum verbal units are the 'morpheme' in the feature mode, the 'grameme' in the distribution mode, and the 'phoneme' in the manifestation mode. Corresponding to emic morphemes and gramemes we have etic 'morphs' and 'grams'; it is not clear that the 'phone' is considered as the etic correlative of the phoneme. A grameme is a 'structural position plus its manifesting class'. The phoneme is primarily 'an emic unit of behavior', which 'in some way reflects the structure of human behavior AS PEOPLE REACT TO THAT BEHAVIOR [sic]'. 'Higher-layered units of the manifestation mode of the uttereme' are termed 'hyperphonemes' and include the 'syllabeme', the 'stress group' (or 'abdomineme'), and the 'pause group'; stress and juncture features are not regarded as phonemic. Higher-layered units of the feature mode of the uttereme are 'hypermorphemes', which form the subject-matter of the brief concluding chapter and include such 'morphemically-complex' units as 'suffix-cluster', 'phrase', 'clause', 'sentence', 'utterance-response', 'conversation', 'greeting-formula', 'lecture', etc.

Many linguists have long felt that the text, although the primary datum, is part of a situational whole and that selection and grouping of data with a view to the statement of similarities and differences may often profitably be undertaken on the basis of correlation between the text and extra-linguistic features of its environment. This is not to say with Professor Pike that linguistic and non-linguistic features *substitute* for each other. It is difficult to see how such features can be considered as mutually replaceable, how a glance or squeeze of the hand is to be equated with 'Look at and silently enjoy with me that gorgeous sunset' except by a poetic process on a par with ellipsis, or how there may be replacement of verbal and non-verbal items in the party-song 'Underneath the Spreading Chestnut Tree' without the song losing its point. Apart from its inherent dualism, which requires the linguist to operate at once in the private world of the participant and (what should be) the public one of the analyst, Professor Pike's approach may also be criticized on the ground that it assumes too readily that the segmental phonemic type of analysis that works in its limited way for language will

also work for all human overt and covert behaviour. The whole theory is, in fact, built on phonemics.

Sophisticated observers—among them Professor Pike—realize that one system of phonemes provides nothing like adequate correlation with the complex facts of a living language. The broader basis of a syntagmatic and polysystemic approach avoiding the narrow segmentation, insistence on 'significant differences' or (quasi-)minimal pairs, and the over-all orientation of phonemics, not only groups data differently but in so doing provides a totally different emphasis and finally a totally different statement. The chances are that it also runs less risk of 'bias'. A phonemist of Professor Pike's perceptual acuity will probably deal with most if not all that is relevant, but only by means of elaborate cross-referencing and the proliferation of 'allo'-statements of one order or another; where others are concerned, one is often struck by the great similarity between phonetic and phonemic statements and the naïveté of both. This is not to agree with Professor Pike that we must account for all the minutiae of behaviour; let us by all means train ourselves as observers along these lines but complete statement of such minutiae is both impossible and trivial. In making his analysis the linguist has constantly to select certain features and suppress others of both the text and its environment. How selection and grouping will be done cannot be laid down in advance except in the most general terms. In any complete polysystemic statement individual items will appear in as many groups as the linguist deems suitable for the purpose of satisfactory statement; he is constantly subdividing but he must also frequently redivide. The criteria on which categories are established are rarely exhaustive of the contexts in which a given item regularly figures.

Professor Pike's hypermorphemic categories are wholly welcome for there is a pressing need in linguistics to extend such current concepts as 'dialect', 'style', 'slang', 'jargon', 'hororifics', etc., and to pursue wholeheartedly the study of 'restricted languages'. A given language is an amalgam of such restricted languages, though the fact is concealed in most accounts, whether traditional or 'structural'. For example, how far is the pronominal system of English, as usually propounded, applicable to, say, Parliamentary debate, religious usage, business letters, legal documents, to cite a few obvious cases. It is the temptation to operate only with closed (or quasi-closed) systems of over-all applicability that must be resisted. To take Professor Pike's cricket example, one could perhaps wish in a thoroughgoing study for accounts of the

restricted languages with which the game is conducted, explained, disowned, discussed in dressing-rooms, discussed in committee-rooms, written about in the sports columns of newspapers, written about in the manual containing the laws of the game, and so on; at all events, one would never mix—as Professor Pike does—baseball and cricket, and seek to interpret one in terms of the other. The author must be faulted here on his fieldwork, otherwise he must have realized that the one thing a bowler cannot do is ‘throw’ the ball, and also that in British English at any rate ‘he throws the ball down on the ground’ habitually collocates with ‘in a fit of pique’. Since the term ‘collocates’ is not self-explanatory and since ‘collocation’ is so frequently apt for the statement of characteristics of restricted languages, the term is explained in the next paragraph, though the examples quoted happen to be of more than restricted applicability.

There is the usual ‘upward’ progression from the phoneme to the phonemically-composed morpheme and the morphemically-composed hypermorpheme. There are, too, the customary odd ‘meanings’ attributed to infra-word morphemes and to morpheme-classes. All analysis—morphemic certainly, and possibly also gramemic and hypermorphemic—does not seem to envisage operating with units transcending word-boundaries. In adopting a syntagmatic, ‘downward’ approach, partly to avoid the additive implications of morphemics and the restrictions of word-boundaries, some linguists in London have employed the concepts and terms of ‘colligation’ and ‘collocation’. Colligation is used for the statement of relations in grammatical terms and would, to keep to the earlier example, envisage the consideration of the several pronominal forms of English not so much as constituting a separate class of morphemes but as forming part of bigger wholes in the light of the regularly differing finite and non-finite verbal forms they accompany and/or the regularly differing positions they occupy in sentences, etc.; different pronominal forms may be stated among exponents of larger colligational patterns. By setting up such systems of commutable syntagms it is possible to avoid such terms as ‘dependence’, ‘in the environment of’, ‘becomes’, etc., which belong to a conceptual framework in which forms generate and lurk behind one another. Unfortunately, the terminology available to state the several kinds of syntagmatic accompaniment one meets is limited, and it is often possible to do no better than use morphemic designations—indeed, this is probably the justification for morphemics. The difficulty of ‘naming’ and delimiting is even more acutely felt on the

plane of ‘collocation’, where, too, the impossibility generally of operating with *closed* systems appears to deter the linguist. It is true to say of the reviewer’s English, for example, that a syntagmatic relation—not of the Saussurean *in praesentia* trivial sort but partaking essentially of the nature of concord—obtains between, say, ‘ditchwater’ and ‘dull’, the latter being considered not *qua* adjective but *qua* ‘dull’ and part-member of a collocational class; most English speakers could fill in the gaps in ‘it’s as . . . as ditchwater’ or ‘it’s as dull as . . .’ or even ‘it’s . . . ditchwater’. Not only does ‘ditchwater’ not occur apart from ‘dull’, but the whole unit ‘. . . dull . . . ditchwater’ does not occur apart from ‘as . . . as . . .’, and the greater whole ‘. . . as dull as ditchwater’ rarely apart from ‘it’s’. ‘. . . dull . . . ditchwater’ is one member of a collocational class associated with ‘. . . as . . . as . . .’, and this class would not include the morphemically similar ‘(as) big (as) John’; notice *inter alia* the possibility of fall-rise intonation and of extension with ‘is’ for ‘(as) big (as) John’ but not for members of the ‘. . . dull . . . ditchwater’ class. The classification of ‘ditchwater’ as either ‘noun’ or ‘bimorphemic’—which morphemic analysis would impose—seems to the reviewer quite pointless; it is better included with, for example, ‘. . . (nice) . . . nice can be’, ‘. . . (broad) . . . it’s long’, and many other such *comparable* textual elements which in Professor Pike’s terms would be morphemically complex. Morphemic analysis does not allow sufficiently for the complexity of interior textual relations, some of which may be stated in terms of collocation. If, for example, we do not take into account the relations obtaining between ‘(as) black (as) pitch’, ‘(as) black (as) your hat’, ‘(as) black (as) the ace of spades’ and ‘it’s’, ‘he’s’, ‘a face’, then our statement is that much poorer. The difficulty is in remembering that a collocation is a *form* like any other—though usually cited in terms of words, it is specifically neither a matter of words nor of examples of grammatical categories. Nor is there, of course, any necessary hierarchical relation between colligational and collocational categories.

Although in the manner of most reviews the present one has concentrated on points for criticism, it must be said forthwith that once the linguist has overcome the difficulties attendant on a forbidding array of new terms and a certain prolixity of exposition, he will find much to please him in the book. It is not a book to recommend to beginners but it may be read with profit by more advanced students and one looks forward to the promised chapters to come. In the meantime it is gratifying to know that Professor Pike is

actively seeking to apply his theory and that in his latest published work he finds himself constrained to write '... the analysis of languages requires a treatment of structural phonological units larger than the phoneme, with contrastive types on each level of the hierarchy. A phonological theory is inadequate

to portray the structure and function of those units, with their various contrastive features, if it attempts to squeeze such data into one non-hierarchical linear sequence of chopped-up disparate segmental phonemes and quasi-segmental juncture phonemes'.

T. F. MITCHELL

SHORT NOTICES

SAAD ED DIN FAWZI: *The labour movement in the Sudan, 1946-1955*. (Middle Eastern Monographs, [1].) xiv, 175 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957. 25s.

The Sudanese labour movement originated in 1946 from two developments: a governmental attempt to foster the formation of works committees, and the initiative of the Atbara railwaymen, who established a disguised trade union. After initial opposition from the management and government, this obtained recognition in 1947. A period of industrial unrest followed. The promulgation of industrial legislation in 1948 resulted in a proliferation of unions, which by 1950 had fallen under the domination of the Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation, of allegedly communist sympathies. Under the Condominium relations between the labour movement and the government were usually hostile, the government being the chief employer of industrial and white-collar labour, to which unionism is practically confined. Furthermore the emergence of the movement coincided with the rise of post-war nationalism, hostile to the British-controlled government. The passage to independence has not ended this hostility although it has diminished the prestige of the unions and Federation as organs of public opinion.

Professor Fawzi's valuable study is based on governmental, trade union, and press sources, many of which have either never been published or are virtually unavailable. His account of the movement and analysis of its phases are always lucid and at times penetrating.

F. M. H.

G.-H. BOUSQUET and G. W. BOUSQUET-MIRANDOLLE (tr.): *L'annotation ponctuelle de la description de voyage étonnante... de moi Maria ter Meeten... (Hoor 1748)*. (Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines. Notes et Documents, Tom. xvii.) 77 pp. Paris: Éditions Larose, 1956.

Maria ter Meeten was born in Amsterdam in 1704. At the age of 13 she began to travel abroad, and eventually reached Spain, where, being disguised as a man, she was caught by the press-gang and enlisted in a dragoon regiment. Obtaining her release, she married a Dutch compatriot and set out for home in 1731. The ship on which she was travelling was, however, captured by a Sale rover and taken to Morocco, where she spent the next 12 years in captivity at Meknes. She was ransomed in 1743 and returned to Holland, where she published an account of her adventures in 1748. This translation is made from the new Dutch edition of H. Hardenberg of 1950, and is annotated by the translator. There is no lack of tales of captivity from the Barbary states: one by a woman is, however, as the translator remarks, a rarity, and deserving of attention.

B. L.

OSCAR KRAINES: *Israel: the emergence of a new nation*. [ii], 46 pp. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, [c 1954]. \$1.

The material of this monograph originally appeared in the *Western Political Quarterly* for September and December 1953. The title is misleading: the booklet is concerned, not with the sociological changes which are producing an Israeli nation, but with the development and working of the political and governmental machinery of the state of Israel. In this field, however, it performs a useful function by assembling in a clear and succinct form a good deal of essential information. The principal sections deal with the major political parties, the constituent assembly, the president, cabinet and *Knesset*, the judiciary, the nationality question, and foreign policy. Much bibliographical information is contained in the footnotes. The work is factual in tone and does not enter into the controversial aspects of Israeli history and politics. The passage of four years since its original publication in article form has inevitably rendered it in parts dated and incomplete but within its chronological limitations it is a book of continuing utility.

F. M. H.

ARNE MELVINGER: *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*. 206 pp. + 8 pp. 'corrections et additions'. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1955. Sw. kr. 14.

In this book, a doctoral thesis presented at Upsala, Dr. Melvinger examines the accounts given in Arabic sources of the Vikings and their expeditions against Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries. Much of the book consists of a survey and analysis of the Arabic texts, several of which are re-edited. There are also discussions of the *Majus* and their country as depicted in Arabic sources, and an historical evaluation of the material in the light of other historical and archaeological data.

RICHARD F. KREUTEL (ed. and tr.): *Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels: des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyâ Çelebi denkwürdige Reise in das Grauerland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien anno 1665*. (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Bd. 2.) 291 pp. Graz, etc.: Verlag Styria, [1957]. Schilling 70.

In this attractively produced little book, the second of his series of Ottoman historical writings in German translation, Dr. Kreutel gives a version of Evliyâ Çelebi's account of his alleged visit to Vienna, as a member of the Embassy of Kara Mehmed Pasha, in 1665. The translation is based on the printed text in the seventh volume of the Istanbul edition of the *Seyâhatnâme*, but has been compared with the manuscript in the Saray library. Dr. Kreutel's version contains some abridgement and some paraphrase, which were probably necessary in order to make the text accessible and intelligible to the European reader. The same reader will also be grateful for Dr. Kreutel's clear and helpful annotations, and for his introduction, in which he discusses Evliyâ and his work and interprets his author's somewhat complex attitude to the truth.

B. L.

DOROTHY M. VAUGHAN: *Europe and the Turk: a pattern of alliances, 1350-1700*. viii, 305 pp., front. Liverpool: University Press, 1954. 20s.

Miss Vaughan, in her preface, declares that her aim has been to 'outline the complex process by which the Ottoman Empire, as

an aggressive newcomer to Europe, became from its first beginnings entwined with the rivalries of European states'. Her book, as the title itself reveals, is concerned primarily with political and diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the various states of Christendom. It contains six chapters which describe the failure of Europe to repel the Turk, the Ottomans as a naval and economic force, the Ottoman Empire and the European balance of power, the Turk and the Counter-Reformation, Europe and other enemies of the Turk (i.e. Persia and the Balkan peoples), and, in conclusion, the last Turkish aggressions and their results. It will be evident that the subject is too rich and intricate in character to allow of a minute examination within the compass of a single volume. Miss Vaughan, displaying great skill and assurance, has perforce written a broad general account based not so much on extensive original research as on the studies, monographs, and articles available in the major languages of western Europe. Indeed, the bibliographical references included in the numerous footnotes to each chapter and also in a short appendix on non-political contacts are not the least valuable feature of her work. Miss Vaughan promises a second volume relating how, during the period of its decline after 1700, the Ottoman Empire 'became . . . the victim of European intrigue and ambitions'. It is to be hoped that she will realize this intention and so contribute further to offset the unfortunate truth of her own dictum that her chosen field of interest is one 'which in England at least tends to receive less than its due attention'.

V. J. P.

Islam and Russia: a detailed analysis of An outline of the history of Islamic studies in the USSR by N. A. Smirnov, with an introduction by Ann K. S. Lambton. [iii], 87 pp. [London: Central Asian Research Centre], 1956. 12s. 6d.

The analysis which forms the main section of this volume was printed in the *Central Asian Review*, II-III, 1954-5. It is republished here with an introduction by Professor Lambton and a bibliographical index of all the Russian works mentioned in the original text by Smirnov. Professor Lambton observes that Russian orientalist followed the normal Western tradition in the period before 1917. After that date political interests came to have a dominant influence on the trend and character of Islamic studies inside Russia. In addition to ideological objectives, practical

aims were also pursued with great vigour: diplomats, doctors, engineers, agriculturalists, etc., received tuition in oriental languages, grammars, dictionaries, and chrestomathies being produced to facilitate their training. The introduction, in its later paragraphs, describes briefly the course of Russian expansion into the regions of the lower Volga, the Caucasus, and central Asia, and outlines the growth of 'nationalist' movements among the numerous Muslim elements within the Russian empire.

In regard to the work of Smirnov himself, Professor Lambton notes that it does not claim to be an exhaustive review of all Russian books on Islam—e.g. there is no reference to the official publications of the Tsarist government and small mention of books relating to economic matters and to the wider aspects of Muslim civilization. None the less, it deserves close attention, since it lists a considerable number of works little known outside Russia. Smirnov exemplifies the adverse attitude of the new Russia towards Islam, referring to it as 'an instrument of exploitation and coercion of the toiling masses' (p. 38). In general, to quote from Professor Lambton, Smirnov does 'little more than underline the recent intensification of propaganda to Muslim communities outside Russia, and the new drive to harness behind the communist movement the forces of nationalism in the Islamic world by separating them from Islam and identifying them with the demand for social reform and economic equality' (p. 6).

The present volume merits, from all those who are concerned with Islamic studies, a cordial welcome, and for a twofold reason: it affords an insight into the character and achievements of Russian oriental scholarship both before and after 1917 and at the same time offers a most useful, if somewhat circumscribed, bibliographical guide to a literature which contains much that is of enduring value.

V. J. P.

'ABD AL-RAZZÂQ AL-HASANÎ: *Ta'riḫ al-ṣuḥāfa al-'Irāqīyya: al-juz' al-awwal*. Baghdād: Maṭba'at al-Zahrā', 1376/1957. 250 fls.

This booklet, in its second, expanded edition, consists of classified chronological lists of periodical publications that have appeared in 'Irāq from the time of Miḥdāt Pasha until the year 1333, in Arabic and in other languages. There are brief historical notes on each item listed, and indices of persons and periodicals. The author also gives the text of the 'Irāqī press law of 1333.

FELIX TAUER and others (ed.): *Charakteria orientalia praeipue ad Persiam pertinentia*. [Ioanni Rypka . . . hoc volumen saorum.] *Ediderunt Felix Tauer, Věra Kubišková, Ivan Hrbek*. 411 pp. Praha: Československá Akademie Věd, [Orientální Ústav,] 1956. Kčs. 57.

This volume of oriental, chiefly Persian, studies is dedicated to Professor Jan Rypka on his seventieth birthday. Its contents are as follows: F. Tauer, *La vie et l'œuvre de Jan Rypka* (a short biography and a comprehensive bibliography): F. Babinger, *Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastir unter Mehmed II [1473]* (an edition, translation, and examination of an Ottoman document): A. Bausani, *Altāf Ḥusain Ḥālī's ideas on Ghazal*: J. E. Bertels, *On the question of 'Indian style' in Persian poetry* (in Russian): J. Blaskovics, *Ein Schreiben des Ofener dāstardār Mustafā an den Hatvaner Mauteinnehmer Derwīš baša* (a Turkish document of 1064/1653-4 from Slovakia): J. Černý, *A new Hittite royal name in an Egyptian inscription*: J. Deny, *Turo akbaš* (on a word used for 'bishop' in a Kuman text): V. A. Gordlevskij, *Sheykh Suleyman* (from the life of the Nakshbandis in Turkey) (in Russian): G. E. von Grunbaum, *The problem of cultural influence (an aspect of the problem of Westernization in Islam)*: E. Herold, *The interpretation of the Vedic 'kakutsala'*: C. Horáček, *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Aspekte der Türkenkriege im 16. Jahrhundert* (some aspects of the Turkish wars in central Europe): I. Hrbek, *Eine Volksetymologie des Namens 'Bulgar'* (discusses a passage in the travels of Abu Hamid al-Gharnati): K. Jahn, *An Indian legend on the descent of the Mongols* (Rashid ad-Dīn's history of India): J. Klima, *Zur Entzifferung des Erbrechtes nach den akkadischen Urkunden aus Susa*: O. Klima, *Über das Datum von Mazdaks Tod*: V. Kubišková, *Un éclair de sourire sur un visage tragique* (some writings of Sadiq Hidāyat): F. Machalski, *'Šams et Toḡra' roman historique de Muḥammad Bākir Ḥosrovī*: H. Massé, *Quinze poésies de Qasim-Ōl-Anvar*: L. Matouš, *Purchase of landed property in Ur by Balmunamhe*: V. Minorsky, *Pūr-i Behā and his poems*: J. Németh, *Zu den türkischen Aufzeichnungen des Georgievits*: B. N. Kitine, *فرنگ شناسی ou l'Europe vue de l'Ishāran* (a novel of Shādnān): K. Petráček, *Bemerkungen zur Artikulation der Liquiden im Arabischen*: P. Prucha, *Zur Entwicklung des mongolischen Verses*: J. Průšek, *The creative methods of Chinese medieval story-tellers*: M. Rásanen, *Einige iranischen Entlehnungen in den*

finnisch-ugrischen und türkischen Sprachen : E. Rossi, A note to the manuscript of the *Diwān lugāt al-Turk* : S. Segert, Die Versform des Hohenliedes : M. Shaki, An introduction to the modern Persian literature (a Marxist interpretation) : V. Souček, Einige Bemerkungen über status libertatis und status servitutis im hethitischen Recht : B. Spuler, Iranische Einflüsse auf die islamische Staatsauffassung bis ins 11. Jh. n. Chr. : J. Štěpková, Über das Wesen und die Funktion der Dirhamenbruchstücke : F. Taeschner, Der Achidschuk von Tebriz und seine Erwähnung im Iakendernāme des Ahmedi : F. Tauer, Analyse des matières de la première moitié du Zubdatut-tawārīḥ de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū : H. Turková, Über ein türkisches Sprichwortergedicht : A. Zajączkowski, The oldest Turkish version of the poem Khosrev-i Shirin of Kutb (in Russian) : L. Zgusta, Iranian names in Lydian inscriptions : K. Zvelebil, The Yavanas in old Tamil literature.

BENDAPUDI SUBBARAO : *The personality of India : a study in the development of material culture of India and Pakistan*. (M.S. University Archaeology Series, No. 3.) xii, 135 pp., 8 plates. Baroda : Faculty of Arts, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1956. Rs. 15.

The title of this book derives from Sir Cyril Fox's *The personality of Britain* and so, perhaps, does much of its inspiration. Fox's work was one of a number of useful attempts to interrelate the evidence of archaeology and historical geography with reference to the British Isles. The results were, in their way, a tremendous advance in interpreting and making meaningful for a wider public the ever accumulating and widely dispersed reports of many hundreds of excavations and explorations. For India the author cannot draw upon any comparable mass of data and the problems he faces are far more complicated. Thus it is to be expected that the book may disappoint many whom the title has attracted. This disappointment should be tempered by the knowledge that the book could have been written at all and that an Indian scholar should have done so. Doubtless much elaboration and correction will be needed, even when the reports of research already completed are published, but this does not invalidate the effort, if only because the widening of public interest and understanding, what we may call the propagandist part of archaeological writing, is essential in any country which depends largely upon public finance for carrying on research.

The present book outlines the state of

knowledge in the fields of Indian prehistory and protohistory. There are several novel features in the author's approach. He argues boldly for a new terminology related to Indian evidence and problems rather than following terms more strictly applicable in other countries. Time alone will show how far these proposals are acceptable to other archaeologists, but some are likely to arouse debate. In his use of geographical and cultural regions he carries forward the ideas of Richards's pioneer paper on 'Geographical factors in Indian archaeology' (*Ind. Ant.*, LXII, 1933). Another of Richards's observations, of the areas of relative attraction and isolation, is used with good effect. Indeed, the insistence of Richards that geographical factors form the basis of correct historical and archaeological perspective in India underlies much of this book. Equally important, though still very cautious, is Dr. Subbarao's attempt to bridge the gap between the archaeology of some regions and their modern inhabitants. This he does by drawing attention to the life of some aboriginal tribes and comparing it with the archaeological record in the areas of isolation. Much more work of this kind is needed, for only when the archaeologist can carry on his story in the regions of attraction and show the steps by which his dry 'cultures' lead into the living civilization of the peoples of India will he succeed in catching hold of the imagination of the reading public.

It would be easy to criticize many points in this little book, but to do so would only obscure its general interest.

F. R. ALLOHIN

JOSEF WICKI : *Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S. J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Sastra (Madura 1616). Eingeleitet und inhaltlich wiedergegeben*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Missionswissenschaft der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster Westfalen, Hft. 6.) 36 pp. Münster Westf. : Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957. DM. 2.50.

The indefatigable editor of Jesuit missionaries' letters and reports is happily maintaining his interest in India. Fr. Fernandes, the colleague and critic of de Nobili, after more than 20 years' experience of life in South India, wrote an extraordinarily elaborate account of the Hindu sects and in particular the usages and rituals of the Brahmins. He was able to draw his information from a Tamil *dharmaśāstri*, who had an ample Sanskrit library (including the *Parāśara*

mādhaviya and the *Smṛti-candrikā*, which appears as 'Estimurdis xandriguei' at his disposal; and had access to traditional material on the practices of ascetics, for example, which passed beyond strictly *śāstric* limits. A thorough knowledge of the beliefs and rituals of the learned and hieratic classes, complete with *mantras*, was thought to be an essential passport to the confidence of potential converts, and the Catholic hierarchy were concerned to know the exact import of heathen practices which might be fit for prohibition in Portuguese territory. The manuscript, in the Jesuit Archives at Rome (MS Goa 59), deserves to be published in facsimile with a translation and notes verifying the ample references given by the author. The sarcastic comment endorsed upon it at Rome is, as Fr. Wicki says, quite undeserved; and this, the earliest account in a European language of Hindu rituals (including the greater part of *varṇāśrama-dharma* complete with details of *brāhṇa* and *pṛāyascitta*), is a valuable testimony as to the state of learning and public conduct in the Tamil *nāḍ* at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Fr. Wicki's praiseworthy summary (it includes small extracts) successfully identifies many Sanskrit names and terms, penetrating the Portuguese dress of Tamil *tadbhava* forms or equivalents. But until the whole text is available some mysteries will remain, and the following corrections may be noted: equilo = *yajña* (not *yaksha*); manusei = *manuṣya* (not *manṣya*); tianam = *dhyāna* (not *tiyāna*); ubagara = *upahāra* (not *ubasāra*); and Sagunaga = *Śaunaka* (not *Sanaka*); while 'Ramanancor' cannot be other than Rāmeśvara, and 'Xien' might be Jina.

J. D. M. D.

EUGENE WU: *Leaders of twentieth-century China: an annotated bibliography of selected Chinese biographical works in the Hoover Library*. (Hoover Institute and Library Bibliographical Series, iv.) vii, 106 pp. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1956. (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege. 20s.)

Fairbank and Liu, in the introduction to their *Bibliography of modern China*, remark that 'the extensive and important Chinese holdings of the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University unfortunately have not yet been fully catalogued'. There has already been published a description of a section of the Hoover holdings in F. W. Mote, *Japanese-sponsored governments in China, 1937-45, an annotated bibliography compiled from materials in the Chinese collection*

of the Hoover Library. The work under review offers a wider view of the Chinese holdings, and is to be warmly welcomed.

Mr. Wu lists some 500 titles of works of a biographical nature in Chinese (Japanese works are excluded). All the subjects belong to the present century. About one-half of the material concerns political figures, another quarter intellectuals, the remainder military figures, industrialists and business men, and Overseas Chinese. Naturally, individual items vary greatly in value, and Mr. Wu's concise annotations are of great help in this connexion. Thus, among biographical materials on Chiang Kai-shek (27 titles), the Hoover collection includes Hollington Torg's latest revision of his authorized biography (Taipei, 1952), a comic-strip history of Chiang's 'crimes' (Tientsin, 1949), a detailed study of the 1936 Sian incident (edited by Liu Pai-ch'uan 劉百川, 1937), and 'a collection of one hundred sketches of Chiang Kai-shek done in both color and black ink . . . '.

If it is not ungracious to complain when so much is offered, it might be remarked that works of the '30's are but thinly represented in comparison with the spate of the last ten years. Of 42 titles concerning Lu Hsiün, for instance, only 7 date from before 1947, and some of these are of little value. On the other hand, there is no undue weighting of the balance in favour of contemporary Communist biographical subjects, and one must concur whole-heartedly with the policy of excluding 'the endless biographies of labour heroes, model farmers, and the like'.

With its neat lay-out and comprehensive index, the book is convenient to use. Scholars will look forward with eagerness to the publication of further charts of these rich resources.

CYRIL BIRCH

Chinese Economic and Political Studies. Special Series. Cambridge, Mass.: Chinese Economic and Political Studies, Harvard University, 1956-7. (Distributed by Harvard University Press.)

HAROLD C. HINTON: *The grain tribute system of China (1845-1911)*. [vii], 163 pp. 1956. \$3.

ELLSWORTH C. CARLSON: *The Kaiping mines (1877-1912)*. [vii], 174 pp. 1957. \$3.

LIANG FANG-CHUNG: *The single-whip method (i-t'iao-pien fa 一條鞭法) of taxation in China translated from the Chinese by Wang Yü-ch'uan*. [vi], 71 pp. 1956. \$2.

These three volumes are among the first results of the Harvard project of Chinese Economic and Political Studies, and each of them in different ways makes a solid contribution to further study of the development of modern China.

Dr. Hinton's book is a study of the breakdown of the Grand Canal in the mid-nineteenth century, the culmination of corruption and retrenchment in the administration of the control of the Yellow River system, and the replacement of the transport of tribute grain by the canal by its transport by sea. The grain tribute was one of the major sources of revenue of the Imperial government, and the progressive collapse of the system illustrates with a wealth of significant detail the difficulties of reform in face of disorder, a chronic deficit, and the vested interests of officials concerned with the existing system. The hesitations of the Manchu government over the acceptance of commutation as a solution of the difficulty, and over the wider use of private enterprise in the provision of grain supplies for the capital, are an aspect of the problem of reform which is brought out clearly in this study.

It is a pity, however, that Dr. Hinton had no opportunity to revise his study, which was written as a doctoral thesis; slight changes in the organization of his material would have made much clearer such aspects of the problem as the extent of commutation, and the comparative prices of rice in Peking and in the tribute-paying provinces. There is also a lack of documentation on the abuses to which the traditional system was prone; but this is a problem felt by all who study the late Manchu and Republican periods of Chinese history, and probably better documentation is impossible in this case as in many others.

Professor Carlson's history of the Kaiping mines is presumably the first in a series of such case-histories of the development of modern Chinese industry. For this reason, his own formulation of the problems involved is worth quoting:

'In the present account of Kaiping, answers to the following questions are sought. To what extent were the promoters of the company willing to introduce Western technology and methods? What problems were encountered in their introduction and to what extent could they be overcome? Did a pre-industrial Chinese environment necessitate modification or abandonment of Western methods? Conversely, what effect did the Kaiping development have on its environment? What was its attitude towards employment of the foreigner and of his capital, and his participation in its

control? To what extent was foreign imperialism an obstacle to the Chinese promoters' aims? What was the reaction of the Chinese when foreigners assumed control of Kaiping during the imperialist era?'

The value of the author's answers to these questions is inevitably uneven: one case-history is not enough to elucidate all the answers even in the single case under discussion. Frequent and interesting comparisons with the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company help, however, to establish tentative generalizations. In particular, three difficulties are clearly brought out in this study. The first is that while Western technology was readily accepted and successfully applied to the running of the mines, there was a much greater reluctance to accept Western ideas of business organization; the Kaiping organization was never independent of the political authorities and indeed could scarcely have existed without the patronage of great officials. The second point is the degree to which the raising of capital was dependent on the credit of individuals and the contributions of family and friends. The third was that the unsettled state of China forced the Chinese entrepreneurs, at two crises of the affairs of the company, to seek foreign protection; and it was this as much as the sinister designs of foreign imperialists (which remain, however, very conspicuous in this story) which led to the eventual transfer of the control of the mines into foreign hands.

In relation to the effects of the development of the enterprise on its economic environment, the author makes the interesting suggestion that supplies of cheap Kaiping coal stimulated or revived local industries; it is to be hoped that Professor Carlson will find time and opportunity to develop this idea.

Professor Liang Fang-chung's article is a careful study of a key subject, the reform of land-tax and corvée in late Ming China. The result of the piecemeal changes which he describes, varying in form as they passed from one province or district to another, was the commutation of the old taxes on land and the old corvée system into silver payments, and their more or less complete union into a single tax chargeable on land and not on persons. On both counts, the change was fundamental. Professor Liang's article, built up from the study of a wide range of local materials and involving the painstaking elucidation of a mass of obscure technical terms, is a research tool of great importance. The original is not available in any English library and so the present translation is doubly welcome.

JOHN GRAY

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- KENNETH BALLHATCHET : *Social policy and social change in western India, 1817-1830*. (London Oriental Series, Vol. 5.) x, 335 pp., front., 2 maps. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 45s.
- MORROE BERGER : *Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt : a study of the higher civil service*. (Princeton Oriental Studies. Social Science, No. 1.) xiii, 231 pp. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press ; London : Oxford University Press, 1957. 38s.
- SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA : *Ollari : a Dravidian speech*. (Department of Anthropology, Government of India. Memoir No. 3, 1956.) x, 78 pp. Delhi : Manager of Publications, 1957. Rs. 6, 9s. 6d.
- SABURI O. BIOBAKU : *The Egba and their neighbours, 1842-1872*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) viii, 128 pp., 4 maps. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1957. 21s.
- G.-H. BOUSQUET and J. SCHACHT (ed.) : *Selected works of C. F. Houck Hurgronje, edited in English and in French*. xxi, 299 pp. Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1957. Guilders 32.50.
- JOHN CHARLES EDWARD BOWEN (tr.) : *The golden pomegranate : a selection from the poetry of the Mogul Empire in India, 1526-1858. With decorations by the author and twelve illustrations in colour by Balai Das*. xvi, 96 pp. Bombay : Thacker & Co., Ltd., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Luzac. £2 10s.)
- F. CANTERA and J. MA. MILLÁS : *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España*. xv, 475 pp., 36 plates. Madrid : [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas], 1956.
- CHAO KUO-CHÜN : *Agrarian policies of mainland China : a documentary study (1949-1956)*. (Chinese Economic and Political Studies. Special Series.) xiii, 276 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : [Chinese Economic and Political Studies, Harvard University], 1957. (Distributed by Harvard University Press \$3.75.)
- ERNST DAMMANN : *Studien zum Kwangali : Grammatik, Texte, Glossar*. (Universität Hamburg. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Bd. 63. Reihe B, Bd. 35.) xi, 184 pp. Hamburg : Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1957. DM. 21.
- EMMANUEL-KAZIM DELLY : *La théologie d'Elie bar-Sénaya ; Étude et traduction de ses Entretiens*. (Studia Urbaniana, I.) [ii], 95 pp. Rome : Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana de Propaganda Fide, 1957.
- SHANTARAM BHALCHANDRA DEO : *History of Jaina monachism from inscriptions and literature*. (Deccan College Dissertation Series, 17.) [ii], xv, 655 pp. Poona : Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1956. Rs. 20.
- D. B. DHANAPALA : *The story of Sinhalese painting*. [vii], 58 pp., front., 4 plates. Maharagama : Saman Press, [1957]. Rs. 5.
- DJAMBATAN : *A world on the move : a history of colonialism and nationalism in Asia and North Africa from the turn of the century to the Bandung Conference, with 675 illustrations*. 264 pp. [including photographs]. Amsterdam : Djambatan, [1957]. Guilders 22.50.
- LOUIS DUMONT : *Hierarchy and marriage alliance in South Indian kinship*. (Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No. 12.) Cover-title, 45 pp. London : Royal Anthropological Institute, 1957. 10s.
- LOUIS DUMONT : *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du sud : organisation sociale et religion des Pramalai Kallar*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Le Monde d'Outre-Mer, Passé et Présent. Première Série. Études, I.) [v], vi, 460 pp., 38 plates. Paris, La Haye : Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £3 2s.)
- SAAD ED DIN FAWZI : *The labour movement in the Sudan, 1935-1955*. (Middle Eastern Monographs, [1].) xiv, 175 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957. 25s.

- J. R. FIRTH : *Papers in linguistics, 1934-1951*. xii, 233 pp., 11 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 35s.
- KARL FRIEDRICH GELDNER : *Der Rig-veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt* *Vierter Teil. Namen- und Sachregister zur Übersetzung dazu Nachträge und Verbesserungen. Aus dem Nachlass des Übersetzers hrsg., geordnet und ergänzt von Johannes Nobel.* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 36.) vii, 271 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press ; London : Oxford University Press ; etc., 1957.
- J. GONDA : *Some observations on the relations between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda a propos of the phrase sīnuḥ sahasaḥ.* (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, I.) [iv], 107 pp. 's-Gravenhage : Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. 18s.)
- ELISE GRILLI : *Sesshu Toyo (1420-1506)*. (Kodansha Library of Japanese Art, No. 10.) [66] pp., 2 plates, 59 facsim. [one on cover only]. Rutland, Vermont, [and] Tokyo, Japan : Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1957. \$1.25.
- S. HOWARD HANSFORD : *The Seligman Collection of oriental art. Vol. I. Chinese, Central Asian and Luristān bronzes and Chinese jades and sculptures.* xiii, 135 pp., front., 80 plates. London : Lund Humphries for the Arts Council of Great Britain, 1957. £8 8s.
- JOHN HARTLEY (ed.) : *Report on current research, spring 1957 : survey of current research on the Middle East.* [vii], 74 pp. Washington, D.C. : The Middle East Institute, 1957.
- H. R. VAN HREKEREN : *The Stone Age of Indonesia.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel XXI.) vii, 141 pp., 47 plates. 's-Gravenhage : Martinus Nijhoff, 1957. Guilders 15.
- J. C. HEESTERMAN : *The ancient Indian royal consecration : the rājasūya described according to the Yajus texts and annotated.* (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, II.) viii, 235 pp. 's-Gravenhage : Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £2.)
- W. B. HENNING (ed.) : *The inscription of Naqš-i Rostam (1-48).* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part III. Pahlavi inscriptions. Vol. II. Private inscriptions of the classical period. Plates. Portfolio II : Plates xxv-xlviii.) [viii] pp., 24 plates. London : Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd. for Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1957. 22s. 6d.
- WILHELM HOENERBACH (ed.) : *Die vulgärarabische Poetik al-Kiṭāb al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī wal-murāḥḥaṣ al-ǧālī des Šafīyaddīn Ḥillī.* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Bd. x.) viii, 92, 214 pp., 2 plates. Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1956. DM. 42.
- L. HOMBURGER : *Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée d'un chapitre sur le sindo-africain.* (Bibliothèque Scientifique.) 343 pp. Paris : Payot, 1957. Fr. 1200.
- E. O. JAMES : *Prehistoric religion : a study in prehistoric archaeology.* 300 pp. London : Thames and Hudson, 1957. 30s.
- ARUNODAY NATVARLAL JANI : *A critical study of Śrīhaṣa's Naiṣadhiyacaritam.* (M.S. University of Baroda Research Series, 2.) xxxii, 281, 60, xxxvi pp. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1957. Rs. 15.
- ANANT GANESH JAVADEKAR : *Approach to reality.* (M.S. University of Baroda Research Series, 1.) xiii, 194 pp. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1957. Rs. 6/4.
- H. R. KLIENEBERGER : *Bibliography of Oceanic linguistics.* (London Oriental Bibliographies, Vol. 1.) xiii, 143 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 45s.
- OSCAR KRAINES : *Israel : the emergence of a new nation.* [ii], 46 pp. Washington, D.C. : Public Affairs Press, [1954]. \$1.

- N. LAHOVARY : *La diffusion des langues anciennes du Proche-Orient : leurs relations avec le basque, le dravidien et les parlers indo-européens primitifs*. 372 pp. + errata slip. Berne : Éditions Francke, 1957. Sw. fr. 19.
- WOLF LESLAU : Arabic loanwords in Argobba (South Ethiopia). [Offprint from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 77, No. 1, 1957.] pp. 38-9. [New Haven, Conn. : American Oriental Society, 1957.]
- WOLF LESLAU : The Arabic loanwords in Gurage (southern Ethiopia). [Offprint from *Arabica*, Tom. III, Fasc. 3, 1956.] pp. 286-84. Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1956.
- WOLF LESLAU : Some mutilated roots in Ethiopic. [Offprint from *Lingua*, Vol. VI, [No.] 3, 1957.] pp. 268-86. Amsterdam : North-Holland Publishing Co., [1957].
- WOLF LESLAU (ed. and tr.) : *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*. (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie [de l'Université de Paris], LXI.) ix, 98 pp. Paris : Institut d'Ethnologie, 1957. Fr. 1000.
- RUDOLF LOEWENTHAL : *The Turkic languages and literatures of Central Asia : a bibliography*. (Central Asiatic Studies, I.) 212 pp. 's-Gravenhage : Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £2 15s.)
- G. P. MALALASEKERA (ed.) : *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. Volume of specimen articles*. xii, 83 pp., front. [Colombo] : Lanka Baudhdha Mendalaya and the Department for Cultural Affairs, Government of Ceylon, 1957. Rs. 4.50.
- M. MAMET : *La langue ntomba telle qu'elle est parlée au Lac Tumba et dans la région avoisinante (Afrique centrale)*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique. Vol. 11.) 377 pp. Tervuren : Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1955.
- J. DE MENASCE (ed.) : *Ostraca and papyri*. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part III. Pahlavi inscriptions. Vol. IV, Ostraca, and Vol. V, Papyri. Plates. Portfolio I : Plates i-xxiv.) [x] pp., 24 plates. London : Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd. for Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1957. 22s. 6d.
- SABATINO MOSCATI : *Ancient Semitic civilizations*. 254 pp., 17 plates [one on dust-jacket only]. London : Elek Books, 1957. 25s.
- ROLAND OLIVER : *Sir Harry Johnston & the scramble for Africa*. xv, 368 pp., front., 18 plates. London : Chatto & Windus, 1957. 30s.
- NICHOLAS POPPE : *The Mongolian monuments in ḥP'ags-pa script. Second edition translated and edited by John R. Krueger*. (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 8.) xii, 147 pp., 12 plates, map. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1957. DM. 30.
- KARL H. POTTER : *The Padārthataṭṭvanirūpaṇam of Raghurāṭha Śīromaṇi (A demonstration of the true nature of the things to which words refer)*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, xvii.) ix, 102 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 40s.)
- CHAIM RABIN : *Qumran studies*. (Institute of Jewish Studies, Manchester. Scripta Judaica, II.) xv, 135 pp. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 21s.
- SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN and CHARLES A. MOORE (ed.) : *A source book in Indian philosophy*. xxix, 684 pp. Princeton : University Press ; Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1957. 40s.
- ERNEST EDMONDSON RAMSAUR, JR. : *The Young Turks : prelude to the Revolution of 1908*. (Princeton Oriental Studies. Social Science, [No.] 2.) xii, 180 pp. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press ; London : Oxford University Press, 1957. 32s.
- Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie*, 1. Année 1955. (École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.) 194 pp. Paris, La Haye : Mouton & Co., 1957.
- R. ROOLVINK (comp.) : *Historical atlas of the Muslim peoples. Compiled by R. Roolvink, with the collaboration of Saleh A. el Ali, Husruin Montés, Mohd. Salim*. xi, 40 pp. Amsterdam : Djambatan, 1957. Guilders 27.50.

- A. DE ROP : *De gesproken woordkunst van de Nkundó*. (Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vol. 13.) 272 pp. Tervuren : Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1956.
- KSHITIS ROY (ed.) : *Liebenthal Festschrift*. (*Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. v, Parts 3 & 4.) xii, 294 pp., 6 plates. Santiniketan : Visvabharati, 1957.
- WALTER RUBEN : *Kālidāsa : the human meaning of his works*. Translated by Joan Becker. 105 pp. + errata sheet. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM. 5.50.
- SYEDAH FATIMA SADEQUE : *Baybars I of Egypt*. xix, 379 pp. Dacca : Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Pakistan, 1956. 42s.
- [KALYAN KUMAR SARKAR] : *Prabodh Chandra Bagchi*. Cover-title, 25 pp. [Calcutta : Nabasakti Press, 1957.]
- VICTOR A. TOHERIKOVER and ALEXANDER FUKS (ed.) : *Corpus papyrorum judaicarum*. Vol. I. xx, 294 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press for the Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Oxford University Press. 96s.)
- WALTER F. VELLA : *Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, iv.) ix, 180 pp., front., plate, 4 maps. Locust Valley, N.Y. : J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, 1957. \$5.
- ROBERT E. WARD (ed.) : *Five studies in Japanese politics*. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Occasional Papers, No. 7.) v, 121 pp. Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1957. \$5.
- MEREDITH WEATHERBY : *Masks*. Text by Seiroku Noma ; English adaptation by Meredith Weatherby. (Arts & Crafts of Japan, No. 1.) [63] pp., 46 photos. Rutland, Vermont, & Tokyo, Japan : Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1957. \$3.
- EGON WELLESZ (ed.) : *Ancient and oriental music*. (New Oxford History of Music, Vol. I.) xxiii, 530 pp., front., 14 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 63s.
- JOSEF WICKI : *Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes S.J. über die Brahmanen und Dharma-Śāstra (Madura 1616)*. Eingeleitet und inhaltlich wiedergegeben. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Missionswissenschaft der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster Westfalen, Ht. 6.) 36 pp. Münster Westf. : Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957. DM. 2.50.

OBITUARY

EVANGELINE DORA EDWARDS

The news of the sudden death, on 29 September 1957, of Professor Edwards caused a sense of acute bereavement not only in the Far East Department, which she had done so much to develop, and in the School as a whole, but also among the great number of friends she had all over the world, many of whom were her former students.

Evangeline Dora Edwards was born on 13 August 1888 as the third daughter of the Reverend John Edwards (1857-1934). She was educated at Redbrooke College, Camborne, and the Islington College. In 1913 she set out for China, having first taken a preparatory course at the St. Colm's Missicnary College in Edinburgh. In China she enrolled at once at the Peking Language School to study Chinese. Two years later, in 1915, she became Principal of the Women's Normal College in Mukden, which was a training college for Chinese teachers. She held this post until 1919, continuing at the same time her Chinese studies, and in 1918 was awarded the Diploma in Chinese (Mančarin and Classical) by the Peking Language School.

Soon after the end of the Great War she returned to this country, and in 1921 accepted a lectureship at the School. In spite of heavy teaching commitments she registered as an external student of the University of London, obtaining the B.A. Hons. (Class I) in Chinese in 1924, and the M.A. in Chinese (with distinction) in 1925.

The next years were devoted to a thorough study of T'ang fiction, which resulted in a detailed analysis, with selected translations, of the famous *Tarnqday-tsongshu*. For this work the University conferred on her the degree of Doctor of Literature. The same year, 1931, witnessed the conferment on her of the title of Reader in Chinese, an appointment which she held at the School until 1939, when she was appointed Professor of Chinese. From 1937, when Sir Reginald Johnston retired, to 1939, she was Acting Head of the Far East Department. Her appointment in 1939 to the Chair of Chinese was coupled with the Headship of the Far East Department which she held until 1953. In 1951 she became Acting Head of the Percival David Foundation, a post which she held until her retirement from the School at the end of the Session 1954-55.

Professor Edwards' preparatory studies in China (1913-19) laid the foundation for her work as a teacher of Chinese. This period, from her appointment in 1921 to the acceptance of the Acting Headship of the Far East Department in 1939, was marked by her studies on the T'ang period. They culminated in the publication of her *Chinese prose literature of the T'ang period* (2 vols., London, 1937-38).

'This work', to quote from an assessment written by Professor A. Forke, 'is a most valuable contribution to the history of Chinese literature. It adds to our knowledge of the T'ang period, of which so far we knew only the classical lyrics and the artificial prose works in high style. From the huge collection



EVANGELINE DORA EDWARDS

forming the ground work of the book we learn to know the light literature of this golden age of poetry, especially works of fiction. Many stories are translated in full, others analysed. They contain many interesting features and show us the people of T'ang times much more natural and human than in their conventional poetry.'

Further contributions included her translation into English of M. Granet's famous *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine* (London, 1932), articles on T'ang literature in the *Bulletin*, and reviews written for the latter journal and that of the Royal Asiatic Society. Jointly with Professor C. O. Blagden she published 'A Chinese vocabulary of Malacca Malay words and phrases' (*BSOS*, vi, 3, 1931) and 'A Chinese vocabulary of Cham words and phrases' (*BSOS*, x, 1, 1939).

All through her career, Professor Edwards was closely linked with the China Society. She served on the Council from 1925 to 1944, took on the Honorary Secretaryship from 1928 to 1929, and lectured to the Society on several occasions.

In the following period she became increasingly absorbed in administrative work generally and in the building up of the Far East Department in particular. Devoting her whole energy to these activities, she would be found at her desk from early morning to late in the day. In these years, she was very much concerned with the planning of the new building of the School and many will recall her never-failing assistance during the various moves of the School to temporary quarters that followed after its home in Finsbury Circus was given up. They included the move just after the beginning of the War to Christ's College, Cambridge, and from there back to London, and eventually the move to Bloomsbury.

Early in the War, as a result of the growing demand for Service courses in Far Eastern languages, the Far East Department was transferred to Sussex Square. Under Professor Edwards' headship the Department then became a practically self-contained unit of the School, consisting of three strong sections, Chinese, Japanese, and Malay. A great expansion of staff took place, and the student population amounted to almost 800. The smooth working between military and civilian authorities, between staff and students, and—last but not least—between the various members of staff, widely differing in background and temperament, was a great tribute to Professor Edwards' personal influence and inspiration. Through a rare combination of kindness and firmness she commanded universal respect and admiration. Her personal interest in the welfare of staff and students won her innumerable friends, and her subtle assessment of the abilities and potentialities of the students under her care proved invaluable to government and academic departments alike when, in the post-war period, new posts were established and vacancies had to be filled. In the same manner she gave most valuable assistance to the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures, on which she served from its inception.

•

In spite of her heavy administrative commitments Professor Edwards was able to make further contributions to sinology. In the series 'What did they teach?' her study of Confucius (1940) took its place beside the volumes on Christ (by Dr. W. R. Matthews) and Muhammad (by D. S. Margoliouth). Her *Dragon book* (1938), written in lighter vein, included a great deal of her own translations from the Chinese, and was followed up (in 1948) by a similar anthology of the Far East, South East Asia, and the Pacific, *Bamboo, lotus and palm*. She also contributed articles to the *Bulletin*, and to *Asia Major*, on whose Editorial Board she served from its revival in this country as a British journal of Far Eastern studies in 1941 until her retirement in 1955.

Soon after the close of the War, in 1946, Professor Edwards went to the Far East, South East Asia, and the Pacific to follow up the training of Service candidates by studying on the spot the results of the training they had received. It seemed, in fact, essential to consider the desirability of changes in the conduct of Service courses in the light of recent experience. The results of her investigations were included in a very detailed report which received full approval from the Services concerned.

In 1949, Professor Edwards again visited the Far East, wishing to gain access to source material in relation to a study on T'ang economy which she was preparing. Little did she think that before completing these studies, she would be called upon once more to place at the disposal of the School the rich experience gained in earlier years. The call came as a result of the presentation, by Sir Percival David, to the University of his world-famous and unique collection of Chinese ceramics. Once it was decided that this collection should be associated with the School as the 'Percival David Foundation' it was evident to the authorities of the University and the School alike that, pending the filling of the Chair of Chinese Art and Archaeology, nobody would be better qualified to assume the Acting Headship of the Foundation than Professor Edwards. Though fully realizing that acceptance of this post would force her eventually to relinquish the Department whose true fostering mother she had been for so many years, Professor Edwards accepted without a moment's hesitation and fully justified all expectations. To quote the words of Sir Ralph Turner, spoken at the opening ceremony in June 1952: 'By her imaginative understanding of the academic problems involved, her administrative ability, and her unerring taste she has already in these early formative days set a lasting imprint on the Foundation'.

Looking back it would seem, however, that this, her last great work for the School, had taxed Professor Edwards' strength unduly. For the last two years of her service, she suffered from an illness that gave anxiety to her colleagues and friends. Nevertheless, after her retirement in 1955, her doctors allowed her to set out on a further journey to the Far East, which she began early in 1956. After little more than one year during which she saw many old friends in Malaya, Hong Kong, Japan, and Formosa, she decided to cut short her

journey and return to this country. While enjoying apparently much better health than when she left England, Professor Edwards passed away suddenly just after she had made arrangements for a permanent residence in London.

Over and above the many voices which have spoken and will continue to speak with admiration and great affection of Professor Edwards, it is befitting to recall in conclusion the authoritative statement which the Director of the School, Sir Ralph Turner, made at the Annual Ceremony in 1955 :

‘ Of the service which Professor Edwards, appointed first in 1921, thirty-four years ago, has rendered the School, as Lecturer in Chinese, then Reader, then Professor of Chinese and Head of the Department of the Far East, it would be almost impossible to make an over-estimate. Her organization of the war-time courses in Japanese, Chinese and Malay for many hundreds of Service students was a major contribution to the war effort of the country. Her public-spirited decision to relinquish the Headship of a department in which her interests and affections were deeply involved and to accept the Acting Headship of the Percival David Foundation alone made it possible for the School and the University to accept Sir Percival David’s gift of his Collection of Chinese ceramics and to obtain from the Treasury the funds to meet the large capital and recurrent expenditure involved in its housing and display. Professor Edwards takes with her the esteem, the affection and the good wishes of all her colleagues and of many generations of students.’

W. SIMON

At the service in memory of Professor Edwards held at Christ Church, Woburn Square, on 16 October, the Director of the School gave the following address :

Our colleague, Eve Edwards, was to all who knew her a very dear friend ; and to my family and myself a beloved godmother. We know how greatly her family is missing her.

She joined the School in 1921, when many of us here were youngsters, and to the School and University for the rest of her life she gave her whole mind and effort. She drew both young and old, and the most dissimilar of colleagues into a close circle of friendship, and fashioned a Department of Far Eastern studies which now grows as a living memorial to her.

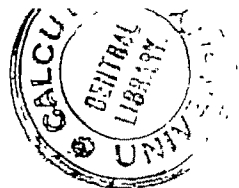
She was a delightfully sincere, tolerant, and gracious lady ; a lady courageous, endowed also with a strong, practical grasp of affairs. She flinched from no task, no enterprise, however severe. She took a lead on the outbreak of war in moving the School to Cambridge, and later back to London. She was magnificently successful in organizing war-time courses for young men from the Services, always winning their respect and affection and opening to them new worlds, new opportunities for which, I know, they are deeply and ever-lastingly grateful. She had a sure, indeed perfect, sense of taste, balanced and

economical. Throughout the School she has left the signs of her presence ; the delicate Chinese painting over the hearth of the Senior Common Room, the pictures about our walls, the elegance of the Percival David Foundation, which she had brought into being.

Above all, Eve Edwards had a genius for loving friendship, a capacity for creating, sustaining, and releasing kindness. In her many travels, the world over, which she so much enjoyed, no birthday was ever passed by, no friend forgotten ; and no friend forgot her.

The war had imposed a greater strain than she had realized. Illness came, almost overwhelming illness, but from it she made a brave recovery. On a sunny afternoon, a few days before she died, we spent some hours with her in the new London home which she was making. She was the tranquil, happy person we had always known, earnest in spirit, whose mood is best conveyed in the words of one of her own translations from the Chinese,

A soul recedes into the Void ; a heart
Into the past that has no end ;
A life's unfinished and imperfect tasks
New ages must complete and mend.



BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXI: PART 2
1958

Published by
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

CONTENTS

ARTICLES	PAGE
D. S. RICE : Studies in Islamic metal work—VI	225
R. B. SERJEANT : Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works	254
P. M. HOLT : The Sudanese Mahdia and the outside world : 1881-9	276
V. L. MÉNAGE : ' The Map of Hajji Ahmed ' and its makers	291
W. B. HENNING : A spurious folktale	315
D. N. MACKENZIE : Pashto verse	319
WALTER SIMON : A note on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription	334
D. C. LAU : The treatment of opposites in <i>Lao Tzŭ</i> 老子	344
H. L. SHORTO : The Kyaikmaraw inscriptions	361
G. B. MILNER : Aspiration in two Polynesian languages	368
F. R. PALMER : The noun in Bilin	376
NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS	
A. S. TRITTON : The Old Testament in Muslim Spain	392
J. BROUGH : Uṣas and Mater Matuta	395
REVIEWS	
Sabatino Moscati : <i>I predecessori d'Israele</i> . By J. B. SEGAL	400
<i>Sifra or Torat kohanim according to Codex Assemani LXVI</i> . By S. A. BIRNBAUM	400
<i>The Kaufmann Haggadah : facsimile edition</i> .—Alexander Scheiber : <i>The Kaufmann Haggadah</i> . By S. A. BIRNBAUM	401
Ḥaiim Rosén : <i>Ḥayrit shelanu</i> . By J. B. SEGAL	403
Wilhelm Hoenerbach (ed.) : <i>Die vulgärarabische Poetik al-Kitāb al-'Āṣil al-ḥālī wal-murabbaṣ al-ḡalī des Šafīyaddīn Ḥillī</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	405
Ján Bakoš (ed. and tr.) : <i>Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne) d'après son œuvre Aš-Šifā'</i> . By F. RAHMAN	407
E. I. J. Rosenthal (ed. and tr.) : <i>Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic</i> . By SIMON VAN DEN BERGH	409
R. Roelvink (comp.) : <i>Historical atlas of the Muslim peoples</i> . By DONALD PITCHER	410
Pierre Cachia : <i>Tāḥā Ḥusayn : his place in the Egyptian literary renaissance</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	411
Morroe Berger : <i>Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt : a study of the higher civil service</i> . By B. LEWIS	412
C. J. Edmonds : <i>Kurds, Turks and Arabs : politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	414
Björn Collinder : <i>Fenno-Ugric vocabulary : an etymological dictionary of the Uralic languages</i> . By D. SINOR	415
Bo Wickman : <i>The form of the object in the Uralic languages</i> . By D. SINOR	416
Kenneth Ballhatchet : <i>Social policy and social change in western India, 1817-1830</i> . By HOLDEN FURBER	416
Louis Dumont : <i>Une sous-caste de l'Inde du sud : organisation sociale et religion des Pramalai Kallar</i> .—Louis Dumont : <i>Hierarchy and marriage alliance in south Indian kinship</i> . By ADRIAN C. MAYNE	417
Geoffrey Bowras (tr.) : <i>Confucius, by Shigeki Kaizuka</i> . By D. C. LAU	419
Søren Egerod : <i>The Lungtu dialect</i> . By G. B. DOWNER	420
S. Howard Hansford : <i>The Seligman Collection of oriental art. Vol. I</i> . By BASIL GRAY	421
Robert J. Smith and John B. Cornell : <i>Two Japanese villages</i> . By R. P. DORN	423
B. Sohrieke : <i>Indonesian sociological studies, part two. Ruler and realm in early Java</i> . By D. G. E. HALL	425
Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing : <i>Elite communication in Samoa : a study of leadership</i> . By G. B. MILNER	425

	PAGE
Amaat Burassens : <i>Inleiding tot de studie van de kongolese Bantoetalen.</i> By MALCOLM GUTHRIE	427
Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vols. 3, Tom. I, 10-14. By MALCOLM GUTHRIE	427
A. N. Tucker and J. Tompo Ole Mpaayei : <i>A Maasai grammar, with vocabulary.</i> By OSWIN KOHLER	428
B. W. Andrzejewski (ed.) : <i>Hikmad Soomaali, by Muuse Hqaji Ismaaciil Galaal.</i> By A. N. TUCKER	430
Enrico Cerulli : <i>Somalia : scritti vari editi ed inediti. I.</i> By EDWARD ULLENDOERFF	431
Roland Oliver : <i>Sir Harry Johnston & the scramble for Africa.</i> By H. MOYSE-BARTLETT	432
Ernst Dammann : <i>Studien zum Kwangali : Grammatik, Texte, Glossar.</i> By GUY ATKINS	434
International African Institute : <i>Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. one.</i> By W. H. WHITELEY	434
Irvine Richardson : <i>Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. two.</i> By F. D. D. WINSTON	436

SHORT NOTICES

Sabatino Moscati : <i>Ancient Semitic civilizations</i>	437
Charles Pellat : <i>Introduction à l'arabe moderne.</i> By R. B. SERJEANT	437
Nicola A. Ziadeh : <i>Whither North Africa ?</i> By P. M. HOLT	438
Majid Khadduri : <i>War and peace in the law of Islam</i>	438
<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, No. 1</i>	438
G.-H. Bousquet and J. Schacht (ed.) : <i>Selected works of C. Snouck Hurgronje</i>	439
Arnold J. Toynbee : <i>A study of history. Abridgement of Vols. VII-X by D. C. Somervell</i>	439
C. G. Simpson : <i>The Turkish language of Soviet Azerbaijan.</i> By NATALIE WATHERSON	439
Jakob Wackernagel : <i>Altindische Grammatik. Nachträge zu Bd. II, 1 von Albert Debrunner</i>	440
K. Krishnamoorthy (tr.) : <i>Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka.</i> —Bishnupada Bhattacharya (ed.) : <i>Dhvanyāloka of Anandavardhana. (Uddyota I, Uddyota II.)</i> By J. BROUGH	440
Raniero Gnoli (ed.) : <i>Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters. Part I</i>	441
Armand Minard : <i>Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins : recherches sur le Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.</i> By J. BROUGH	441
Cecil Bendall (ed.) : <i>Āśikṣāsamyuccaya : a compendium of Buddhist teaching compiled by Āntideva</i>	442
Vāśudevaśaraṇ Agravāl : <i>Bhārat-sāvitrī, Mahābhārat kā ek navin evam sār-garbhī adhyayan (Ādi-parv or Virāt-parv tak)</i>	442
U. N. Ghoshal : <i>Studies in Indian history and culture.</i> By A. L. BASHAM	442
Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri : <i>Ethnic settlements in ancient India (a study on the Puranic lists of the peoples of Bharatavarṣa). Part I—northern India.</i> By A. L. BASHAM	443
Sir Charles Fawcett : <i>The English factories in India. Vols. III-IV (New series).</i> By K. A. BALLHATCHETT	443
John Charles Edward Bowen : <i>The golden pomegranate : a selection from the poetry of the Mogul Empire in India, 1526-1858</i>	444
Glen William Baxter : <i>Index to the imperial register of tz'u prosody (Ch'in-ting tz'u-p'u)</i>	444
Arthur Waley : <i>Yuan Mei, eighteenth century Chinese poet</i>	444
Alan J. A. Elliott : <i>Chinese spirit-medium cults in Singapore</i>	445
Erich Haenisch : <i>Sinomongolische Glossare. I. Das Hua-i ih-yü.</i> By C. R. BAWDEN	445
Robert E. Ward (ed.) : <i>Five studies in Japanese politics</i>	446
Graham Irwin : <i>Nineteenth-century Borneo : a study in diplomatic rivalry.</i> By C. D. COWAN	446
G. J. Held (ed. and tr.) : <i>Waropense teksten (Geelvinkbaai, noord Nieuw-Guinea)</i>	447
H. R. Klieneberger (comp.) : <i>Bibliography of Oceanic linguistics</i>	447
Johannes Ittmann : <i>Volkskundliche und religiöse Begriffe im nördlichen Waldland von Kamerun</i>	448
L. W. Lanham : <i>A study of Gtonga of Inhambane</i>	448
Albert Jozef de Rop : <i>Syntaxis van het Lomongo</i>	448
L. Homburger : <i>Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent. Nouvelle édition</i>	448

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Editorial Board

Professor J. Brough, M.A., D.LITT.
(Chairman)

Professor M. Guthrie, PH.D., B.Sc., A.R.S.M.

Miss E. J. A. Henderson, B.A.

Professor W. B. Henning, DR.PHIL., F.B.A.

Professor B. Lewis, B.A., PH.D.

J. D. Pearson, Esq., M.A.

Professor C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D.

Professor W. Simon, DR.PHIL., D.LIT., F.B.A.

Editorial Secretary: Miss D. M. Johnson, M.A.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1. Articles, Notes and Communications, and Notices of Books should be submitted in typescript.

Offprints of articles, from Volume XIV onwards, may be purchased from the Editorial Secretary. (A list of offprints available for sale may be obtained from the Editorial Secretary.)

All communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to the Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

STUDIES IN ISLAMIC METAL WORK—VI¹

By D. S. RICE

(PLATES I–XVI)

THE purpose of these 'SIMW', as also of some papers which have appeared under different titles in this *Bulletin*² and elsewhere,³ is to clear the ground for the preparation of a *Handbook of early Islamic metal work*. My aim is to broaden the basis on which the writing of such a handbook (covering the period from the rise of Islam to the end of the fourteenth century) can be attempted, by submitting unpublished and significant material in the form of brief, but detailed, monographs. I hope that readers will call my attention to errors and omissions. The supporting illustrations (which, unless otherwise stated, are my own) form an essential part of such an undertaking, and I am most grateful to the Editorial Board of *BSOAS* for allowing a generous number of plates and line-drawings to be reproduced in each issue. In order to make the best use of available space, I am confining the illustrations (but for very few exceptions) to unpublished pieces and refer, whenever possible, to available reproductions.

This instalment will deal with some early bronze and brass caskets, which have not been studied before. The earliest Islamic caskets which have escaped destruction come to us from Spain. They are made of silver and mostly gilt and adorned with rich niello decorations. The best known of these is a work in the Cathedral-treasure of Gerona, executed in gilt repoussé silver. This rectangular casket (39 × 25 cm.) was made to the order of al-Ḥakam II for his heir apparent, Hishām, between 354 and 366 (965–76).⁴ Its shape and proportions, and those of two others which are now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid,⁵ closely follow the shapes and proportions of ivory caskets with gabled lids, of which we possess a fairly large number.

No silver caskets are known to us from the Eastern lands until the advent of the Seljuqs. The finest were found in a hoard in Persia and were shown

¹ For Parts I–V, see *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 564–78; xv, 1, 1953, 61–79; xv, 2, 1953, 229–38; xv, 3, 1953, 489–503; xvii, 2, 1955, 206–31.

² 'The brasses of Badr al-din Lu'lu', *BSOAS*, xiii, 3, 1951, 627–34; 'Two unusual Mamlūk metal works', *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 487–500.

³ 'The earliest dated "Mosul" candlestick', *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1949, 334–40; 'Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawṣilī', *Ars Orientalis*, ii, 1957, 283–326. A special type of candlestick and some iconographic themes borrowed from the West are examined in 'Seasons and labors of the months in Islamic art', *Ars Orientalis*, i, 1954, 1–39.

⁴ E. Lóvi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Paris-Leiden, 1931, p. 185, No. 191; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, p. 157, fig. 124; M. Gómez-Moreno, *El arte árabe español hasta los Almohades* (*Ars Hispaniae*, iii), Madrid, 1951, p. 337, pl. 399a; G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, ii, p. 17, fig. 220—see also other examples there (ii, p. 19).

⁵ cf. Gómez-Moreno, op. cit., pl. 399b, and Zaki M. Hasan, *Atlas of Moslem decorative arts*, Cairo, 1956, fig. 542.

at the Persian exhibition held in London in 1931.¹ Another example, later and of less distinguished execution, is in the Louvre (OA 2773), and yet another was in the Brummer galleries; I do not know its subsequent history. In a class by itself—both for the quality of its workmanship and its unusual *décor*—is a splendid silver casket in the treasure of St. Mark's in Venice. It too was shown at the Persian exhibition in 1931² and labelled 'Persian 12th century', a classification which seems to me more than doubtful and with which I intend to deal in a separate paper.

The brass and bronze caskets, less often melted down for the sake of precious metal than their silver counterparts, are more numerous. There is one shape in particular of which a specimen can be seen in almost every museum which has a collection of Islamic metal work. Caskets of this type are cast in brass or bronze and they are narrower on top than at the base. Their legs are cast together with the boxes and their lids are bevelled and secured by two hinges on one of the lid's long sides, and a hasp on the other long side. They range in date from the late twelfth century to the late fourteenth, and practically all are Persian. The earliest published example in this category belonged to F. R. Martin who gave good reproductions showing three of its sides in his text-less *Ältere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient* (pl. 19), published in Stockholm in 1902 and which is now quite a rarity. Unaccountably, he classified it as (?) Damascene and of the fifteenth century. This piece is now in the National Museum, Stockholm (No. 60/1899). Its sober, well-executed ornament which consists of medallions filled with interlace designs, stylized vases with ornamental vegetation, and bands of decorative Kufic is typical of the late twelfth century work which one associates with Persia, and in particular with Khurāsān.

One of the earliest thirteenth-century examples of this type of container belongs to the Berlin Museum.³ A somewhat later specimen is in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁴ and three more (still unpublished, to which I propose to return on a later occasion) are in the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh.⁵ But perhaps the finest and most original of these thirteenth-century caskets was recently acquired by the British Museum. It was previously in the Paul Garnier Collection.⁶ Later, fourteenth-century caskets of this type, are even more numerous. As examples one may again quote exhibits in the British Museum,⁷ the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁸ and the Hermitage,⁹ but the list could easily be lengthened.

¹ cf. *A survey of Persian art* (ed. A. U. Pope), London, 1939, vol. VI, pl. 352A.

² *Persian art: an illustrated souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, pl. 21. No. 32K; also G. Migeon, op. cit., II, pp. 16 ff.

³ E. Kuhnel, op. cit., p. 150, fig. 118.

⁴ *Survey*, VI, pl. 1320.

⁵ Nos. 1890-328, 1879-15-7, and 1890-329.

⁶ Reproduced in G. Migeon, *Exposition des arts musulmans*, Paris, 1903, pl. 18.

⁷ *Survey*, VI, pl. 1360B, and D. Barrett, *Islamic metal work in the British Museum*, London, 1949, pl. 37.

⁸ *Survey*, VI, pl. 1359.

⁹ cf. N. I. Vasselovsky, *Geratsky bronzovuy kotelok*, St. Petersburg, 1910, pp. 20 f., figs. 6-7.

During the fourteenth century, Persian metal workers also produced more extravagant shapes. One of these, in the Harari collection (now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo)¹ is octagonal and has a high lid whose bevelled edges are as wide as the sides of the casket itself. Others, dodecagonal and with domed lids, are in the Louvre,² the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (unpublished), and the Saint Louis Art Museum.³ All these 'unorthodox' caskets rest on their bases without the support of feet. So does a rectangular box with sharply slanting sides and a shallow, semi-circular casket, both in the

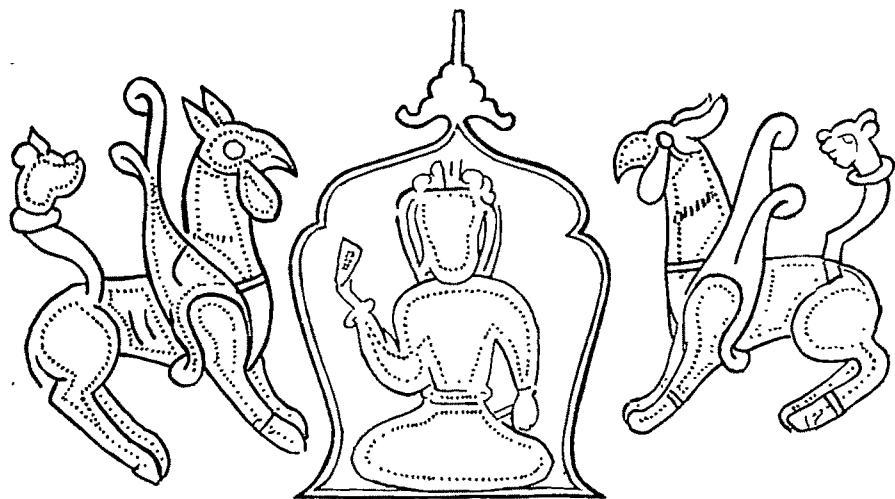


FIG. 1.

Harari Collection.⁴ The first is of the fourteenth and the second of the thirteenth century and both are, in all probability, Persian. In a class apart—and (for the sake of its exceptionally fine inlaid *décor*) deserving to be treated in another context—is a circular casket in the Louvre.⁵ It has a box shaped like a distinctive type of North-west Persian candlestick⁶ and a low, gently curved, convex lid. But the pieces which I wish to present here are all earlier and in some aspects unique.

1. A CASKET OF ŠĀ'ID IBN AḤMAD AL-FAQĪH

This work has never been reproduced but its master-signature has received brief mention in the *Répertoire* of Arabic inscriptions.⁷ It was

¹ *Survey*, vi, pl. 1300A.

² *ibid*, pl. 1362, also G. Migeon, *L'Orient musulman*, Paris, 1922, pl. 28, No. 85.

³ *Survey*, vi, pl. 1361.

⁴ *ibid.*, pls. 1305A and C.

⁵ cf. G. Migeon, *Exposition*, 1903, pl. 22; *idem*, *L'Orient musulman*, pl. 25, fig. 82, *Survey*, vi, pl. 1357C.

⁶ For examples of this type of candlestick, see D. S. Rice, 'The seasons and labors of the month in Islamic art', *Ars Orientalis*, i, 1954, pls. 7-10.

⁷ *RCEA*, xi, No. 4367.

previously in the possession of Messrs. Sassoon of Paris and is now in a private collection. The casket is made of cast brass and is decorated with traced and silver-inlaid designs (pls. I-III, V). It has a rectangular base (13.5 × 10 cm.) and rests on four, low, circular brass feet (diam. 2 cm. ; h. 0.6 cm.) of which one is now missing (pl. IIIb). It has perpendicular sides, a fact which at once distinguishes it from the group of caskets discussed above, whose tops are always narrower and shorter than their bases and which look like truncated, oblong pyramids. Our casket is 12 cm. high and the lid (now missing) covered only 6.2 cm. of its 10 cm.-wide top. Traces of the two hinges which secured it

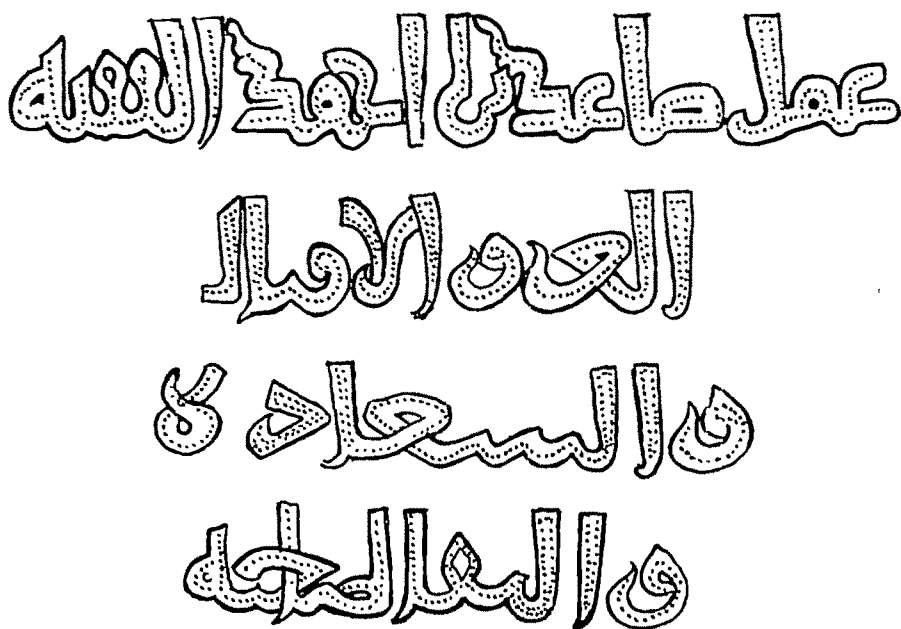


FIG. 2.

are clearly visible (pl. IIIa).¹ Two small brass knobs completed the decoration of the top (the place where one is missing is disfigured by rough soldering). An almost exact replica of such a casket made in glazed, moulded pottery belongs to the John Huntington Collection in the Cleveland Museum of Art (No. 162.15) (pl. IVc).² As is the case in similar pottery imitations of metal vessels, most of the details are slavishly copied ; here : the low feet, the dummy lock, and even the knobs and the three-quarter lid (now missing) which probably pivoted on a metal wire. The pottery imitation is a work of the late twelfth

¹ This arrangement obviated the need of fixing the hinges to the rear wall of the casket which was not, consequently, disfigured (pl. Ib).

² I am indebted to Miss Dorothy G. Shepherd, Curator of Textiles and Near Eastern Art in the Cleveland Museum of Art, for the photograph here reproduced. The measurements of the pottery casket are : l. 17.5 cm. ; w. 15.7 cm. ; h. 20.1 cm.

century and roughly contemporary with our casket. But we have a much earlier example in ivory. This is the famous casket from Carrión de los Condes (Palencia) now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid,¹ which was made at Mansūriya for the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz between 341 and 362 (952-72).² Apart from its proportions, which are slightly different, the ivory casket has a number of familiar features: the partial lid pivoting on hinges which are secured to the fixed portion of the roof, low feet, and a pair of knobs at both extremities of the rear wall.

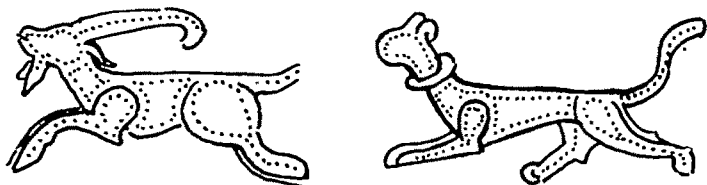


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

The brass casket which occupies us here seems to be the earliest extant example of this shape. But it is its *décor* which has a special claim to our attention. The front wall (pl. Ia) shows in the centre a double-ogee medallion with a conspicuous finial, housing a cross-legged musician who is seen playing a violin (*kamanja*) or so his gesture seems to indicate, for the instrument itself has vanished. On either side of the medallion are winged griffins whose tails end in heads of little felines (fig. 1). Framing this decorative composition is an epigraphic band in cursive script (1·8 cm. wide) set against a tightly-wound scroll with sparse foliage (fig. 2). In a prominent position in the upper line: the signature of the craftsman عمل صاعد بن احمد الفقيه 'Work of Šā'id

¹ cf. José Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes de occidente*, II, Madrid, 1940, pl. VI, pp. 128-9, No. 9.

² For a top view see G. Migeon, *Manuel*, I, p. 355, fig. 167.

ibn Ahmad al-Faqih' (without diacritical points). Cursive though the letters in this signature be, they are clearly strongly influenced by Kufic lettering and have angular characteristics which do not appear in the remainder of the band which contains only the customary blessings: العز والاقبال والسعادة والبقا لصاحبه 'Glory, and success, and happiness, and continuance to its owner'.

The two side-walls of the casket (pl. IIa-b) are framed, to the height of the front wall, by narrow bands of Kufic texts. These are interrupted at the point where the sides of the box are raised, to receive the now missing lid. The

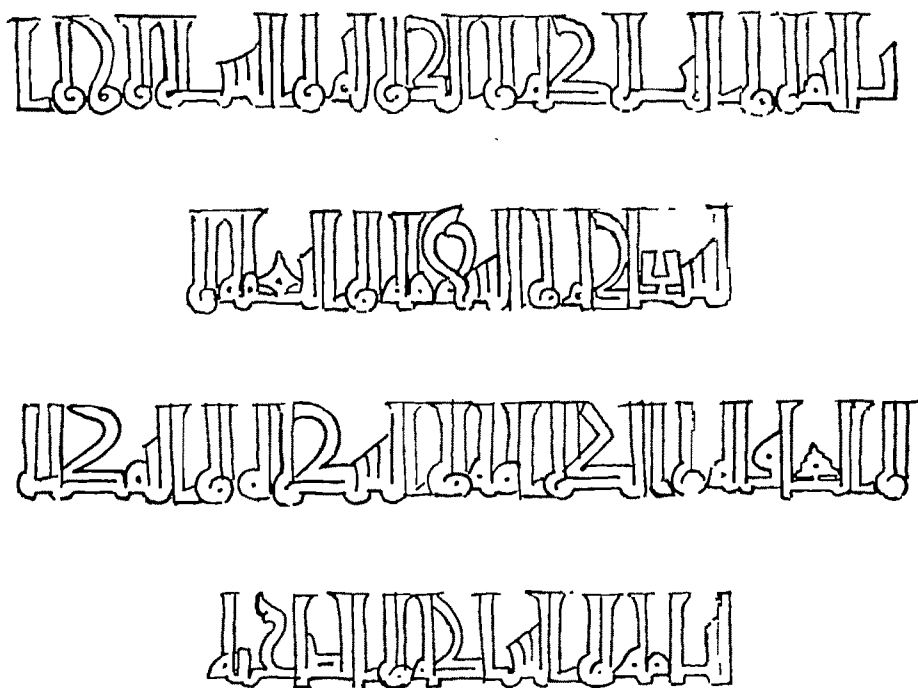


FIG. 5.

higher portion is marked by a seven-petalled rosette surmounted on one side by a cheetah (pl. IIa) (complete with collar) pursuing a long-horned gazelle on the other (pl. IIb and fig. 3).¹ On each side-wall, in the central field, is a palmette-shaped medallion with wreath-like frame enclosing a small, seated figure flanked by two truncated dragons. Four round medallions enclosing the identical motif can be seen on the famous Bobrinskoy bucket of A.D. 1163 in the Hermitage (fig. 4).² The iconographic type is common, the place of the dragons being often taken by lions, as in variations on the theme of the Prophet

¹ In this figure the cheetah is shown reversed to reconstruct the basic motif.

² Vesselovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 1, pls. I, VII, VIII.

Daniel. It is found both in Eastern and Western art.¹ The most elaborate Islamic example could once be seen on the Talisman Gate at Baghdad.²

But it is the rear wall of the casket which offered Šā'id al-Faḡih the largest surface to decorate (11·3 × 13·5 cm.) (pl. Ib). Unimpeded by the hasp which cut into the front or by the handles which had to be fixed to the sides, he was

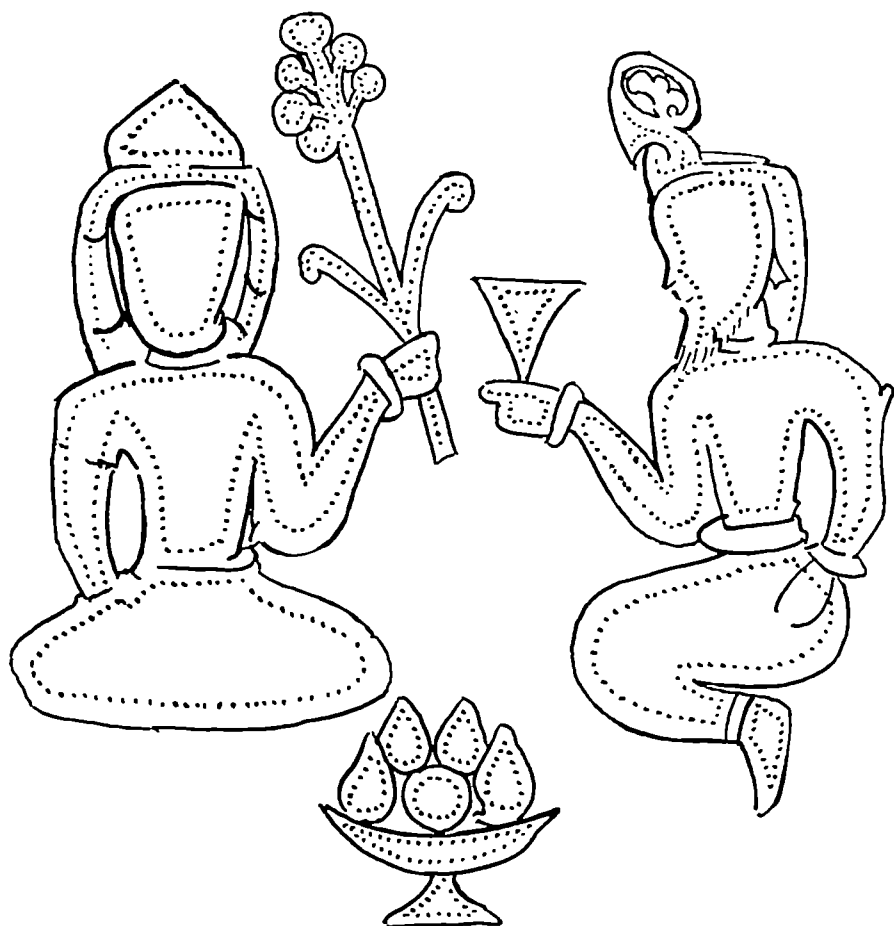


FIG. 6.

able to display prominently, in the centre of the field, a large circular medallion which he enhanced with four ornamental knots (pl. V). Kufic bands—identical in style and tenor with those on the narrow sides of the casket—frame the

¹ For a debased type see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Cairo, 1931, pl. XXXVII, No. 4632. For Western examples cf. e.g. T. D. Kendrick, *The Sutton Hoo ship burial*, London, 1947, p. 56 and pl. 18. For an Islamic example on a casket see the above quoted truncated-pyramid casket in the Harari collection, *Survey*, vi, pl. 1305A.

² cf. M. van Berchem in Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, I, Berlin, 1911, pp. 34 ff., pls. IX, X.

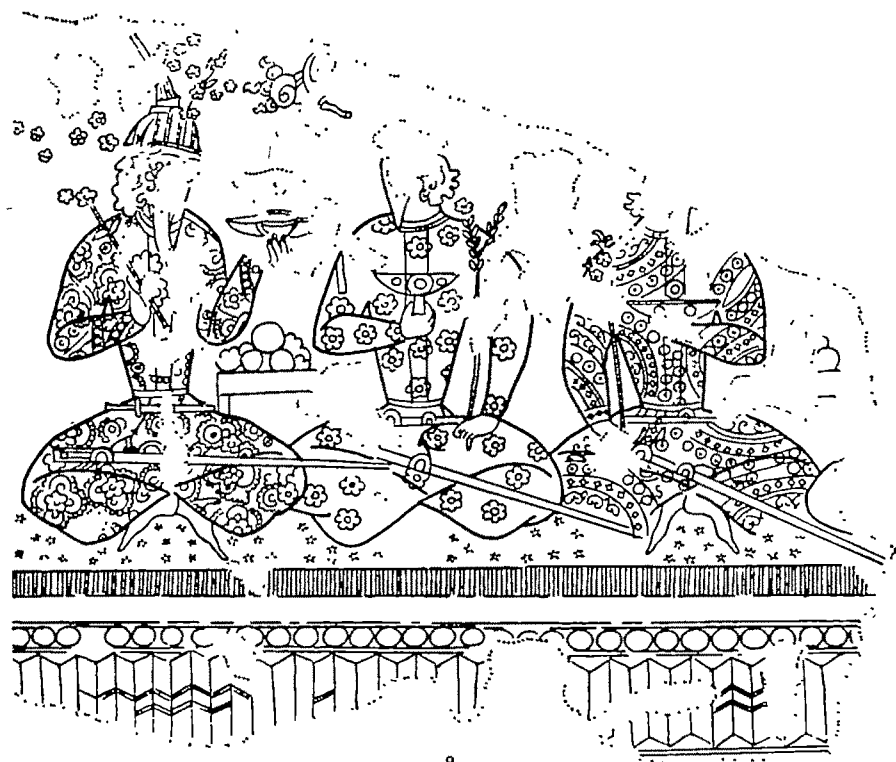
rear wall (fig. 5). The central medallion, displayed for further emphasis on a blank surface, contains two male figures (pl. V and fig. 6). One, seated cross-legged and shown frontally, is wearing a conical headdress and is holding a long stalk with flowers in a ceremonial manner as one would hold a sceptre. The second man is shown in profile; he is bearded and has a diadem- or tiara-type headgear; his right hand is lifting a beaker in what appears to be some ceremonial gesture rather than the ordinary act of drinking. On the ground between the two figures is a stem-cup full of fruit and the remainder of the medallion is filled with winding scrolls and some leaves. The silver inlay of the figures has almost completely vanished and the lines seen on the surfaces now revealed (but intended to be hidden) may be the work of some later owner.

Scenes depicting revellers and all kinds of entertainers are among the commonest motifs used by Islamic metal workers. But is the scene depicted in our medallion just one of these stock-in-trade themes? I doubt it. I know of no other example in which a reveller carries such a large stalk of flowers so conspicuously displayed.¹ This type has obviously nothing to do with the very common motif of a male figure clutching a small bunch of flowers. While I am unable to find a parallel for this scene in Islamic art, there is one of compelling similarity among the frescoes recently discovered by Soviet archaeologists in Pyandzhikent (Tadjikistan) (fig. 7a-b) and dated by them on the ground of coins found during the excavation, to the period shortly before the Muslim conquest of Transoxania, to the middle of the seventh century A.D.² The frescoes of Pyandzhikent decorate sanctuaries devoted to a cult whose syncretistic nature appears obvious, but whose precise designation and ritual elude us. The costumes are those of Sogdian princes depicted on other frescoes from Central Asia which were previously known³ and the vessels held by the participants in these rituals (?) or feasts (?) are actually extant among Sasanian objects in various collections. Artistically, the frescoes of Pyandzhikent seem to belong to a provincial school strongly under the spell of Sasanian art. It is Sasanian art which in the last analysis also provided the model for the scene depicted so conspicuously on our casket. Along with a number of other ancient elements (some stemming from the arts of the ancient Orient) it may have survived in the pattern-books of Islamic artists—long after its original significance had been obscured and forgotten by the passage of time. It is not surprising to find the motif in the *décor* of a casket made almost certainly during the period of Seljuq rule which spread to territories on both banks of the Oxus.

¹ I do not think the figure on a Fatimid wood carving (Pauty, op. cit., pl. LIV, bottom) is at all comparable. There a single flower is held in an indisputably secular scene.

² A. Yu. Yakubovsky, A. M. Belenitzky, and M. M. Diakonov, *Zhivotie drevnego Pyandzhikenta*, Moscow, 1954, pls. IX, X, XII, XXXVI, XXXVII; also A. M. Belenitskiy, 'Iz arkheologicheskikh rabot v Pyandzhikente', *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xviii, 1953, pp. 326 ff., fig. 3.

³ A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, Berlin, 1925. For the costumes see figs. 8-11; for the stalk-carrying personages both male and female see *ibid.*, figs. 11, 137-9. Also *idem*, *Chotscho*, Berlin, 1913, pl. 30. Le Coq wanted to see in the flower stalks degenerated versions of cornucopiae, an explanation which I have some difficulty in accepting.



a.



b

FIG. 7.

Let us now examine the remaining two sides of our casket. On the top (pl. IIIa) apart from two narrow bands of Kufic blessings (1 cm. wide), which probably continued on the missing lid, the main decorative motif consists of two lions with angrily protruding tongues, chained to one another and displayed in heraldic fashion on either side of a staff which springs from a moufflon's

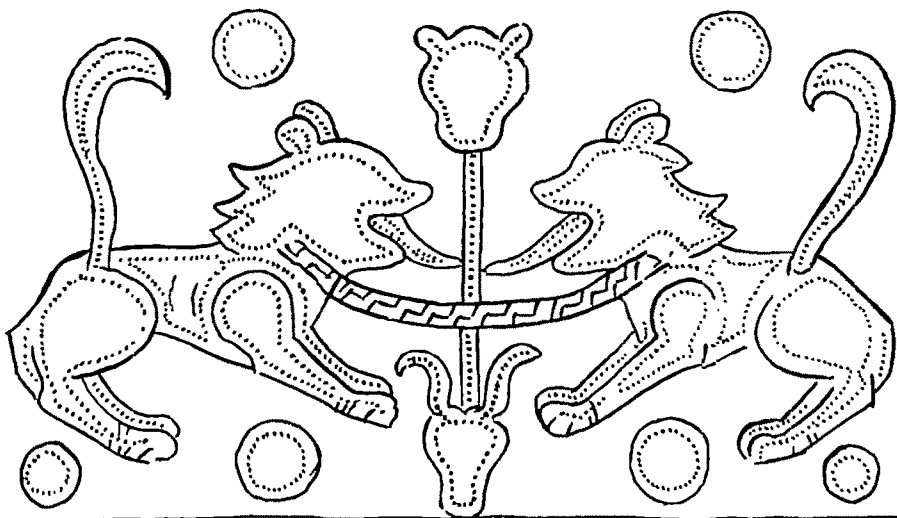


FIG. 8.

head and has another animal's head on top (fig. 8). The lions remind us of the beasts which appear in reliefs on gates and bastions of several Muslim fortifications.¹ These occur in a variety of postures, with and without chains and also accompanied, in one instance, by their keepers.² Nor are they absent from certain Christian monuments (erected in areas where Seljuq influence was strong)³ and on such vulnerable works as bridges.⁴ The fundamental role of the lions was to serve as guardians and protective talismans. The staff with an animal's head at either end occurs among the figures of the zodiac. The gemini are often depicted holding an analogous object.⁵ It might perhaps

¹ cf. e.g. at Aleppo: E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un C.I.A., Alep*, Cairo, 1954, pl. IX; Diyarbakr: A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris, 1940, p. 165, fig. 135; Mayyāfāriqn: *ibid.*, p. 215, fig. 162; p. 216, fig. 163; Baku: (where a bull's head appeared between two affronted lions) M. A. Useynov, *Pamyatniki Azerbaydjanskogo zodchestva*, Moscow, 1951, pl. 23.

² At Urfa on the inner wall of the Harran kapısı, see L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, pl. I.

³ Thus on the lintel of Mar Shim'un in Qaraqosh, see G. Bell, *From Amurath to Amurath*, London, 1911, p. 264, fig. 175; N. M. Tokarsky, *Gegard*, Moscow, 1948, pls. 23-4, in the thirteenth-century cave mausoleum of Prince Pahor.

⁴ cf. e.g. at Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar in C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmaler*, Leipzig, 1911, pl. 34, G. Bell, *op. cit.*, fig. 185.

⁵ cf. D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris, 1955, p. 20, fig. 15, and p. 14, fig. 13b. On the possible fusion of two different iconographies in this zodiac sign see *ibid.*, p. 19.

have been easier to decide whether the group had some astrological significance if we had still possessed the missing part of the casket—its lid. Was the casket destined to hold some precious treasure which required as much protection as the walls and gates of a city? Very likely its maker and owner thought that it did. At any rate, precautions were taken to provide two handles on each of its narrow sides (pl. II) (one is now missing) in case it was used to hold something particularly heavy.¹

The bottom of the casket is plain, except for a small barbed circular medallion (3.5 cm. in diam.) enclosing the traced image of a reveller lifting a beaker. Unlike the rest of the decoration, it was never inlaid.

The shape, the *décor*, and the style of the epigraphic bands make it virtually certain that Ṣā'id al-Faḡīh made this casket towards the end of the twelfth century and probably in Persia. I should not hazard a closer definition of time and place, in the present state of our knowledge.

Signed caskets are very rare. The semi-circular one in the Harari Collection (Museum of Islamic Art, No. 15195)² is signed on the inside of the lid *عمل نوشروان بن محمد* 'work of Nūshirwān ibn Muḥammad'.³ Another casket which has four combination locks is dated (5)93/1197⁴ but the remaining portion of the inscription which has suffered badly does not indicate a maker's name. It is decorated with figures in the round, but has the proportions and the epigraphic decoration of Ṣā'id's casket, which is roughly contemporary with it.

¹ In its present condition, with the lid, one handle, one foot, and a knob missing its weight is 3 lb. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

² *Survey*, vi, pl. 1305C; *RCEA*, ix, No. 3584. In the Harari Collection, box and lid bore the nos. 368 and 368a. Diam. 21.4, h. 4.8 cm., of which 1.5 h. of overlapping lid. The outer surface of the lid was traced with badly worn designs showing affronted sphinx-like creatures surmounted by two long-tailed birds. A band of naskhi inscription enclosing the composition reads: العز والاقبال والدولة والثنا والسعادة والسلامة والتأييد والنصر والتمكين والقدر والراحة والبقا لصاحبه.

'Glory and success and government and praise and happiness and health and support and victory and consolidation and power and ease and continuance to its owner'. It may well be asked why I bother to record these seemingly uniform and boringly conventional praises and blessings. The fact is that there are really no *inscriptions banales*. The presence or omission of a formula, even its position in the laudatory chain, may have some significance. Only a study of the accumulated material will show whether these observations are valid criteria for the dating and localization of given objects. Of the semi-circular casket just described let it be remarked only that the sequence of good wishes follows a logical *crescendo*, a sign that it has not been in use for very long. The words *thanā* and *ta'yīd* seem to be used less frequently from the latter part of the thirteenth century onwards, and so certainly does *al-qadr*.

³ The reading given in *RCEA*, ix, No. 3584 *عمل نوشروان بن محمد* on بن should be amended as indicated in *RCEA*, x, p. 269. This can be seen clearly from the tracing reproduced below. I owe the photograph from which it was made to the kindness of Professor Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Director of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

عمل نوشروان بن محمد

⁴ of G. Wiet, *L'exposition persane de 1931*, Cairo, 1933, p. 31, No. 27; *Survey*, vi, pl. 1303A-B; *RCEA*, ix, No. 3500.

Chance has preserved for us yet another signed work of Ṣā'id, or rather a small fragment of one of his works. This is an oblong square object (16 cm. long) slightly tapering at one end (from 1·5 to 1 cm. square) and finishing in a pomegranate-shaped knob. At the other end is a square plaque (2·8 cm. square) which is provided with four holes. This object, which has been in the British Museum for over 60 years (No. 96-5-12-2) (pl. IIIc),¹ is in all probability the handle of an incense-burner, now lost. Incense-burners with similar handles



FIG. 9.

are not uncommon.² The decoration of this 'last remnant' consists mainly of three narrow bands of Kufic script (the underside is plain) and small roundels with a sketchy floral design. The two bands on the sides read

(a) بالسرو [ر] والبر [ر] كة والدو [لة] باليمن (b) كة والدو [لة] (c) عمل صاعد الفقيه المر (?) and on the top: (c) 'With good luck, joy and blessing and government'; (c) 'Work of Ṣā'id al Faqīh al Mar (?) or al-Maw (?) or al-Man (?) (fig. 9).

The name Ṣā'id with a ṣād and its combination with al-Faqīh is sufficiently unusual for us to affirm that we have here the signature of the craftsman who made the casket discussed above. The style of the lettering confirms this. It also settles *inter alia* the question whether it was Ṣā'id or his father Ahmad (not named on the smaller piece) who could boast the appellation Faqīh—lawyer.³ It was, definitely, Ṣā'id himself. The last word in the signature on the British Museum handle leaves one guessing. It is in all probability the beginning of a *nisba*. It could unfortunately be the beginning of too many. Personally, I should prefer al-Marwazī to al-Mawṣilī but there is no justification at present for making a choice; only the discovery of yet another work of this craftsman spelling his name out in greater detail can solve the problem.

2. A BRASS CASKET WITH RESERVED DÉCOR

Mr. N. Heeramaneck of New York very kindly allowed me to photograph and study a casket in his possession which is reproduced here on pl. VI. It is fashioned of raised brass and measures 15·5 × 11·5 cm. at the base. The

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the facilities granted me for photographing this exhibit by Mr. Basil Gray and Mr. R. H. Pinder-Wilson, Keeper and Asst. Keeper of the Dept. of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum.

² cf. M. Aga Oglu, 'About a type of Islamic incense-burner', *Art Bulletin*, xxvii, 1948, figs. 4, 13. E. Kuhnelt, *Kleinplastik*, p. 141, fig. 107, has a handle with a most identical shape but executed in open work.

³ More than one learned man had to eke out his earnings with some menial profession—why not metal work? Cf. Sam'ānī, *kitāb al-ansāb*, facs. ed. by D. S. Margoliūth, London, 1912, fo. 353 s.v. Ṣaffār.

height of the box amounts to 7.2 cm. and it has a bevelled lid 2.3 cm. high in a low 'mastaba form' with a rectangular area (10.3×6.5 cm.) on top. The lid is fixed with the aid of two massive hinges to the long, rear side of the casket (pl. VIb), and a space for the hasp (now missing) is foreseen in the *décor* of the front (pl. VIa). What makes this piece worthy of attention is the



FIG. 10.

unusual technique adopted for its decoration.¹ The design is reserved; the ground around it cut away within the limits of a carefully traced framework; the spaces filled with thick niello which has, almost everywhere, withstood the test of time. The decorative motifs fall into simple categories:

(a) *Fabulous creatures*: (i) between the two hinges (pl. VIb) a winged sphinx with tail ending in a dragon's head; (ii) on the lid: two harpies affronted (fig. 10), lips tightly pressed together like those of Houdon's Voltaire; (iii) on the bevel of the lid between the hinges: a griffin with tail ending in a dragon's head.

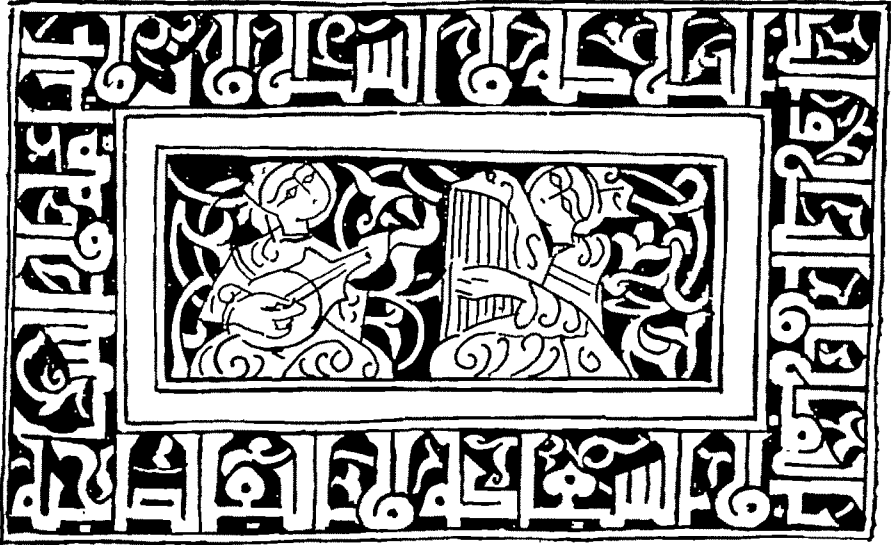
(b) *Musicians and revellers*: (i) on the front (pl. VIa); (ii) on the two sides (fig. 11b-c); (iii) on the three remaining bevelled surfaces of the lid.

(c) *Animals* on the overlapping, narrow sides (2.3 cm.) of the lid: cheetahs, hares, dogs (arranged in pairs, heraldically) (fig. 11a).

¹ I am aware, of course, of several metal works (the Mawsili ewer of 644/1246 in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, is a case in instance) where portions of the main design are reserved in brass and the background inlaid with silver, but I know no other example in which niello has been used in this wholesale manner.



A



B



C

FIG. 11.

(d) *Decorative Kufic inscriptions.* Reserved like the rest of the *décor*, and standing out like gold script on the darker, niello-filled background, they are of an archaic type, though the scrolls (such as they are) and the costumes (as far as these can be recognized) make an earlier date than c. A.D. 1200 unlikely.

The workmanship of the casket is not excellent but the unusual technique chosen for the decoration is both effective and appealing. It could be a product of a Mesopotamian or Persian workshop. I am including it here mainly in the hope that my attention may be called to works in the same technique which have escaped my ken.

3. A CIRCULAR CASKET IN ANKARA

Unique, I believe, is a charming circular casket in the Etnografya Müzesi Ankara¹ (pls. VIII–IX). It consists of a bowl-shaped box cast in greyish brass (obviously with a high silver content) which measures 22 cm. at its



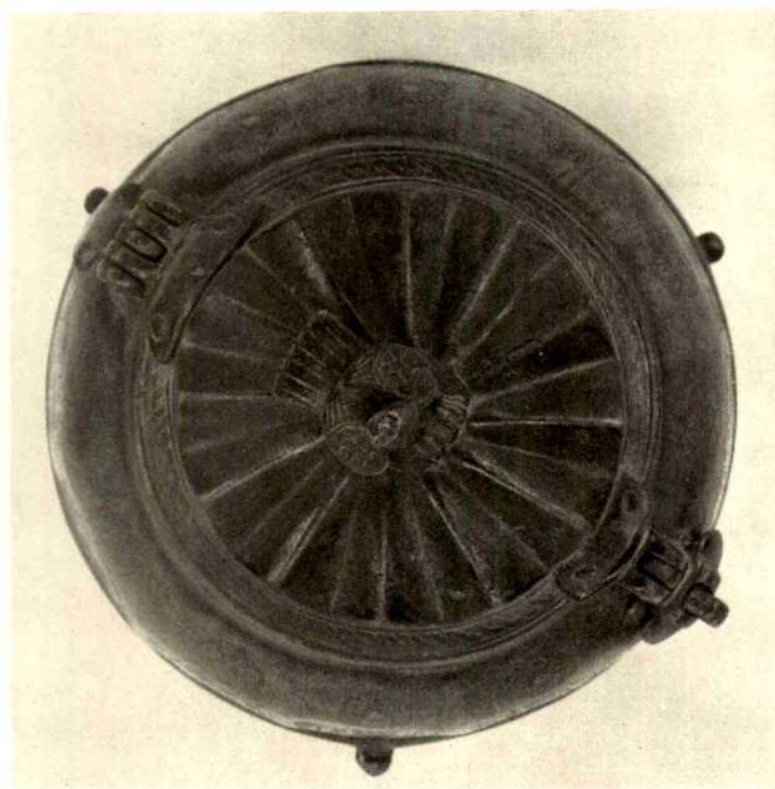
FIG. 12.

widest diameter and stands 13.0 cm. high. At one point, it has suffered severe damage and a chunk of metal (5.5 cm. at its widest point) is missing. It is decorated on the outside with traced designs (some—as will be shown—executed in a rare technique) but it has no inlays.

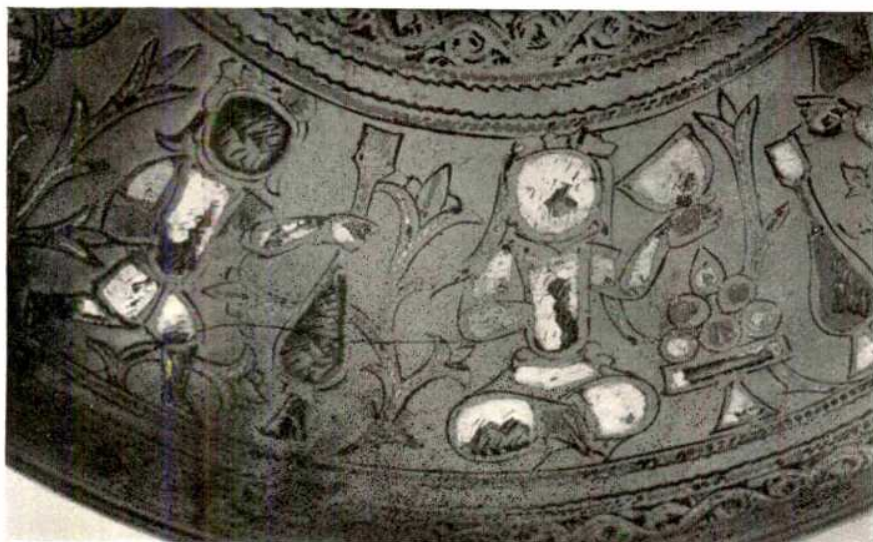
By contrast the lid, cast in the same alloy, is decorated with traced designs which have inlays of both silver and red copper (pls. IX, XIV–XV). It covers an opening of 15.5 cm. in diameter and is convex, rising as a shallow dome to the height of 3.5 cm. Surmounting it, in the centre, is a small duck cast in the round, 5.3 cm. high and measuring 5.7 cm. from extremity of tail to tip of bill. There are fine inlays executed with silver wire on the wings and in a delicate design on its back (pls. VIIa, IX). The lid, like the bowl, has suffered some damage and is cracked in several places (cf. pls. VIII, XVb). An ugly hinge and hasp fix the lid to the circular casket—they may not be part of the original work, although an attempt has been made to trace the design of the lid on the hinge (cf. pl. XIVb).

The base of the casket is decorated with a traced *shamsa*-like design (fig. 13): two concentric circles (the outer filled with Sasanian pearls) surrounded by

¹ I am most grateful to Dr. Hamit Z. Koşay, Director of the Museum, for the facilities he placed at my disposal in 1950 to enable me to photograph and study this object. The casket carries the registration number 5578, the lid No. 2130.



CASKET ON LEGS IN THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ART, CHICAGO



THE SAME. DETAILS OF LID. a FIGURES NOS. 10-11. b FIGURES 1 AND 11

PLATE XIV



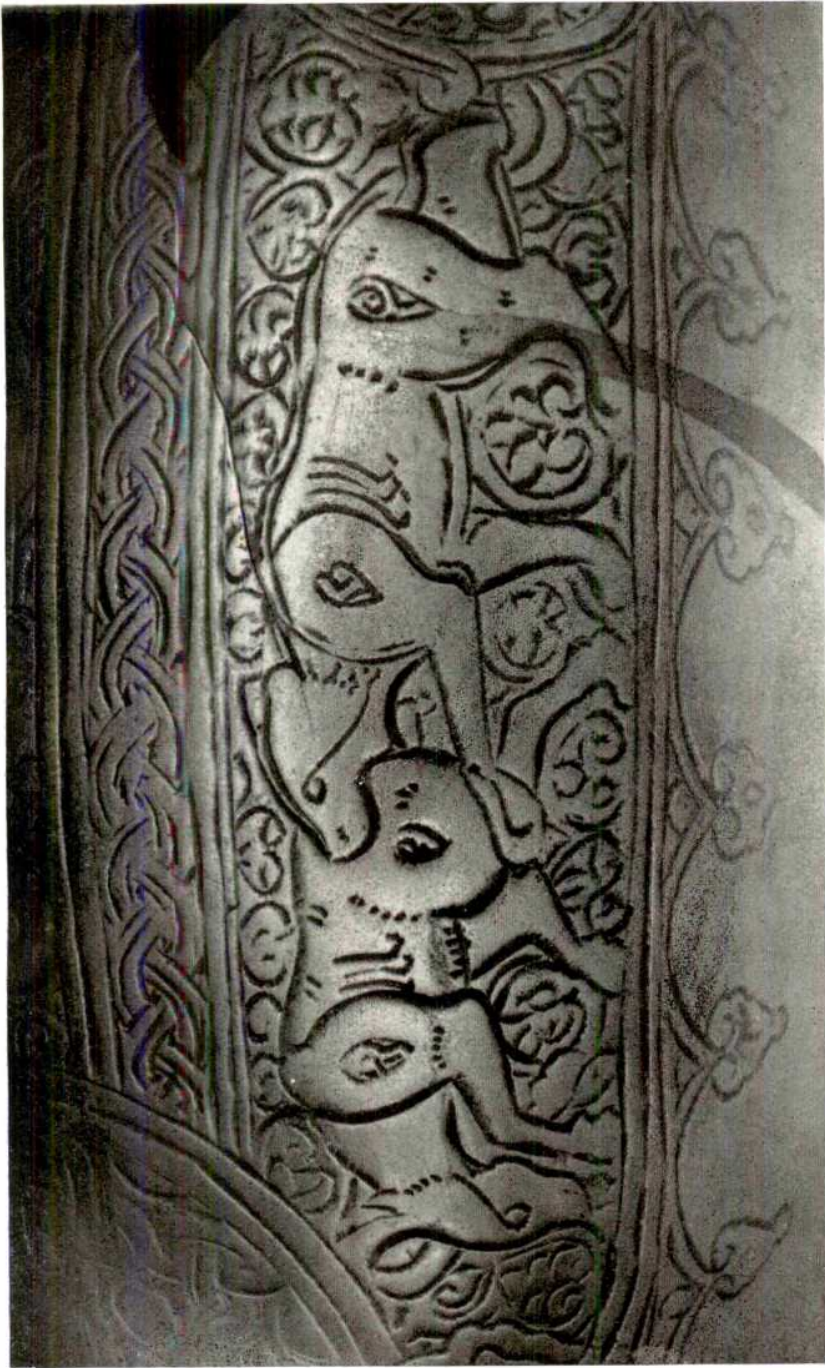
ANKARA CASKET. DETAILS OF LID. a FIGURES NOS. 1-2. b FIGURES NOS. 6-7



DETAIL OF BOWL IN THE KEVORKIAN FOUNDATION



a, b, c DETAILS OF SAME



DETAIL OF SAME. SIMULATED FLAT RELIEF ON BOWL



DETAIL OF SAME. SIMULATED FLAT RELIEF ON BOWL.



LID OF SAME



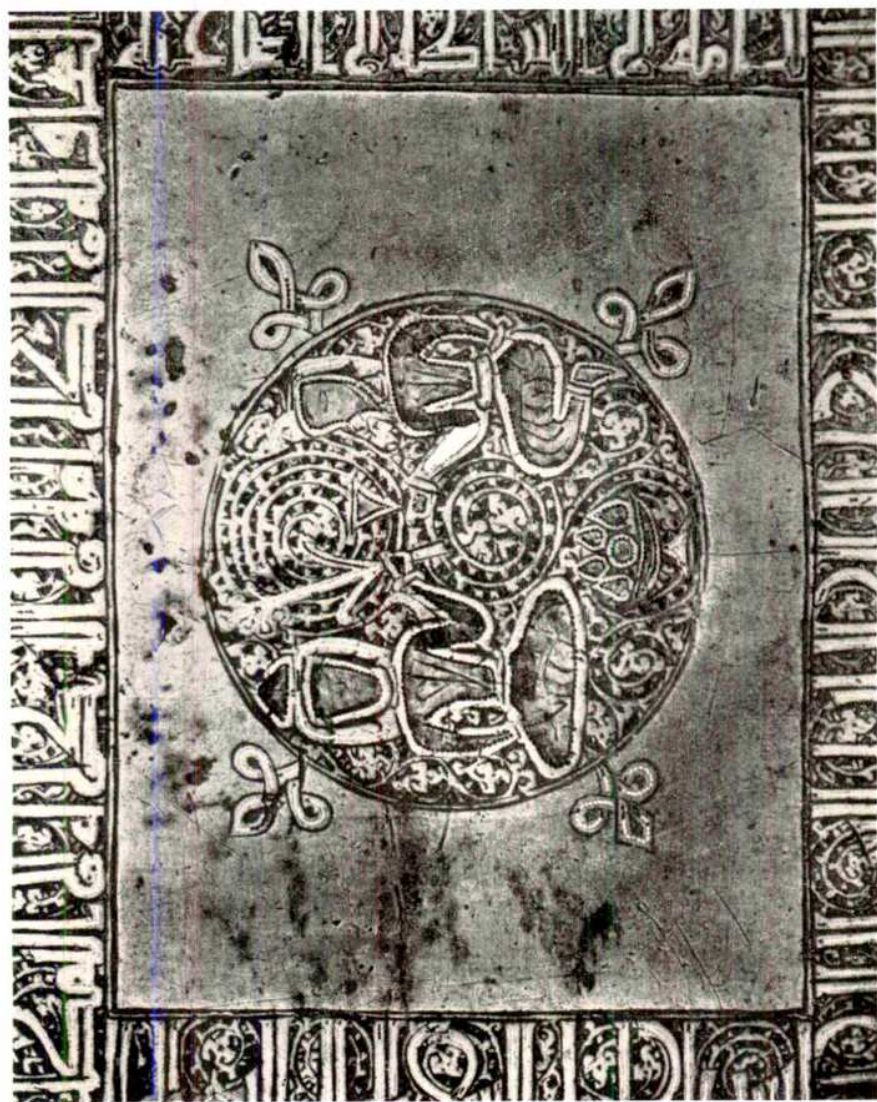
ANONYMOUS CASKET IN THE ETNOGRAFYA MÜZESİ, ANKARA



a HANDLE OF ANKARA CASKET (SEE PLS. VIII-IX). b HANDLE OF CHICAGO CASKET (SEE PL. XVI). c FOOT OF SAME



BRASS CASKET WITH NIELLO IN THE HEERAMANECK GALLERIES, NEW YORK
[BSOAS, XXI]

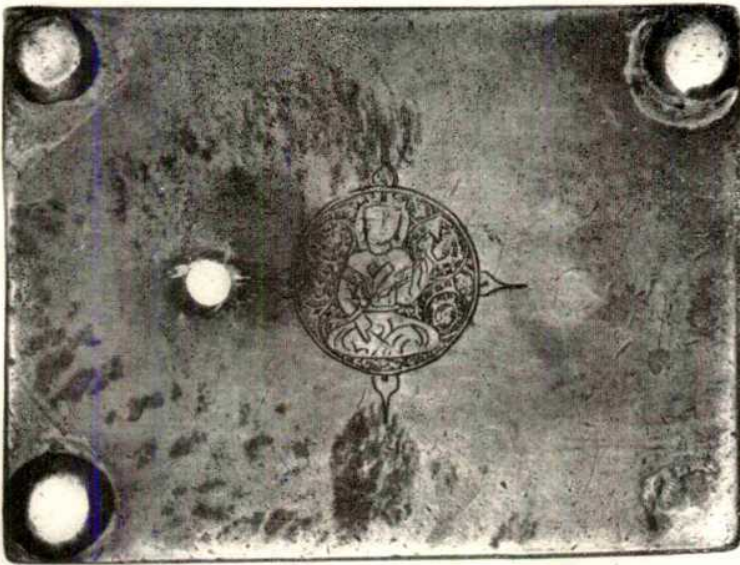
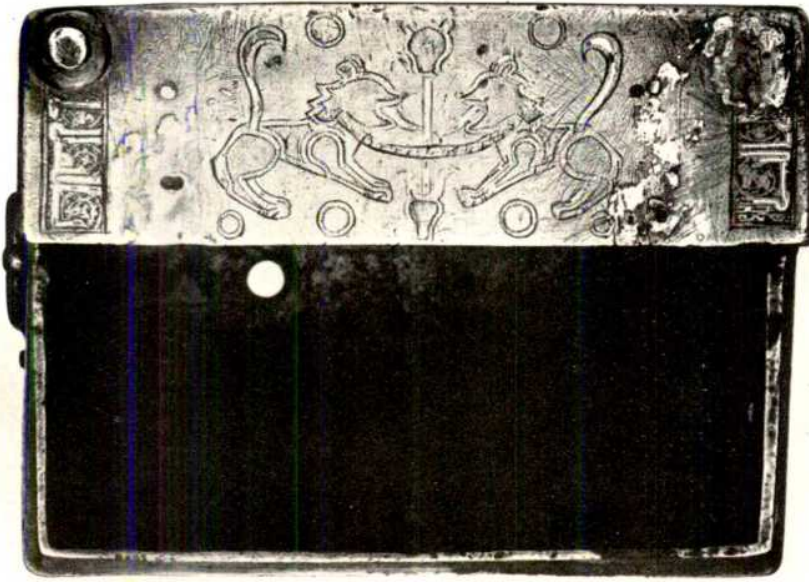


CASKET OF ŠĀ'ID AL-FAQĪH. DETAIL OF REAR WALL

PLATE IV



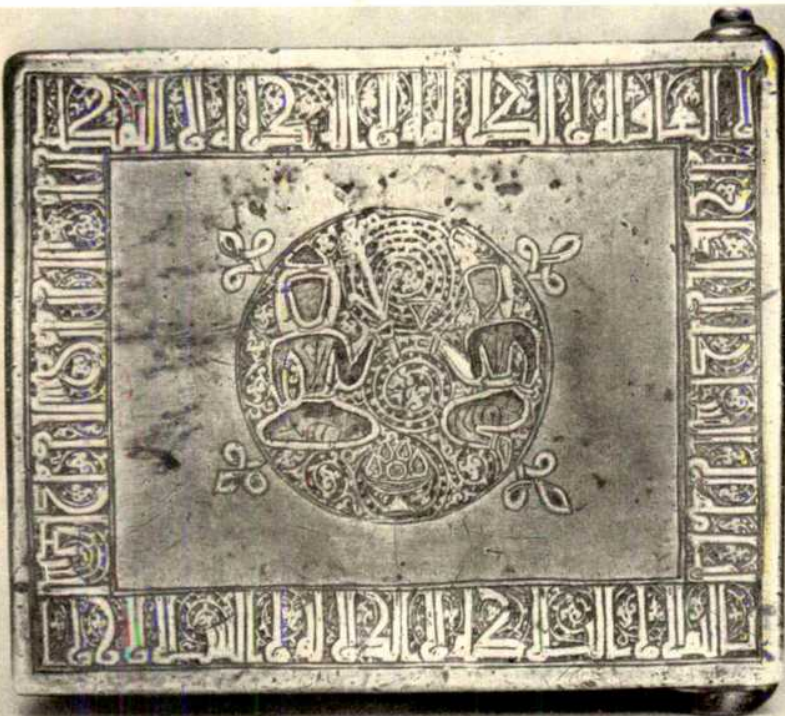
a-b POST-SASANIAN SILVER DISH IN BRITISH MUSEUM. DETAILS OF VEGETATION
 c POTTERY IMITATION OF METAL CASKET. CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART,
 CLEVELAND (OHIO)



a-b THE SAME. TOP AND BOTTOM VIEWS. c HANDLE OF INCENSE BURNER
BY ŠĀ'ID AL-FAQĪH



a-b THE SAME. SIDE VIEWS



a-b CASKET MADE BY ŠĀ'ID IBN AḤMAD AL-FAQĪH. FRONT AND REAR VIEWS
BSOAS, XXI]

After a narrow band (1 cm.) decorated with a double-strand guilloche comes the most interesting part of the *décor*. It fills six oblong panels created by the intersection of this band with the three, above-mentioned, lime-shaped medallions and through the insertion of three round ones. Of these, one is furnished with a duck, drawn with bold, spirited lines (fig. 14a) and two others (one has survived only as a fragment) with a design which is most unusual. It looks very much like a stylized rendering of a throne, and is not without similarity with the emblem which surmounts a niche for a Buddha-figure in the cave of the sixteen sword-bearers at Qyzil.¹ Under each of these strange designs—again a duck, very sketchily executed (fig. 14b-c).

Four of the six oblong panels, bordered by treble lines, have compositions which go in pairs. They show, respectively, a running lion catching a hare



FIG. 14.

(fig. 18a) and a jackal (?) (fig. 18b) or a squatting lion devouring a hare (fig. 17a) and a jackal (?) (fig. 17b). But in the last pair of panels the sequence is broken ; one encloses a lion catching a peacefully grazing wild ass (fig. 18c) while in the other two peacocks, their tails neatly folded, their long necks intersecting in the centre of the panel, pick away at the ground (fig. 17c). One would have expected a squatting lion devouring a wild ass, but Islamic craftsmen delighted in just such unexpected somersaults of pictorial intention !

The technical virtuosity of the anonymous craftsman who executed these panels deserves special praise. He treated his background with the deliberate casualness which kept it subdued. A few rounded strokes, deftly applied, indicate a pattern of unsophisticated fleurons. Scrolls would have crowded the composition. So they were completely banned and the background executed lightly in a manner reminiscent of sgraffiato ware in pottery. The treatment of the animals and birds reveals the confident touch of a mature craftsman. Not content with emphasizing the contours, here and there by a double line, he has so worked them with obliquely applied punches from a blunt tool as to create the illusion of a series of flat reliefs. Details of his work deserve close scrutiny and I have reproduced them larger than life size (pls. X-XI). With

¹ A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 172.

a few masterly strokes the artist has traced the left ear of the wild ass, continued the same line by following the contour of the head then branching off, at the tip of the nose, he formed the chalice which holds a decorative palmette of the background. Noteworthy, too, is the skilful rendering of the animal's heavy limbs; the powerful muscles of the thigh straining forward to free the lifeless hind leg already mauled by the voracious lion. The sensitively traced

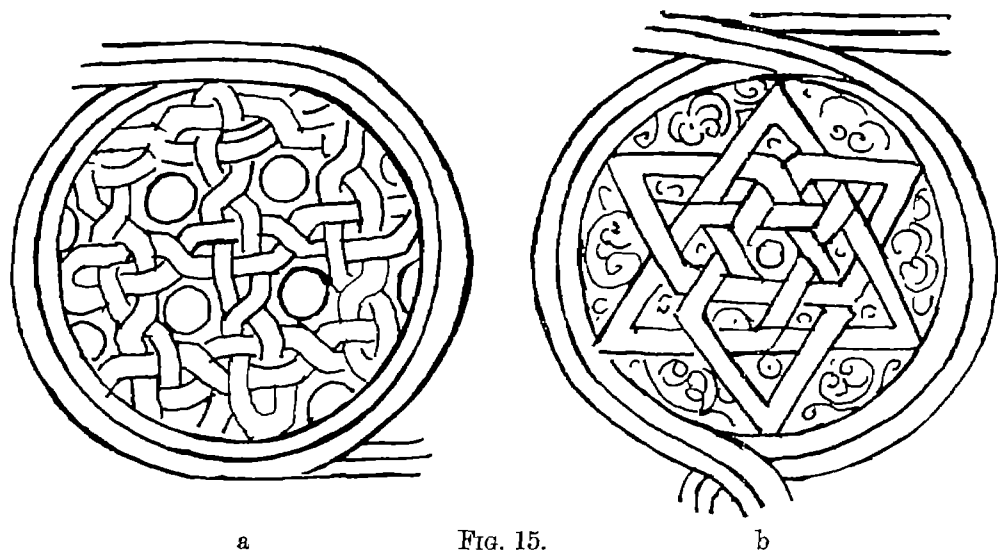


FIG. 15.

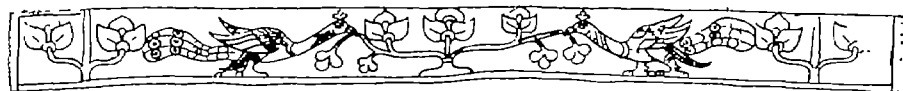


FIG. 16.

curve of the ass's back, the double contours indicating both ears on the lion's head and suggesting depth and perspective; the feline's prowling gait, the lazily lifted left paw are all equally well observed and unhesitatingly rendered with the utmost economy of line and 'modelling'. What more could be done on such a limited surface?

Or let us take another panel (pl. X). Observe the sad lion with the spaniel-cum-bloodhound look crouching on its hind legs and devouring its prey which glares back in impotent, romanesque fury! It matters little that the jackal (if indeed it be a jackal) has two tails—obviously a mistake and a typical case of the artist's '*repenti*'; the composition is in no way weakened. Note the apparent ease with which the craftsman passes from the strict profile (in which he has shown the lion's hind parts) to the three-quarters view of the head which is given volume by the addition of the left paw (correctly smaller than the right). Surely these are not accidental successes, but the fruits of long experience and true talent, nor is the deceptive realism of the

whole impaired by such conventional touches as the small ornaments affixed to the animals' joints.

The lions clawing and devouring hares are more placid as befits those engaged with smaller prey. They, and the peacocks are perhaps less successfully and less originally rendered but some details are nevertheless remarkable (pl. XIIa). The necks of the birds (very silly indeed with their gorgeous tails folded) intersect to form an arch over a palmette-like plant. Only a minimum of 'modelling' has been given to their contours and the bird to the left had its tail badly squashed by the medallion enclosing the duck (pl. XIIc). Each peacock has one foot firmly on the ground, the other raised, as if ready to move on, while the beaks following the glassy eyes are riveted to the soil.

There is no lack of parallels for the combats of animals depicted on the main register of the circular casket in the Ankara Museum, and the affronted peacocks have a neat parallel on a well-known Sasanian silver cup in the Hermitage¹ (fig. 16) and on a more recently discovered oval Sasanian bowl.² Two distinct compositions with peacocks affronted are known both in Eastern and Western art. In one the birds are displayed heraldically with a tree between them, in the other more common in the West they are drinking from a fountain.³ The third type in which two peacocks are displayed heraldically with tails deployed is frequent in textiles.⁴

Technically the working of traced designs in brass to simulate a flat relief requires consummate skill. I know of only one other example in which figures have been worked in this way. This is a large, deep bowl (60 cm. in diam. and 25 cm. deep) which was acquired in Afghanistan by Mr. A. F. Mackenzie and now belongs to the Kevorkian Foundation in New York. I am reproducing here only a detail of the centre of this bowl so that the technique may be observed. It is similar to that used by the artist of the Ankara casket but applied with less spontaneous skill, understanding, and imagination.⁵ We shall return to this peculiar bowl when we come to consider where and when our casket was made.

First we must examine the lid and its inlaid decoration. In the centre is the very 'Sasanian-looking' duck, modelled in the round but for the legs

¹ Smirnov, op. cit., pl. LVII, No. 118.

² cf. O. N. Bader and A. P. Smirnov, *Serebro Zakamskoe*, Moscow, 1954, fig. 7. An earlier report is summarized in O. N. Bader, 'A Sasanian vessel from Kungur', *Ars Islamica*, xv-xvi, 1951, pp. 139-41, figs. 1-2.

³ See J. Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst*, Augsburg, 1930, p. 306, figs. 303-4. Also G. Soulier, *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane*, Paris, 1924, p. 45, fig. 11 (Martorana), p. 241, fig. 99 (mosaic in the Battistero of Florence where the motif of the birds with the fountain and the birds heraldically flanking a tree is merged into one design). For some Coptic examples of the Islamic period see E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes (époque Fatimide)*, Cairo, 1926, pls. XLI-XLII, XLIV, I.

⁴ cf. G. Wiet, *Soirées persanes*, Cairo, 1947, pls. VII, XIII, XVI.

⁵ For a photograph of the whole piece see R. Ettinghausen, 'Interaction and integration in Islamic art', in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilization* (ed. G. E. von Grunbaum), Chicago, 1955, pl. III.



A



B



C

FIG. 17.



A



B



C

FIG. 18.

which are merely traced on the cylindrical base and for the feathers on the breast, which are marked by a few lozenges equally traced (pl. VIIa). On the back (like a saddle-cloth) is a compact, and charming little inlaid ornament. There are also fillets of silver inlay on the duck's wing and to mark the eyes. The duck serves as a handle for lifting the lid. Similar birds are favourite ornaments on a great many Islamic metal works, from crowns of semi-domed incense-burners ¹ to shoulders ² and handles ³ of ewers, lamps, etc.

All around the lid runs a wide band (3·5 cm.), filled with traced and inlaid figures. It is framed by two narrow bands of almost guilloche-like scrolls. From hinge to hasp (proceeding clockwise) we note (fig. 19) (1) a tambourine player, (2) a harpist, (3) a reveller raising his beaker, (4) a flute player, (5) a lute player, and continuing our round (this time from hasp to hinge and completing the circle), we count (fig. 20): (6) a dancer with large castanets, (7) a reveller raising his beaker (an object placed on the ground to his left may be a drum), (8) a servant emptying a long-necked bottle into a shallow basin, (9) yet another reveller with a beaker, followed by (10) a V.I.P. with an extra-large cup, and ending with (11) an attendant making haste with a huge bottle.

We have here a well-conceived composition which falls neatly into two halves. In the first (fig. 19) with a solitary exception, are grouped the entertainers. The odd-man-out is a reveller (No. 3), placed between two pairs of musicians. He could be a poet reciting and, if so, would fit the arrangement perfectly.

In the second half of the composition (fig. 20) we meet the master of the feast (No. 10). Not only has he an especially voluminous drinking vessel, but the fruit-laden tray in front of him and the bottle nearby seem to be reserved for his exclusive use. He is wearing a low type of crown and is toasted by two boon-companions in tall, soft caps (Nos. 7 and 9) who are looking at him and lifting their small beakers. The only other figures on this half of the lid are menials in short robes ⁴; one is carrying an outsize bottle (No. 11), the other (No. 8) is emptying one, while the third is executing a spirited dance and beating the measure with large castanets.⁵ It is true that No. 3 has a cup richly laden with fruit, but he has to share it with the flutist (No. 4). True, other tables are also shown but they are made to serve pairs of figures: the tambourine-player and harpist (Nos. 1-2) and the dancer and lute-player (Nos. 5-6). No one else is given the special treatment accorded to No. 10 who is indubitably the centre of attraction and the most important personage in the whole, circular frieze.

¹ *Survey*, VI, pl. 1299.

² *ibid.*, pl. 1321.

³ *ibid.*, pls. 1283B; 1312A, C; 1327.

⁴ On this detail of costume see D. S. Rice, 'Deacon or drink: some paintings of Samarra re-examined', *Arabica*, v, 1958, p. 11, n. 5.

⁵ This figure frequently appears on Islamic metal work but rarely in such a contorted pose. The instrument called castanets here for lack of a more precise word are probably the *muṣāfiq* (*muṣāfiq* in the *Vocabulista*), cf. H. G. Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, Glasgow, 1939, 28.

The scene of revelry seems to be set in a garden and the vegetation which sprouts between the figures punctuating the rhythm will be one of the clues to bear in mind when we attempt to date this interesting casket. For the purposes of this composition each element (be it table, bottle, cup, or mortal) is treated alike and separated from the next by at least some vegetation; here, just a sprout; there, a richly flowering plant. The ensemble of the scene is set against a plain ground—a sure sign of relative antiquity in an Islamic metal work¹—and the vegetation, by moving behind the figures, as on a second plane, gives them ‘air’ and ‘body’. Note for instance the skilful use of the plants behind the legs of the servants (Nos. 8 and 11) or, again, how others ‘project’ the dancer’s plaits forward (No. 6). The plants themselves are different from those which crowd the compositions on metal works of the thirteenth century. We shall look in vain for these fleshy sprouts even on such early works as the ewer of Ibrāhīm ibn Mawālīyā in the Louvre²; they are there in the last stages of their transformation which led to ultimate neglect. To find a true parallel we must go to a work which is earlier still: a Sasanian-type silver *patera* in the British Museum³ from which I reproduce two details (pl. IVa–b). In the centre of the *patera* are two investiture-scenes showing the king receiving a ceremonial wreath. The border of the dish (of which half is, unfortunately, missing) has a banqueting scene: a ‘Sasanian’ version of what we have on the Ankara casket. The British Museum dish is certainly one of those post-Sasanian works which Jean Sauvaget, always careful of terminological exactitude, wanted to call ‘œuvres du Moyen-Age islamique’. ‘Et l’on admet’ (he concluded the argument of one of his most illuminating articles) ‘que ces dernières peuvent être plus typiques de l’art antéislamique de la Perse que les productions authentiques de celui-ci, bien qu’elles n’offrent aucun point de comparaison avec les œuvres sassanides dûment datées, et que l’on ait aucun moyen de définir objectivement les termes de l’évolution de style’.⁴ He did not hesitate to attribute one so-called Sasanian dish—the famous piece with a castle and soldiers in the Hermitage⁵—to the Seljuq period. I should not go so far in dating the *patera* in the British Museum. The figures on it have nothing specifically Islamic about them, but the disposition of the

¹ cf. ‘SIMW—III’, *BSOAS*, xv, 2, 1953, 230, also *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, 298.

² cf. ‘SIMW—II’, *BSOAS*, xv, 1, 1953, 69–79.

³ Smirnov, op. cit., pl. XVI, No. 39, also somewhat later pieces ibid., pl. LVII, No. 91, and also I. A. Orbeli and K. V. Trever, *Sasanidsky metal*, Leningrad, 1935, pls. 73–4. O. M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*, 2nd ed., London, 1926, pl. XXXVIII, No. 208. I am indebted to Mr. R. D. Barnett, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, for permission to study and photograph this exhibit.

⁴ J. Sauvaget, ‘Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades, II: argenterie “sassanides”’, *J.As.*, 1940–1, 46.

⁵ Reproduced in Orbeli–Trever, op. cit., pl. 20; *Survey*, iv, pl. 233B, Fr. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1922, pl. 105, etc. Sauvaget’s analysis, op. cit., 33–46. See also his ‘Une représentation de la citadelle seljoukide de Merv’, *Ars Islamica*, xv–xvi, 1951, 128–32, where he went too far, perhaps, in trying to identify the castle on the Hermitage dish with a specific building and the scene depicted there with a specific event.

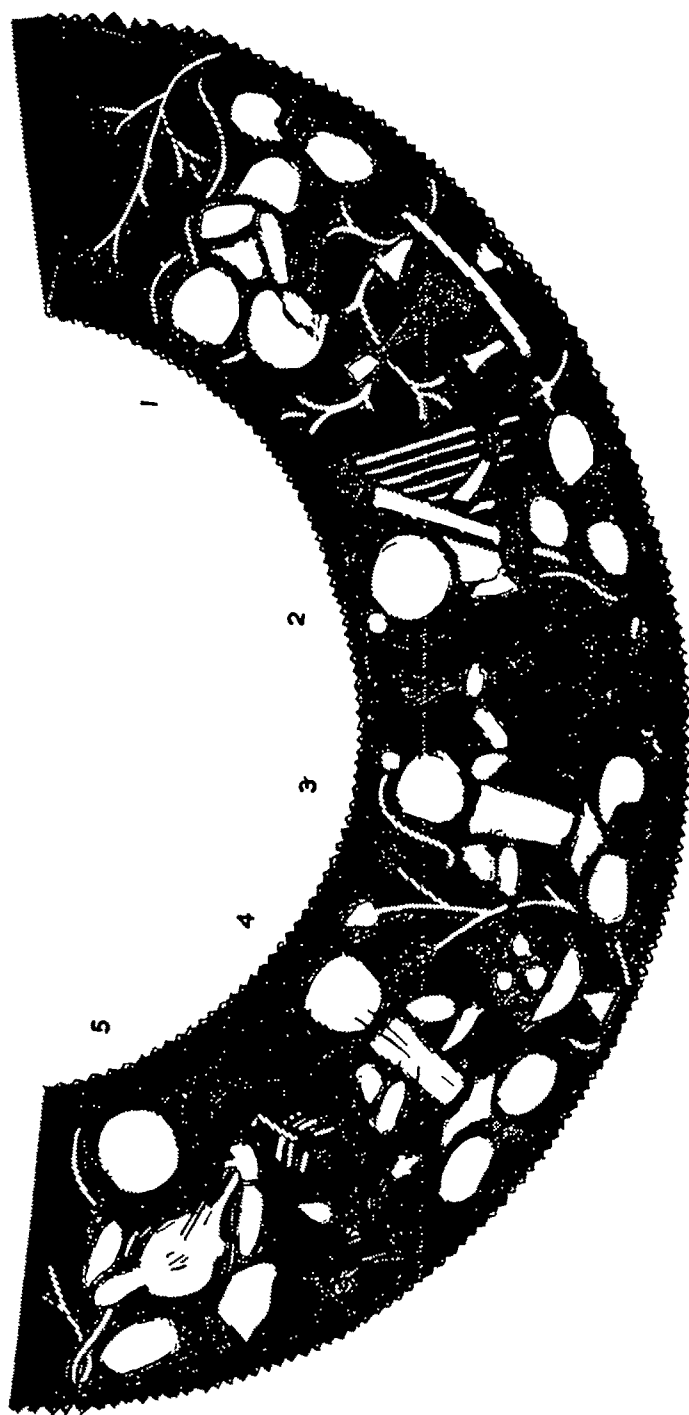


FIG. 19.

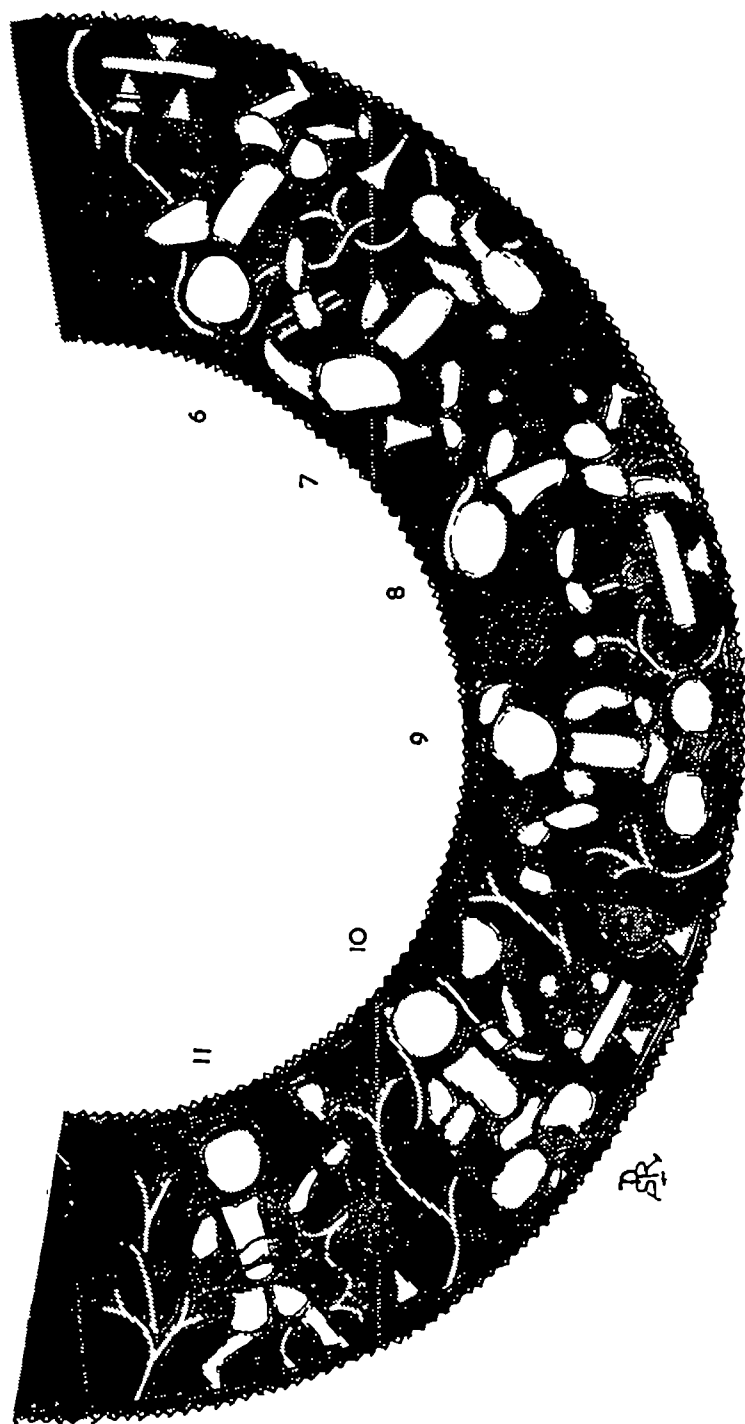


Fig. 20.

frieze of figures on the border of the *patera* cannot be paralleled, at present, by any authentic Sasanian example. The composition on the lid of the Ankara casket is a Seljuq version of the same theme and the vegetal elements are direct, linear descendants from the fleshy trees on the silver dish.

Closely related to the Ankara casket is the already mentioned ewer of Ibrāhīm ibn Mawāliyā which is undated but which we can ascribe, by comparison with the surviving works of this master's assistants (which bear the dates 617/1220 and 629/1232 respectively),¹ to the end of the twelfth century. The casket must be earlier than the ewer. Like the latter it has plain backgrounds, the combination of silver and copper inlays, heavy frames to set off the major compositions, etc. But in Ibrāhīm ibn Mawāliyā's ewer we see tightly wound scrolls in the narrow friezes of horsemen, and the shoulder frieze, comparable with that on the lid of our casket, includes a most decorative—but certainly more 'advanced' and more rigidly controlled—vegetal element. If we compare, for instance the figures of the harpist and flutist making music under a double-ogee arch of the ewer ('SIMW-II' pl. XXIIb) with the musicians on the lid of the casket (pl. XIVa) the technical peculiarity of the latter and also its precedence in time are immediately apparent. After tracing the outlines of the figures which he desired, the master of the Ankara work made use of a sharp chisel to hatch the surfaces which he intended to cover with inlays; Ibrāhīm ibn Mawāliyā's ewer shows only the well known undercut surfaces. Also, the inlays applied to the lid are remarkably thin and used as a painter might use touches of colour. Furthermore it is virtually certain that the inlays were not subsequently subjected to chasing and further inlay with niello. In appearance, too, the figures on the Ankara lid seem older than those on the ewer. Most of them have the long tresses sported by male figures on many works of the Seljuq period. They are common in ceramics of the twelfth century² and also in later miniatures³ and tend to disappear with the advent of the Mongols. One panel on Ibrāhīm ibn Mawāliyā's ewer still shows this characteristic hair style but only in an atrophied form ('SIMW-II', pl. XXIIa).

Other archaic features in the scenes depicted on the lid are the costumes (round necked, not folding over with lapels), the outsize proportions of the

¹ 'SIMW-II', pls. IX-X.

² Sauvaget has already called attention to what he called 'la coiffure normale des Oghuz' and for which he pointed to ceramics and mentioned some texts in *Ars Islamica*, xv-xvi, 1951, pp. 131 f. and fig. 4.

³ The miniatures of the Dioscurides MS dated A.D. 1224 whose leaves are dispersed in many collections, while the trunk remains in the Aya Sofia library, are full of parallels. Cf. H. Buchthal, 'Early miniatures from Baghdad', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore), v, 1942, 18 ff. *passim*. For Mesopotamian examples (all pre-Mongol) see also D. S. Rice, 'The Aghānī miniatures and religious painting in Islam', *Burlington Magazine*, April 1953, figs. 14-17 and 19. Now also the additional Aghānī illustration discovered by S. M. Stern, 'A new volume of the illustrated Aghānī manuscript', *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, pl. 2, and the excellent examples on the frontispiece of the pseudo-Galen MS in Vienna, cf. K. Holter, 'Die Galen Handschrift und die Maḳāmen des Ḥariri in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, NF, XI, 1937, pl. I.

utensils (which are given exaggerated size for decorative reasons), and also the limitation of the figures to an uneven number—eleven—a feature with which I have already dealt elsewhere.¹ At this point we may also draw a comparison between the treatment of our festive scene and a similar display of revellers, musicians, etc., on (this time a dated piece) the famous Bobrinskoy bucket made at Herat in A.D. 1163.² There the inlays are also of copper and silver but they are executed in the traditional manner and, despite their exiguous size, chased with niello. Nor have the figures the characteristic long tresses. I should date the casket before the bucket to the middle of the twelfth century.

The simultaneous use of copper and silver inlays seems to be limited to Persia and Mesopotamia in that order of precedence. My inclination at present is to ascribe the casket to Persia but I would not dare to be more specific. Another means of dating it and deciding its likely provenance is offered by the original and extremely rare manner in which the scenes with animals and birds on the circular bowl-shaped box have been given double contours and 'modelled' in low relief (pls. X–XII). The only immediate parallel is (as we have seen above (p. 243) the deep bowl in the Kevorkian Foundation, New York (pl. XIII). The latter vessel was acquired in Afghanistan but no evidence has been offered to date, for assuming that it was produced there.³ The Kevorkian bowl is inscribed on the inside and outside with large not unattractive but incoherent bands of Kufic script in which certain groups of letters recur. The background of these texts as also of the medallion and niches with figures is marked with a pattern of circles executed with a circular punch. The central scene of this bowl has other interesting features. Note the misunderstood (?) straps hanging from the belts of the seated 'ruler' and his two attendants. They are well known to us from the rock carvings of Ṭāq-i Bustān,⁴ and Central Asian paintings⁵ and can be pursued in time and space to the stone sculptures of Siberia⁶ and via the frescoes of Samarra⁷ to those of Lashkari Bazar.⁸ On the Kevorkian bowl they look inert like folds in the garment. The 'crowns' worn by all three persons in the composition are peculiar in shape and have obviously been traced by a craftsman who had lost all consciousness of what a Sasanian crown looked like. The same applies to the bandlets hanging from the headgear of the central figure; the crescent-shaped halo (a Seljuq feature, cf. the *Aghānī* miniatures above, p. 250, n. 3) masks them and an additional,

¹ *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, 322.

² Vessellovsky, op. cit., pl. V, also R. Kesati, 'Geratsky bronzowy kotelok 1163 g.', *Pamyatniki Epokhi Rustaveli*, Leningrad, 1938, pp. 237–46, pl. 34.

³ R. Ettinghausen, op. cit., pp. 115 f., calls it 'Ghaznavid . . . probably from Mahmūd's other capital Ghazna'.

⁴ *Survey*, IV, pl. 166.

⁵ A. von Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, III, Berlin, 1924, pl. 14, 15, 17.

⁶ Evt'yukhova, 'Kamennnye izvayaniya Yuzhnoi Sibiri i Mongolii', *Materialui po Arkheologii SSSR*, 24, 1952, 71 ff.

⁷ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, pls. LXV–LXVI.

⁸ D. Schlumberger, 'Le palais ghaznévide de Lashkari Bazar', *Syria*, XXIX, 1952, pls. XXXI–XXXII, and p. 265.

quite meaningless and useless pair of bandlets sticks out on the other side. Like other early works, the Kevorkian bowl shows an arrangement in an uneven number of compartments; this is to be observed in the 15 horse-shoe niches which surround the central scene. The middle of the twelfth century seems the obvious limit for this bowl, as it is for the circular Ankara casket. The odd inscriptions on the former make an attribution to Transoxania no more unlikely than to Afghanistan. A good deal more material will have to be amassed before any more definite statement is made.

Before concluding this rather detailed examination of the Ankara casket which embodies so many rare and unique features I must draw attention to yet another characteristic of its *décor*: the treble outlines of the frames (figs. 15, 17-18). We find a very similar treatment of frames, accompanied by large, bold, Kufic lettering on a small ewer with upright spout in the Berlin Museum which I had occasion to refer to before in another context¹ and also (on a rather poorly executed tray but of obviously early date) labelled by F. R. Martin 'Bukhara',² presumably the place whence he acquired it. Both the tray and the ewer belong to the twelfth century and reinforce the argument in favour of the date ascribed to the casket.

There remains one grave doubt. Do the lid and the bowl-shaped box really belong together? They are executed in different techniques, but perhaps the inlaid portion (the lid) was chosen as the most normally visible part for the inlays, which were applied so thinly as to give the impression that some economy in the use of silver was desired. In date, they can hardly be differently placed. The lid is made of, what appears to be, the same alloy as that of the lower part—only spectrographic analysis could decide the question—and above all it fits the opening splendidly. It would be a remarkable coincidence, indeed, to have matched casket and lid at a later date, but it is a possibility which must be borne in mind.

4. A CIRCULAR CASKET IN THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ART, CHICAGO

The object with which I wish to conclude comes as something of an anticlimax after the fine Ankara casket, but its reproduction here is justified by some of its peculiarities (pl. XVI).³ Cast in bronze or brass which has acquired an almost black patina, this casket (Reg. No. 34.504) has a circular body broadening towards the base where it reaches a diameter of 17 cm. It is supported on three feet and together with the lid (surmounted by a crude bird now mutilated) it reaches the height of 20.3 cm. The globular container of the casket is lightly faceted and the lid (secured with a massive hinge and similar hasp obviously contemporary with the rest of the work) has radiating, angular fluting. The only other decoration is a narrow guilloché band.

¹ *Survey*, vi, pl. 1277, and 'SIMW—II', p. 86, fig. 5.

² F. R. Martin, *Ältere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm, 1902, pl. 31.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Jack Sewell, Curator of the Oriental Department of the Chicago Art Institute, for the facilities to study this exhibit.

The remainder of the decoration is very simple. The most conspicuous element is 12 oddly shaped cartouches filled with 'blessings' in which mistakes abound.¹ But as they are turned head downwards they were probably intended to be more decorative than edifying. I give in fig. 21 a sample of two of these cartouches turned the right way up. Then we have seven-petalled rosettes, similar to those on the casket of Ša'id al-Faqih described at the

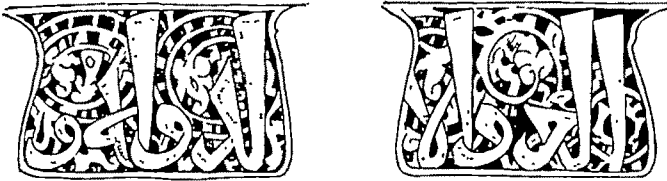


FIG. 21.

beginning of this paper (cf. pl. II) and, finally, at the base a curious motif consisting of half-palmettes with fleshy blobs at their tips which are turned downwards—a pattern which is also to be seen on a bird-shaped lamp from (so F. R. Martin informs us) Bukhara.²

The bird in the round which surmounts the lid and serves as handle (pl. VIIb) is in no way comparable with the *sympathique* duck on the Ankara casket (pl. VIIa). It is crude in the extreme, and it is difficult to see how its head (now lost) could have made it more attractive. Perhaps the most archaic feature in the Chicago piece are the feet (pl. VIIc). Fashioned in open work they show a simple but effective design of three pairs of inverted volutes. Putting things upside down seems to be the special foible of this craftsman! Judging by the character of the script (from which most of the silver-inlay has vanished) I should date it to the very end of the twelfth century. What appeal this work might have it owes entirely to a certain provincial, rustic solidity. It is obviously a utensil destined for a fairly modest household, but it should not on that score be overlooked or omitted.

(1) العز والـ (2) قال وا (3) لبولة و (4) (hidden by hinge) (5) دواللا [sic] (6) مة والد [sic] (7) والنعمة (8) والعافية (9) والكر؟ (10) مة والر [sic] (11) والدرة [sic] (12) والعه و [sic]

² F. R. Martin, op. cit., pl. 26.

TWO SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ARABIAN GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS

By R. B. SERJEANT

DURING the course of my 1953-4 tour in Arabia, I was able to see a great many new MSS, mostly of specifically South Arabian content, amongst which for example was a rare early copy of Ibn Samurah's *Ṭabaḳāt*, the same MS also containing what appears to be an unknown treatise on the grammatical scholars of Baṣrah and Kūfah. A photocopy of this MS is now in the Library of the School, and a brief description is in the *Maḍjallat al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah*, II, 2, p. 341. Fu'ād Saiyid of the Dār al-Kutub has recently published an edition of the said *Ṭabaḳāt*.

Some MSS I was able to purchase, the most important of these being a copy of the Chronicle of Bal-Faḳīh al-Shihri, a history which has already been described in the *Bulletin*, and the *Fatāwā* of b. Dja'mān. Other MSS were photographed and are available at the School; in certain cases I was able to make extracts of unrecorded works in MS, but not infrequently I had to content myself with merely recording the existence of previously unknown works. In Rome I was able, through the kindness of Professor G. Levi della Vida, to extract the Yemenite material from his card-index copy of Griffini's check-list of the uncatalogued portion of the Ambrosiana, but this material has subsequently been worked upon by Professor O. Löfgren, and quite recently by Dr. Munajjed on behalf of the Arab League. The Arab League has undertaken the task of cataloguing this most interesting South Arabian collection.

With the new material now at my disposal it is intended to supplement, and in places to correct my previous articles on South Arabian MSS published some years ago in the *Bulletin*, but as this is proving a lengthy task it seemed worth while to publish a notice and some extracts from the two geographical MSS I examined in Tarīm and Dathīnah, for both treatises can contribute fresh information on the historical geography of Arabia.

I

Muḥammad, called Djar Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Brockelmann adds b. 'Umar b. Muḥ.) b. Fahd al-Hāshimī.

Ḥusn al-kirā fī awīdyat Umm al-Kurā

Loc. : Āl Sahl Library, Tarīm (described in *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, 286). Photocopies at the SOAS Library through the good offices of Saiyids Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir and Ḥamzah Āl Yahyā.

Refs. : Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 393, *Sup.*, II, 538, for the author only.

Descr. of MS : 25 folios inclusive of the title-page, but one or two end pages are missing, 23 lines to the page, clear naskḥ hand. The MS is furnished with many marginal notes.

Begins: . . . يقول فقير رحمة ربه . . . اما بعد فهذا تأليف لطيف . . .

Sources: The author quotes from many standard works such as Ibn Khurdādhbih, Ibn Djubair, Yāqūt's *Mushtarik*, Abū Ishāq's *al-Muḥadḍhab* (Brockelmann, *Sup.*, II, 669), Ibn al-Aṭhīr's *Nihāyah*, al-Nawawī's *Rawḍah*, al-Sakhāwī's *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, al-Azraqī, al-Fākihi, al-Fāsī's *Shifā'* (Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 172-3, *Sup.*, II, 221) from which he copies very frequently. Another source seems to be Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Ṭabarī (ob. 694 H. (A.D. 1295)) (cited on fol. 8a), a work of whose entitled *al-Kirā li-kāṣid Umm al-Kurā* figures in P. Voorhoeve's *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts* (Leiden, 1957), p. 274, and has been printed in Cairo (1948); cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 361. The author states that the only person to compile a work similar to his own in previous times was al-Fāsī from whom he copies, adding material of his own on Mecca, the Wādī 'l-Ṭā'if, and Jedda (all before fol. 13a).

Sources available to the author were the work of his grandfather 'Umar b. Fahd al-Makkī in the '*musawwadat buldānīyāt-hi*', a copy of which has not been remarked so far, evidently some kind of topographical work (cited on 8a, etc.), and *al-Durr al-kamīn bi-Dhail al-'Ikd al-ṭamīn* (*al-'Ikd* being al-Fāsī's history, printed in Cairo and Mecca) (cited on 12b). Other works of his own cited are *al-Farā'id al-bahīyāt fī fawā'id al-buldānīyāt* (cited on 9b) which seems to contain information on trade at Jedda, though a separate work of his on Jedda, under a different title, exists in two copies in Europe according to Brockelmann, and *al-Itti'āz li-mā warada fī Sūk 'Ukāz* (cited on fol. 25b) on the putative site of 'Ukāz. A book he mentions but had not seen was *Tanassum al-zahr al-ma'nūs 'an thaḡhr Djuddah al-mahrūs* of Muḥ. b. Ya'qūb al-Malikī (cited on 9a), perhaps a treatise on customs-duties, etc., at Jedda though it does not seem to be extant to-day. He also refers to al-Maiyūrki's *Bahḍjat al-muḥadḍji fī ba'd faḍā'il al-Ṭā'if* (fol. 10b) known to Brockelmann (*Sup.*, II, 635).

Date of composition: After a short description of the contents the title-page has the date *sanat* 947 (A.D. 1540-1) which it would be reasonable to assume is the date when the first draft of the composition was completed. The author died in 954 H. (A.D. 1547). It is suggested that this MS is the autograph of Djār Allāh with marginal notes which he intended to incorporate in the text, but that he never completed this part of his task.

- Contents:*
- 1b. Preface and introduction.
 - 2b. Description of Mecca.
 - 4a. The Wādīs of Mecca (Wādī 'l-Ṭā'if, Wādī Mabrad, Wādī Nakhlah).
 - 7b. Description of Jedda.
 - 10a. Description of al-Ṭā'if.
 - 13a. Alphabetical list of villages.

The list of place-names given in the note on the title-page does not correspond with the actual place-names in the text itself, nor does the title-page list amount to the 37-39 names which it variously states are to be found in the

text. In other respects the title-page note is inaccurate. By the author's own enumeration the names in the text end at no. 33, al-Hurmuẓīyah; beyond this the title-page only mentions Wāsiṭ al-Haddah and Wāsiṭ Banī Aḥmad, but it also mentions Haddāt Banī Djabir which would come before al-Hurmuẓīyah—were it in the text. All this confusion indicates, of course, that the work was never completed, and that the author had the intention of giving it a thorough revision.

The list that follows is extracted from the actual text, but additions from the title-page where relevant are given though other problems are left to the editor, Mr. P. Forand, to solve.

13a	ارض حسان
14a	ارض خالد
15a	ارض فراس
15a	ابو عروه
15b	ام العيال
15b	البحرين
15b	بُجَيْر
15b	البردان
16a	البرابر
16b	البرقة
17a (Title-page, (?) تنضب المصيف)	تنضب
17a	تنضب الرقاعى
17a	الجديد
17b	الجُموم
20a (Title-page, الخازنه ويقال لها الباركة)	الجميزه
20a (Title-page, الجديده الحميمه)	الحادثه (sic) والحميمه
20b	حدّه
21a	الحميمه
21b	الخضراء
21b	الخفج
21b (Title-page, correctly خيف)	خفيف (sic) بنى شديد
22a	الدكنّا
22b	الرُكّانى

23a	الروضة
23a	الريّان
23b	الزيمه
23b	سوّله
23b	سروعه
24a	القصور
24a	الكدايا
24b	المبارك
24b	نخلة الشامية
25b	الهَرْمُزِيّة
(Title-page only)	هداة بنى جابر
(Title-page only)	واسط الهده
(Title-page only)	واسط بنى احمد

The author notes that Saiyid Aḥmad b. 'Adjlān (G. de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca* (London, 1951), 102, *flor.* A.D. 1360–86) used to rule over six more places which he also describes :

12a	الاصيفر
12a	البثنى
12a	بسرّه
12b	البقاع
12b	جيف بنى عمير
12b	الفتح

Notes

Djār Allāh's treatise is dedicated to Abū Numaiy Muḥammad the Sharīfian ruler of Mecca (A.D. 1524–84), whose genealogy he gives, tracing it right back to the Prophet. The treatise is a source of many little pieces of information on the history and activities of the Meccan Sharīfs as well as of geographical interest. Frequent references are made to the working of the irrigation systems in the villages, which Mr. P. Forand has been working out with the assistance in part of the late Ettore Rossi's 'Note sull' irrigazione . . . nel Yemen', *Oriente Moderno*, xxxiii, 8–9, 1953, 349–61. The detailed accounts of the water available in the wādīs may be compared with Ibn Ḥaḍḡar, *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā al-fikhīyah* (Cairo, 1938), especially vol. II, 147, 158, 189, where the term *wadībah* is used in the sense of a share of water, p. 158 for instance referring to the sale of a *wadībah min 'Ain al-Salāmah*. It is noteworthy that the Persians

are reputed to have built no fewer than 68 cisterns (*ṣahrīdj*) at Jedda (8b), for they are credited with similar work at Aden. The measurements and description of the Egyptian fortifications at Jedda are given (9a) according to the *dhirā' al-'amal* 'used nowadays' which is equivalent to one and a third of the Egyptian iron *dhirā'*. The appearance of the Franks in 922 H. (A.D. 1516) is also mentioned (9b) and details of how the fortifications stood up to their attack. There are also brief notes on the taxes and duties called *lawāzim wa-mukūs* paid at Jedda to the Egyptians in the time of the author's grandfather (8b). At the time of the Mūsīm Hindī certain arrangements were made at the port for the collection of duties, and at this time the Friday prayer was held in a third mosque at the gate of the harbour (8a).

II

(al-Kādi Djamāl al-Dīn) Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭaiyib b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Makhramah.

al-Nisbah ila 'l-mawāḍi' wa-'l-buldān

Loc.: Copy with the Kādi of Mūdiyāh in 1954, Saiyid Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Sakḥāf, said to be based on an older copy with the Djifri family in Lahej; cf. Khalīl Yaḥyā Nāmī, *al-Bi'that al-miṣriyah li-taṣwīr al-makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyyah fī bilād al-Yaman, taḥrīr* . . . (Cairo, 1952), p. 37, photo no. 167. This latter MS is described as a *Muntakhab* or compendium from the above work.

Refs.: 'Materials for South Arabian history [I]', *BSOAS*, xiii, 2, 1950, 301, where the author is wrongly named perhaps, on the authority of 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir's *al-Shāmil* (photocopies in SOAS Library, p. 6) which cites him as Abū Muḥ. al-Ṭaiyib b. 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad. The title Djamāl al-Dīn would show that his name is in fact Muḥammad, for al-Shardjī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-khawāṣṣ* (Cairo, 1903), p. 26) indicates that the Yemenis call one named Muḥammad, Djamāl al-Dīn, and one named Aḥmad, Shihāb al-Dīn, though of course this practice is universal; cf. *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, p. 228.

Begins :

الحمد لله رب العالمين حمدا يوافي نعمه ويكافي مزيده

Descr. of MS: Copy transcribed in 1353 H. (1935-6), a large two-volume work of 35 lines to the page, in a very legible hand. The work appears to have been composed in 928 H. (A.D. 1521-2), *vide* entry al-Khanfarī, *infra*.

Sources: The author derived much from Ibn Khallikān, though he had no complete text of his biographical dictionary, but only separate parts. Other sources upon which he relied were *Ṭabaḳāt al-Subkī al-kubrā*, *Tārīkh al-Fāsī*, *Tārīkh al-Dīnādī*, all well-known authorities, but he then adds,

ثم إني رأيت ذلك قليل الجدوى والمنفع فضمت إليه من ينسب الى تلك البلده من المحدثين المشهورين.

For this purpose he relied upon '*kitāb mā ittafaqa lafz-an wa-'khtalafa wad'-an*' of al-Dhahabī, and *K. Ṭabṣirat al-muntabih bi-taḥrīr al-muṣṭabih* (Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 68, gives the British Museum copy the title *Ṭabṣir*) of Abu 'l-Faḍl b.

Ḥaḍjar. He relied especially upon the latter, for his text of al-Dhahabī was very faulty. This he tried to rectify by recourse to al-Shīrāzī's *Ḳāmūs*, and the *Takmilat al-Sihāh* of al-Ṣan'ānī (sic for al-Ṣāghānī). Then he found a *musawwadah* or draft of the *Ḳāḍī Mas'ūd* b. Sa'd b. Aḥmad Abī Shukail al-Anṣārī al-Khazradjī,

ذكر فيها جملة من البلدان مقتصراً على ذكر البلد وصفتها وبعض من ينسب إليها من العلماء والرؤسا المشهورين بل وصل فيها الى اخر باب الرأثم ذكر بعد ذلك في حروف متفرقة من كل حرف بلدة او بلدين فاهممت باتمامه وتبييضه ففقدت النسخة المذكورة مده طويله ولم اظفر بها فشرعت في جمع شئ من ذلك حاذياً حذوه في الضبط والتبيين.

Some of this material he added to his book, and indeed, from our point of view, this is the most valuable part of it, as the rest of the material is already available in the printed works of the authors themselves. Notes on *Ḳāḍī Mas'ūd* are given by 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir in '*Uḳūḍ al-almās* (Singapore, 1949-50), II, 65. *Shakīb Arslān* (Appendices to *Hādir al-'ālam al-Islāmī*, of Lothrop Stoddart, trans. Muḥ. b. . . . *Shihāb* (Cairo, 1352 H.)), mentions a *Tārīkh Abī Shukail al-Mas'ūdī* of which he states, there is a copy in *Ṣan'ā'*. The author might conceivably be the *Ḳāḍī Mas'ūd*. *Shanbal's Tārīkh* gives his date of birth as 759 H. (A.D. 1357-8), or more likely 760 H. (A.D. 1358-9). He died in 838 H. (A.D. 1434-5).

The author adds that when he introduces information by the phrase, '*Ḳāla 'l-Ḥāfiẓ*', then it is derived from the '*Zawā'id*' of Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-'Aṣkalānī (Ibn Ḥaḍjar) to the '*Tabṣīrah 'alā kitāb al-Dhahabī*'.

During my stay in Müdiyah I was able to avail myself of the *Ḳāḍī's* kindness to copy out the entries relating to Southern Arabia; with these I have included some entries relating to Africa and India with which it has close connexions. These entries are not complete for I did not copy out material I knew to exist in other sources, and I did not always copy out the lists of scholars, unless there seemed to be some importance in doing so. Some of the geographical material is not yet to my knowledge available anywhere else. I have made little attempt to correct the text, though I have added occasional notes with my initials to some of the contents summarized in English. These were notes taken in the field, and I have been inconsistent, sometimes copying the *nisbah*, sometimes the name of the place itself.

(1) *Entries relating to Southern Arabia*

Yemenite Ibb.

الإببي

Lahej district (al-Hamdānī, p. 98, بنو أبة).

أبه

A *nisbah* to the Persian Abnā'.

الابنائى

الابيني . . . شرقها احور وغربها لحج وشمالها جبل يافع . . . مدنها المشهورة خنفر
والحل وكان فيها من قديم قري ومدن خربت وبقيت بلا ساكن.

Abyan is described as less than two *marḥalahs* from Aden. Near the sea the author mentions Ribāṭ al-Faḳīh Sālim not far from the place of visitation al-Kaṭhīb al-Abyaḍ (mentioned in other Arab authors, and known to this day: R. B. S.).

الأحورى . . . قال القاضي مسعود كانت في القديم سلاطينها من كندة يسمون
شجوه (شبحوه) والآن قد سارت في حكم ال يحيى من بنى ابراهيم يسمون الجحافل
وفيها بندر ترسى فيه الخواطف من الشحر وبربره وعدن وغيرهم وهي ذات
فروع تنسقى بما المطر وفيها قبر مشهور بالبركة يقال له الشيخ عمر بن ميمون.

Most of the entry consists of the usual legendary
الاحقافى

الآنحبي نسبة الى أخيه . . . ذكرها القاضي مسعود وقال ان يشرب آل عدن منها
قبل Lacuna

It had a *sūk* and fields and was inhabited by الاهدوب but destroyed by the
two Āl Ṭāhir *shaiḥs*, 'Alī and 'Āmir, as a highwayman's nest, and is described
by the author as now ruined.

This entry contains much legend connected with
ارم ذات العمداد
the plains north of Aden, probably all drawn from
known sources.

الاسرارى . . . اسرار قرية من اعمال ريده المشقص بنواحي الشحر.

A village two days' journey from al-Shiḥr. A poet 'Abdullāh b. Ḥasan b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī died there.

Near Ḥaḍramawt, west of al-Shiḥr, lying two
الاسقطرى
days from Daw'ān. (This place is not known to
me. R. B. S.)

Here is found الصيد المعروف بصيد اسقط

(Read صبر for صيد. R. B. S.)

Near *Dhamār* (al-Hamdānī, 104).

أفيق
On the Yemen coast.

الاهواب
Yemen (al-Hamdānī, index).

بارق
البراشى
Nisbah to Mt. براش of Ṣan'a'.

برع—حصن بدمار
البروى—كانت بلدة قديمة من اعمال فوه يجلب اليها الصبر السقطرى وكان بها قلعة
تسمى عرته.

The water here is bad. The inhabitants of Barūm are mostly fishermen (as to-day: R. B. S.).

Yemen (al-Hamdānī, 184).

البطان

Mountain near Ta'izz, with many villages, fields, gardens, and forts.

بَعْدَانَه

البَوْر - منها آل كثير من بني ظنّه من آل حرام.

البُوَيْشِي - بويش غياض بقرب الشحر . . . وحولها موضعان على البحر احدهما يسمى المكنى وتسميه العامة المكلّى والثانية روكب وبالمكلا قبر رجل صالح غريب يسمى يعقوب وهو مزار عند مسجده معروف بكرامته ومن نجا الى قبره نجا.

(Extract from Kāḍī Mas'ūd).

البياض - حصن باليمن وارض بنجد لبني عامر.

البيحاني سميت باسم بيهان ابو قبيلة والى القبيلة تنسب الابل البيحانية.

(cf. al-Hamdānī, 82.)

البن - موضع قرب نجران

On the road from al-Shiḥr to Ḥaḍramawt, with *nardjīl* (coconut palms), and hot springs.

تباله

Of the Yemen. Notes on the Yemenite Ka'bah there and الخلصه

تباله

Yemen.

ترن

Nisbah to a village east of Zabīd where 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Waḥhāb was defeated.

التُرَيْبِي

التريمي . . . يقال ان اول من عمرها تريم بن حضرموت بن سبا الاصغر وقد خرج منها علماء فقهاء فضلاء ومشايخ اجلاء منهم الفقيه يحيى بن سالم اكدر بلج والفقيه على بن احمد بكير وتوفيا معاً سنة سبع وسبعين وحسمايه . . . واطنهما قتلا في تلك السنة في فتنه عثمان الزنجيلي كان بعدن فلما علم بوصول السلطان طغتكين بن ايوب من مصر واستيلائه على زبيد واعمالها خرج خوفاً منه الى حضرموت فقتل بها جمعاً من العلماء والفضلاء قال القاضي مسعود ومنهم الفقيه سالم با فضل صاحب الذيل على تفسير القشيري والفقيه شرف الدين احمد بن محمد بن ضَمْعَج والد السبتي صاحب شرح التنبيه والفقيه احمد بن فضل والفقيه الصالح الزاهد على بن محمد بن علي بن يحيى بن حاتم والفقيه على بن احمد با مروان والفقيه الشيخ جمال الدين محمد بن علي با علوى والفقيه عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن با عبيد صاحب الاكمال لما وقع في التنبيه من الاشكال والفقيه محمد بن احمد ابى الحب توفي سنة اثنتي عشرة وستائة وفي تريم علماء وعباد

وزهاد لا تحصون ومقبرتها مشهورة البركة ومدفون في جبانته تريم اربعون من
اهل بدر انتهى كلام القاضي مسعود وفيها جمع السادة [والاشراف] ال با علوى
كالشيخ عبد الرحمن واولاده وحفدته وغيرهم خلق لا يحصون ولما رأ الشيخ على
بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن اسعد مشايخ اليمن ووصل الى حضرموت وأ (أر؟)
ما فيها من الصالحين الاحياء والاموات وانشد

مررت بوادى حضرموت مسلماً

فالفيتة بالبشر متمساً رجلاً

والفيت فيه من جهابذة العلى

أئمة لا يلقون شرقاً ولا غرباً

ومن ينسب اليها من فضلاء المتأخرين اماما وقتنا وبهجة وقتنا شيخى الامام جمال
الدين محمد بن احمد فضل التريمى وتلميذه شيخى الامام عفيف الدين عبد
الله بن عبد الرحمن با فضل التريمى.

التريسي . . . قرية شرقى محلة المشايخ آل با عبّاد المعروفة بالغرفة.

التعزى . . . دمشق اليمن فى الثمار والانهار والازهار والنزهة يقال انه لم يكن فيها شى
من ذلك حتى ملك اليمن توران شاه بن ايوب من قبل اخيه السلطان صلاح
الدين بن ايوب . . .

فارسل اليه اخوه صلاح الدين من الشام بجملة انواع من الفواكه فغرسها
بتعز. وكانت بها ثعبات نزهة الدنيا وتعز كما قال القايل.

تعز كرسى اليمن

خراجها من عدن

احسب تجد حروفها

جاد اويس القرن

Famous place half a stage from al-Djanad, con-
tains a village called العنبره, and Yāfi'ī *fakīhs*
called al-Yahyawiyyūn.

التعكر

التعنى . . . تِنْعَة قرية قرب حضرموت سميت بتنعَة بن هانىء ينسب اليها عياض بن
عياض.

Reference by author to the *Kāmūs*. This village still exists (R. B. S.).

التهاى

التوى

ثات . . . ومنه ذو ثات الحميرى قيل من اقيالها.

Mountain of the Yemen (al-Hamdānī, index).

ثباج

ثروق (?) قرية عظيمة لدوس.

Nisbah to a place two *marḥalahs* east of al-Shiḥr.

الثوبانى

Well-known place in the Yemen. Wheat and barley are grown here.

ثلاء

الجبای جبّا . . . قرية بجبل صبر فوق تعز . . . فيه زروع وسكر.

Long description given by author (al-Hamdānī, index).

Called after a Jew who used to sell pottery

(fakḥkhār) in it.

الجبلى

الجبّنى جبّن . . . هى بلدة السلاطين آل طاهر . . . وبها قبورهم.

الجُحافى—جحف جبل باليمن مشتمل على قرى وحصون.

الجُرّقى

الجردانى—وادی بین عمقین ووادى جیان.

Text *Djyān*, but probably *Ḥabbān* should be read.

The author gives the names of scholars from this remote valley.

الجُرّقى

الجللى—جبل الجليل باليمن.

الجندى

الجوفى

One stage from al-Djanad (al-Hamdānī, index).

الجوهى—الجوة

From Ḥāsik the village near Zūfār al-Ḥabūzī.

الحاسكى

It has a tomb, said to be that of Ṣāliḥ min awlād al-Nabī Hūd, to which visitations are made. From it is brought *Shiḥrī lubān* and *ṣabir*.

الحبّان—ومدينتها المصنعة.

The following scholars are mentioned here—Abū ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥ. b. ‘Umar al-Mālīkī, ‘Alī b. Muḥ. b. ‘Umar of al-Raḥbah (? pointing, or al-Zaḥbah), Abū Isma‘īl b. Muḥ. b. ‘Umar, and Isrā‘īl b. Muḥ. b. ‘Umar, author of a celebrated collection of *Fatāwā*.

الحُجْرَى . . . قرية بالجند.
الحُجْرَى

A *nisbah* to two places in the Yemen, one being Ḥaḍjar 'Alwān (pointing added), the other being Ḥaḍjar b. Daḡghār al-Kindī (Ḥaḍramawt, R. B. S.) which the author describes, adding :

وعندها اسقطرى الذى يضاف اليه الصبر السقطرى.

Ḥudaidah.

الحُدَيْدَى

A known mountain of the Yemen where Zaidīs, Shāfi'īs, and Isma'īlīs live.

الْحَرَّازَى

A place near al-Shiḥr and east of Ghail Bā Wazīr.

الحِثْ

(al-Hamdānī, index, الحِرْدَة).

الحِرْدَى

Yemen.

الْحَرَضَى (الْحَرَض)

Ḥuraidah opp. 'Andal.

الحُرَيْضَى

Yemen (cf. al-Hamdānī, etc.).

الحَزْبِزَى

Ḥaṣwail in the Mishkāṣ area, with wells and crops.

الْحَصَوَيْلَى

The tribes سيان تميم بنو عكبر الصيعر الاحوم مَهْرَة are mentioned as in Ḥaḍramawt.

الحَضْرَى

In Tihāmah.

الحَضْنَى - حَضْن

الْحَطِيبَى

Described as a place near Yashbum of the 'Awālīq. This is probably the Wādī Ḥaṭīb, and the entry evidence of the existence of the tribal name 'Awālīq at this time (R. B. S.) (al-Hamdānī, 89).

الحورى . . . سكان القلعة ال الملكى وسكان اسفل القلعة آل با وزير المتصوفة.

Ḥawrā (Ḥawrah) in Ḥaḍramawt has a *kal'ah ḥaṣīnah* (a strong fortress). The Bā Wazīr *shaiḫs* buried there include Abū Bakr and Sa'id, sons of Muḥ. b. Sālim.

الحَيْرِجَى . . . بلدة مشهورة على ساحل البحر بجزر الظفار وهى ام المشقااص ومحمد الحشريت وشيوخهم الاشعثيون من كنده من ذرية الاشعث بن قيس بن معدى كرب الحضرى. وفي حيرج بندر يقصده اهل الهند ومقدشوه ويتوسمه اهل الشحر وحضرموت ويحمل منه الكندر والصينه الى عدن وبربره وجده والى كل جهة ذكرها القاضى مسعود.

(For الصيهه the word الصيفه 'fish-oil' should probably be read. R. B. S.)

الحيسى

الhashimiy . . . خاشيم . . . قرية من قرى ريدہ المشقاص قرب البحر . . . يسكنها
بنو مُحَرَّم خَدَام لآل با عباد الحضرمى.

خبر—من نواحي بلاد حمير قريب الى حوزة الساحل كانت عامره ولم يبق اليوم منها ،
سوى الاثار وينسب اليها ملوك حمير يسمون اليوم الخُمَيْخُمِيُّونَ.

الخبرى (Text)

الخراسى الخرشه برا مهمله وفتحتين ثم الف ثم شين معجمه مكسوره ثم تحتيه مخففه
مفتوحه ثم ها.

A village of Lahej on the road from Aden, of the 'Abādil ('Abdalīs : R. B. S.).
It is now a *haratāh* of الشيخ احمد بالحفار الاحورى.

الخرية . . . مدينة بوادى دوعان الايمن ولما استولى الفقيه الصالح الورع الزاهد العالم
عفيف الدين عبد الله بن محمد بن عثمان بن محمد بن عثمان العمودى النوخى على
وادى دوعان سكن راس الخريه واقام لهم الشريعه واحيا السنه واطفا البدعه
لكن لم يوافق ذلك هواهم فحاربوه واخرجوه وانتقل الى دمار وتوفى بها فى سنة
اربعين وثمانمئة كذا وجد فى خط بعض الفضلاء.

الخلّى—خلّة قرية باليمن قرب حجر. حياّز.

Famous scholars from this village are ابو المذبح اسمعيل بن احمد بن على
(ob 724 H.), ابن محمد بن سليمان المسلى ابن الرنبول. al-Imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan
'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Aṣḥabī, and Ṣāliḥ b. 'Umar al-Buraihī.

الخملى . . . الخميلة . . . قريه على وادى عمد بها فقرا صالحون يطعمون الطعام
يعرفون بآل يزيد تتصل خرقهم الى ابى مدين المغربى ذكر ذلك القاضى
مسعود.

الخنفرى—خنفر من مدن ايمن وهى قاعدة ايمن وحاكم ايمن يسكنها وبها جامع كبير
حسن البناء.

A pious man who lived here was called الشحبلى. In the middle of the
town are *ḥarom mutaṣawwifāh* called البركاتيون of whom he says :

يدهم للشيخ مور بن عمر بن الزغب وهولا البركاتيون يسافرون بركب اليمن من
الشحر واحور وايين والجبل جميعه وتهامه جميعها . . .

This is, according to the Kāḍī Mas'ūd,

على ما كان في زمنه واما اليوم فهي خراب استولى عليها البدو مثل الهياثم والطواقي وال ايوب وغيرهم من داعية الفساد وانتقل البركانيون الذين كانوا بها الى وادى لحج في عصرنا هذا وهو سنة ثمان وعشرين وتسعمائة تطرق فساد البدو المذكورين الى وادى لحج وخرب اكثرها وغالب قراها وذلك بسبب التفات الدولة الى جمع الخطاطم الفاني وعدم اعتنائهم بمصالح المسلمين.

الخوارى . . . نسبة الى خوار بن الصّدف من حمير.

الدّبرى (دبره). *Nisbah to a place near Ṣan'ā' (al-Hamdānī, index).*

الدثيني نسبة الى دثينه بالفتح وكسر المثلثة وسكون التحتانية ثم نون مفتوحة ثم ها صقع معروف باليمن بناحية ابين من الشمال وتهامة ورداع الحوامل تحت الكور من الشرق وهي بلاد متسعة في كل بقعة منها قبيلة منقطعة لا تطيع غيرها والعداوة بينهم قائمه والصلح قد يقع بينهم في بعض الازمان وقاعدتها قرية كبيرة تسمى الحافة وسلاطينها الهياثم وكان مقدمهم ال قاحل بالقاف والحامهمله واليوم المتقدم فيهم حيدر بن مسعود وولده محمد لا اسعدهما الله ابادوا الناس شرّاً طغوا في البلاد واكثروا فيها الفساد وعجل الله الانتقام منهم بحوله وقوته قال القاضي مسعود وزعم المنجمون ان طالعها العقرب والمريخ صاحبها فلهذا كان الشر وضد الصلاح غالباً عليهم ويقال انها من المحرومات الاربع في اليمن وهي تعز والمعاقر وصعده ودثينه والمقدسات الاربع الجند والكثيب الابيض وزبيد وصنعها انتهى ما ذكر القاضي مسعود وينسب اليها جماعة من اهل اليمن قال الحافظ ولعله عروه بن غربه الدثيني بزيادة تحتانية بين المثلثة والنون منهم روى عن الضحاك بن فيروز ذكره سيف في الفتوح انتهى.

(One of the present-day Faṭhānī tribes is called Al Kāḥil. R. B. S.)

In the Yemenite district of Ba'dān in Mikhlaḥ

الدّالّى—دلال

Dja'far (cf. al-Hamdānī pp. 75, 100).

According to a marginal note properly Daw'an.

الدوعانى

(The spelling with the long a is not infrequent in medieval MSS. R. B. S.)

In the Wādī Aysar is الدوقه and in al-Ayman, Khuraibah.

Wādī 'l-Dawm (pointing added, cf. al-Hamdānī, index) of Lahej. There are *ḥarath* cultivators here. (Full notice in MS.)

الدّومى

الدهلكى . . . وكان بنو اميّة اذا غضبوا على احد من اهل الحجاز نفوه الى دهلك.

Some scholars from this island are mentioned.

الذُّبَابَه موضع بأجار وموضع بعدن أبين.
الذُّبْحَانِي جهة المغافر (كذا) في حكم الدُّمْلُوهُ يسكنها صوفيون يعرفون ببني
المَسْن . . . تجلب منها الاطعمة والسمن والعسل والحلبه الى عدن.

Of the later scholars are mentioned Sa'īd b. Aḥmad al-Dhubhānī—Kara'a
'alā Isma'īl al-Mukrī, muṣannif al-Irshād (ob. Aden 888 H.), Muḥ. b. Sa'īd b.
Aḥmad al-Dhubhānī of whom a biography is given, the author adding:

وللفواه (كذا) فيه اعتقاد خصوصاً يافع والهنود.
الذِّمَارِي . . . سميت بفيل (كذا) من اقيال حمير . . . ومن ذمار الابنا اولاد
الفرس.

ذمرمر — حصن من اعمال صنعا قيل انها اسم مدينه صنعا وصنعا قصر غمدان الذي
بناه التابعه (كذا)
ذَهَبَان

Belongs to Āl Abī 'Abbād, in Ḥaḍramawt.
(These are the *Mashāyikh* connected with the Tomb
of Hūd. R. B. S.)

A *sūk* and place of *tudjdjār*.

ذِي اصْبَح

ذِي عُدَيْتِه

ذِي عَقَيْبٍ — قرية بالجنديه.

Nisbah to a village in Daw'an (cf. al-Ḥamdānī).
It had scholars, amongst whom was al-Faḥīh
Aḥmad b. Sālim Bā Naḳīb.

الرحابى

الرجبى . . . بالجيم من رجه حى همدان والثانى موضع باليمن بقرب قرية محضن
المعروف بحصن الخنازم الكنديين قرية يقال لها الرجه ايضا انشاها الفقيه . . .
على بن . . . محمد بن عمر المالكي.

The father of the last-named was from Abyan, and settled in al-Khabar
min bilād Ḥimyar (in the Wāḥidī Sultanate: R. B. S.), married there and
settled at al-Maṣna'ah Ḥabbān (MS wrong *Dj* bān). Here the Faḥīh 'Alī was
born, and the Faḥīhs, Isma'īl, Isrā'īl, Ibrāhīm, and Bū Bakr. This R *dj* bah
(for which رجه should be read: R. B. S.) was uncultivated land (*marwāt*)
so he asked for it from the people of the district and built a mosque. He was the
father of pious sons who يطعمون الطعام, and he died in 882 H. (This is doubtless
the ancestor of the famous families of *Mashāyikh* of the Wāḥidī Sultanate.
R. B. S.)

الرخيى . . . رَخِيَه . . . جهة عريضه ذات مزارع على مطر جبله واشجارها علوب
وفيها بعض نخيل.

(Kāḍi Mas'ūd.) Its inhabitants are :

آل بالعبيد آل شحبل وبعض من كنده.

الرداعي

رداع الحرّامل وهي قرية فوق عقبة : There are two districts, one is
دثينه وفي وسط العقبة ناس يسمون البركانيون ورداع المذكوره متصله بحصى
وهي بلاد اغنام وزرع وفيهم نجده وباس واهلها شافيه.

The other is رديان of رديان رديان which has much burr and grapes.
(R. B. S.) looks incorrect, and الحوامل should probably be read. R. B. S.)

الردماني This place Radmān has a fort called المعسال
اويس القرنى and a village, called Kāran, after which
is named.

الرُسغني Yemenite (?). (al-Hamdānī mentions (p. 99) ريسان.)

الرّعْرَعِيّ الرعارع قريه من قرا لحج.

الرّثْبُولِيّ . . . قال القاضي مسعود . . . هذه النسبه ليست الى بلاد ولا الى قبيله
والظاهر انه لقب لبعض اجداد الفقها بنى الرنبول ومنهم شرف الدين احمد بن
ابى بكر بن ابراهيم الرنبولى الخزيمى نسبة الى قبيله باسفل ميفعه يقال لهم الخازمه
من كنده كان عالماً صالحاً صوفياً مجاب الدعوه قرا على الفقيه اسمعيل
الحضرمى . . . وعنه اخذ القاضيان جمال الدين محمد بن سعد با شكيل وصنوه
القاضي شهاب الدين احمد بن سعد با شكيل.

This scholar al-Ranbūlī, mentioned in several hagiologies, died in an Abyan
village in 724 H.

A village in Ḥarāz.

الرواحي

Reference to the strong tribe of the Banū Ma'n in Aden during Ṣulaiḥid
times, and to بني الكرندى بالمعافر.

الريدى

(Volume II)

Zabarān is a village of al-Djanad (cf. al-
Hamdānī, 115).

الزبراني

الزبيدي

A village of Mikhlāf Dja'far (al-Hamdānī, (حا مهملة)
index).

السّاعى قريه معروفه فى جبل بنى سيف (مشايخ).

السكسكى

Yemen, al-Djanad district.

السودى (سَوْدَة)

East of al-Djanad. From it came the celebrated scholar al-Imām Yahyā b. Abi 'l-Khair al-'Imrānī, author of *البيان والزوايد* [sic] and other works (cf. al-Hamdānī, 103).

السيرى (سِير)

الشَبْوَى شبهه . . . بلد ما بين مارب وحضرموت بين جردان وبيحان وبالقرب منها معدن الملح.

الشحرى . . . سميت بذلك لان سكانها كانوا جيلاً من المهرة يسمون الشحرات بالفتح وسكون الحاء المهملة وفتح الراء المهملة ثم الف فحذفوا الالف وكسروا الشين ومنهم من لا يكسرها والكسر اكثر وتسمى الاشجار ايضا كالجمع وتسمى الاشغا بفتح الهمزة وسكون الشين وفتح الغين المعجمتين ثم الف لانها كان بها واد يسمى الاشغا وكان كثير الشجر وكان فيه ابار ونخيل وكانت البلاد حوله من الجانب الشرقى والمقبره القديمه فى جانبه الغربى ويسمى ايضا سَمْعُون . . . لان بها واديا يسمى سمعون والمدينه حوله من الشرق والغرب وشرب اهلها من ابار فى سمعون وتسمى الاحقاف ايضا والاحقاف الرمال واحدها حقف والشجر كثير الرمال . . . ذكر هذه الاسماء النقيب ابوحنيفه واسمه احمد كان من اولاد تجار عدن ثم صار نقيباً لفقر زاوية الشيخ جوهر ثم عزم الشجر وامتدح سلطانها عبد الرحمن بن رشد (كذا) باشعار كثير معظمها على البال بال . . .

At this point the margin says that six senseless verses are purposely omitted. They are *ضعيفه ملحونه غير موزونه*.

(The term *balbāl* is quite ancient and occurs in various Yemenite authors. R. B. S.)

. . . وخرج من الشجر جماعة من العلماء الفضلاء كال شكيل وال السبتي وال بن حاتم وغيرهم واليها ينسب خلق كثير منهم محمد بن معاذ الشحرى سمع من ابى عبد الله الغزارى والجمال محمد بن عمر الاصفر الشحرى الشاعر.

North Yemen.

الشرجى . . . شرّجه.

الشرعبي

(al-Hamdānī, index.)

الشرعى آخر قرية باليمن

الشروانى من نواحى زبيد . . . محمد بن عشير بن معروف ابوبكر الشروانى. This scholar died in 539 H.

الشعبي
شُقْرُه مرسى ببحر اليمن بين احور واين.
الشَمَهُونِي . . . نسبه الى شمهون قريه من اعمال طفار ينسب اليها محمد بن عثمان
الشمهوني.

This person is mentioned also in *al-Djawhar al-shaffāf* (microfilm of vol. II in SOAS Library).

Mount Ṣābir near Ta'izz.

Village east of al-Djanad beside a mountain called سورق. *Khazradjī* says it is deserted.
(al-Hamdānī, index.)

Ṣuhbān near Dhū Djibilah (? pointing). A saint Daḥmal, of this village, was prominent in resisting Tughtakīn's land reforms.

Yemenite.

الضحية (كغنى)
الضحيان . . . موضع فى طريق حضرموت الى مكة.
(al-Hamdānī, 124.)
Nisbah to a Yemenite village.

الضراسى
ضُرَّاس . . . جبل بعدن . . . من جهة حُقَّات وفى مرسى السفن ولا ساكن به.
ضراس . . . بلد مشهور ببحال اليمن.
طَنْب . . . موضع بين ماوية وذات العُشر.
الظاهرى . . . ظاهر موضع شرقى الشحر على ساحل البحر الهندى وفيه عيون جاريه
ويزرع عليها الحبوب الذره والرفه [كذا] والدخن الاصغر كذا ذكر القاضى
مسعود والظاهرى نسبه الى الظاهر بمحذف الها صقع باليمن فوق دثينه يجلب
منه الحنطه وغيرها الى عدن وغيره.

Quotations from Yāḳūt, little original.

Zafr is said to be near Zabīd.

الظفارى
ظَفْرُ
العثرى . . . عَثْر . . . جزيره من بحر اليمن سميت باسم مدينه تقابلها فى البر فى
راس المخلاف السليمانى بين حَكْنَى وحرص وقد خربت منذ زمن.
(al-Hamdānī, index.)

Yemenite village.

العجله

العدنى . . . كانت قديماً تعرف بعدن ابين لان ابين بن زهير بن الهميسع بن حمير اقام بها لانها كانت من اعمال ابين وتميزاً بينهما وبين عدن لانه قريه باليمن ايضاً قرب صنعاً . . .

سميت عدناً وهى الاقامة لان تبعاً كان يحبس بها اصحاب الجرايم.
طول جامع عدن من الباب الشرقى الى الباب الغربى مائة وخمسة وثلاثون ذراعاً باليد وعرضه من الباب القبلى الى الباب الحقيقى مائة وسبعة اذرع يد هكذا وجد بخط القاضى جمال الدين ابى شكيل.

(Perhaps one should read al-bāb al-Ḥuḳḳātī. R. B. S.)

The *Kāmūs*, says the author, says Aden is an island.

العدنى

(al-Hamdānī, index.)

العرجى

'Āyān is a village in the Yemen (cf. al-Hamdānī, index).

العيانى

الغرفى . . . العُرفه ذات نخيل ومزارع بها فقرا صالحون يعرفون بال ابى عباد ومن مشايخهم الكبار . . . عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن با عباد وهو اول من اشتهر بالتصوف بحضرموت . . . ودفن بشبام وتربته من التراب المشهورة المقصودة بالزيارة من الاماكن الشاسعة ومنهم من اعلا مناصب حضرموت.

(al-Hamdānī, index.)

غرُق بلاد باليمن

الفايشى . . . نسبه الى القيل ذى الفايش الحميرى.

Red Sea island.

فرسان

Yemen.

فرغان

Yemenite village.

فلق

Place in the Tihāmah.

قبرين

القرينان جبل بساحر [كذا] بحر الهند من جهة اليمن.

قشن

غب القمر . . . موضع بين ظفار والشحر . . . هو معروف اليوم بعثة [كذا] القمر وهو موضع خطر اذا سقطت اليه السفن قل ان تسلم.

Yemenite village.

قُنْبَه

Village in Maifa'.

قَنِى

القيدونى قيدون . . . بوادى دوعن . . . بها فقرا صالحون يعرفون بأل العمودى وبها
مشهد الشيخ الكبير . . . ابى مدين المغربى وله فى تلك الناحيه ذريه صالحون.

كوكبان

Place in the Yemen.

كَيْخَار

اللحجى

الماربى - قصر مارب قصر مشيد باليمن.

Ma'rib is said to be three days' journey from Şan'ā'.

المَدَرى نسبة الى مدرات كجمع مدره قريه على نصف مرحلة من الجند ناحية القبلة.
المُدَيَجِرى المديجره . . . مدينه بمخلاف ريمه.

The margin, unquestionably correctly, suggests المَذِيخَة.

المعافرى

(cf. al-Hamdānī, index.)

مَعْبَر - قريه كبيرة فى بلاد الاشعوب.

(cf. al-Hamdānī, index.)

المَعْقِر

Yemen (cf. al-Hamdānī, index).

مُعِين

المغزبى . . . نسبة الى المعازبه طائفة كبيرة بقرى زييد منهم شجعان وعلماء وزهاد
ولا يزالون يخرجون على السلطان.

ملحان

A village between Şan'ā' and Dhamār.

مُلُص

فيها معدن العقيق ويقال ان فيه حجراً يقال يشتم اخضر الى السواد.

Village of Lahej.

الْمُنْدَجى . . . المندجه

Yemen (cf. al-Hamdānī, 55, 101).

الْمِنْكَى . . . منكث

الناشرى ناشر حى من المعافر.

Various scholars mentioned who bear this *nisbah*.

Various scholars with this *nisbah* are quoted. النافعى - نافع مخلاف اليمن. (Al-Şāghānī quoted in *Tādj al-'arūs*.)

النجدى النجد قبيل تهامة
 النجرانى
 نَسْفَان مَخْلَاف بِقَرَب ذِمَار.
 النظارى نسبة الى قريه فى جبل بعدان يقال لها النظارى.
 Ibrāhīm al-Wazīrī of this village ob. 779 H.
 Village of Ṣan'ā'. نوب

اليهرى نسبة الى ذى يهر الاكبر الحميرى.
 الوسفى الوسف من اعمال همدان.
 الوصابى
 الهجرى

Wādī Daw'an (Ḥaḍramawt), consisting of two villages حَيْدَان [sic] and Dammūn. Even in those days it was known as al-Ḥaḍjarain. Reference to the *Kāmūs*.

Near Ṣan'ā'.

In *Dhamār*.

Yemenite village.

(*Tādjī* من قرى عثر جهة القبلة R. B. S.)

الهمدانى
 الهويب
 اليافعى

A place at Zabīd.

Reference to the *Kāmūs* (Ru'ain and Yāfi'). A number of Yāfi'ī scholars are mentioned.

Reference to the *Kāmūs*. Village of *Shabwah*.

Village of al-Ma'āfir. Al-Fāsi says

من معشار تغز . . . فى واد يقال له القصيبه.

From it comes Zaid b. 'Abdullāh b. *Dja'far* b. Ibrāhīm, Ṣāhib al-Bayān.

اليمنى

(2) Entries relating to Africa

الباورى . . . من اعمال منفسه . . . بساحل الزنج

This is said to be the *nisbah* of a place باورى, in which there is the Ribāṭ of al-fakīh Mūsā b. Mūsā.

البراوى (بَرَاوَة) على ساحل جزيره من اعمال مقدشوه بها مرسى يقصد الخواطف من الهند والسواحل من كل بلده . . . (القاضى مسعود).

البربرى ايضا نسبة الى بربره . . . بلاد واسعة من مقدشوه الى اول بلاد الحبشه ساكنه امه عظيمه وهى اعجام وغير اعجام وجميعهم مسلمون وفيهم سرعة العَدُو وقيل لم يَغْتَدُوا بشى سوا اللبن واللحم وفيهم الطيشه كذا نقلته من كتاب القاضى مسعود.

البَيْلُولى . . . مدينه بساحل بحر الحبشه عند المعبر الى اليمن وبينها وبين زبيد ثلاثه ايام ومن هذا المكان عبرته (كذا) الحبشه الى المراكب حتى ملكوا اليمن ايام اصحاب الاخدود وهو اضيق مكان فى البحر ويقال لها فى الزمان الاول اولافقه ومالكها اليوم المديكى كذا فى كتاب القاضى مسعود.

Various scholars with this *nisbah* are mentioned.

الجبرى

الجِدْأى . . . جزا من ارض الحبشه منها محمد بن ابى بكر بن على الجداى من فضلاء اليمنيين مات سنة ٧٢٣ . . . وكان شخص بعدن مقدم زاوية الجبرت يسمى جِدْأيه . . . فسالته عن تسميته بذلك فقال انا من بلاد بالحبشه يسمى جذايه.

Al-Ḥabashah is located in the following way. To the north of it is al-Khalīdj al-Barbarī, to the south al-Barbar, to the east al-Zindj, and to the west of it the sea. (The two latter directions must be simply a mistake. R. B. S.) It is opposite Yemen and Dahlak. The Abyssinians are :

الحبشه

قوم سود يرجع نسبهم الى حام بن نوح.

The Nadjāshī of the Prophet's time was called أَصْحَمَه (sic, incorrectly).

The Muslims came to him via Dahlak Is.

شرخه . . . بلد بالحبشه يجلب منها الزباد والعاج وغير ذلك.

Fandūn is said to be a village in al-Ḥabashah.

الفندونى

قُمَر (قُمَره or) . . . موضع ورا بلاد الزنج يجلب منه الورق القمارى ولا يقال القمرى وهو خريف طيب الطعم . . . اما عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن منصور الحضرمى القَمَرى قال السَلَكى . . .

Some geographical information on Africa is to be found in the Sharif 'Aidarūs b. 'Alī al-'Aidarūs al-Nuḍairī, *Bughyat al-āmāl fī Tārīkh al-Ṣawmāl* (Mogadisho, 1955) which claims to draw on Arabic MSS sources.

(3) *Entries relating to India*

Ḳāḍī Mas'ūd says this is an Indian *qaryah* with much rice.

با سرور

Said to be a *nisbah* to some place in the Yemen, Hind, or Sind, famous for swords.

البَيْلَمَنَانِي

بيله — قريه بالسند.

A city in India.

الجُوجَى (من جزرات)

السُّرِّي . . . نسبة الى سره كسرة الانسان بلد بالهند وتسمى سره منير.

(This is how the name appears in most South Arabian MSS. R. B. S.)

A place in India.

نَغَر

THE SUDANESE MAHDIA AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD : 1881-9¹

By P. M. HOLT

1. THE CAREER OF THE MAHDI : 1881-5

ON 29 June 1881 letters were despatched by a Dunqulāwī ascetic and religious teacher to various notables in the Egyptian Sudan. The writer, who had previously been known as Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh, announced in these letters what had for some time been an open secret among his followers, namely that he was the Expected Mahdi. Muḥammad Aḥmad was by no means an unknown figure. He was at this time approaching 40 years of age. From childhood he had been profoundly devoted to the study of Islam, Ṣūfī doctrine, and the ascetic life, although, unlike a number of other Sudanese, he had never proceeded to higher studies at al-Azhar. His experience of the world was limited to the northern and central parts of the Egyptian Sudan. Like other devout Sudanese of the time he was distressed by the evidence he saw of the decay and neglect of Islam, and he appears to have shared with his countrymen the expectation that at the end of the thirteenth *hiǧrīya* century (1881-2) God would send a Mahdi to end oppression and regenerate the Faith. It is clear from his letters that Muḥammad Aḥmad's conviction that he himself was the Expected Mahdi occurred at a late stage in his spiritual development. Earlier he had thought that the divine election would fall upon a much more prominent religious leader, Muḥammad al-Mahdī of Jaghbūb, the head of the Sanūsīya order. Only when this hope remained unfulfilled, when the Muslim century drew near its close and when he himself approached the age of 40² did he take the decisive step of proclaiming his manifestation as Mahdi in Abā, an island of the White Nile which had for some years been his place of retreat.

The Mahdia was thus at its inception a religious movement, born of a protest against the contemporary failure to achieve the ideals of the Muslim Faith. A small and physically powerless company of Sudanese, none of great rank or standing, gathered around the new Mahdi and his disciples and formed the nucleus of the movement. To them as to the Mahdi himself, the outside world was a theological rather than a geographical concept. All those who did not accept the divine mission of their leader were unbelievers, even though they might profess Islam.

¹ This article is the substance of a paper read at the Sixth Anglo-American Conference of Historians in London, July 1957. The history of the Mahdia is in other respects more fully treated in my forthcoming book, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*, to be published by the Clarendon Press.

² Here as elsewhere the Mahdi seems consciously to have modelled his career on that of the Prophet, since Muhammad is traditionally said to have received the call to prophecy at the age of 40.

(a) *Withdrawal and Holy War: the Hijra and the Jihād*

At this early stage the Mahdi sought to win the outside world of unbelievers by propagandist letters, while himself withdrawing with his chosen community from its midst. The Mahdi's imitation of the Prophet's *Hijra* was an action long foreseen and prepared. Before his manifestation, Muḥammad Aḥmad had paid two visits to Kordofan, the province west of the White Nile, where he had gained many adherents and had sounded the opinions of Sudanese notables. He had found much discontent with the Egyptian administration. The simple peasants and nomads disliked the payment of taxes, which were extorted on occasion by no gentle methods. Evasion by flight was no longer as easy as it had been in the past, since Khedive Ismā'il had extended Egyptian rule over Darfur to the west and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl to the south. The merchants had suffered from the attempts of the khedive to suppress the slave-trade, attempts all the more odious since they were inspired by Christian Europe and executed by European officials such as Gessi, Slatin, and Gordon. There was thus a great deal of latent opposition to the Egyptian administration, fostered not only by its abuses but also by its good intentions. Having surveyed Kordofan in these two visits, Muḥammad Aḥmad chose the remote Nuba hill-country in the south as the place of refuge for his infant community.

Even though Muḥammad Aḥmad conceived his mission in purely religious terms, it constituted a threat to the Egyptian administration in the Sudan. The threat is implicit in a message which he sent to the governor-general, Muḥammad Ra'ūf Pasha, in Khartoum.¹ In it the Mahdi asserted that he was commanded by the Prophet to establish the *Sunna*. This meant in principle the establishment of a community on what was believed to be the primitive Muslim model; in practice, the rigorous application of the *Shari'a* and the abandonment in particular of those innovations by which the Ottoman empire, including Egypt, had sought to come to terms with the Western world of the nineteenth century. The letter communicates the prophetic command to withdraw from the world, 'to emigrate with the Faith from that which bears the imprint of the age', and there is a clear suggestion that as in the time of the Prophet, the *hijra* would be followed by the *jihād*. The Mahdi writes, 'The warnings are clear and the sword purifies him who does not believe. Let it be known that . . . there came to me a sword and I was informed that none should be victorious over me while I had it. The Prophet informed me that God would take whoever comes against me as an enemy, either by weakness or by drowning'. Here the Mahdi is on the defensive, thinking of resisting attacks upon Abā island, but circumstances were soon to enable him to carry the war against his opponents.

At the time of the Mahdi's *hijra* to Qadir in the Nuba Mountains, which took place between August and October 1881, the theological distinction between

¹ Text in MSS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 4; Nujūmī, 13; Indhārāt, 2-3; Yale, 415-6. MS Yale describes the message as 'the copy of a telegram from the island of Abā to the governor-general'. Printed text in Shoucair, III, 127.

the Mahdist community and the outside world of unbelievers was already being equated with a division between the followers of the Mahdi (who, following another prophetic precedent, were entitled *Anṣār*) and the officials of the Egyptian administration, known generically as *Turuk* 'Turks'. At Qadīr the Mahdia, while not losing its original religious impulse, developed into a resistance-movement against Egyptian rule, and the original company of pious devotees, who disapproved of the Egyptian administration on religious grounds, was augmented by those whose material grievances have been mentioned. Until the fall of Khartoum in January 1885, the chief concern of the Mahdi was the armed struggle against the Egyptians.

The Mahdi himself, however, always remained conscious of the religious and universal character of his mission. The early successes of the *Anṣār* in defeating government forces at Abā and Qadīr were taken to be evidentiary miracles and quickly acquired a legendary quality. In January 1883 the *Anṣār* captured El Obeid, the key to the west. This victory was followed by a pronouncement of the Mahdi which showed that he envisaged his *jihād* as something far more than skirmishes and sieges in a remote African province:

'The Apostle of God gave me good tidings in the prophetic vision and said to me, "As thou didst pray in El Obeid, thou shalt pray in Khartoum, then thou shalt pray in the mosque of Berber, then thou shalt pray in the Holy House of God, then thou shalt pray in the mosque of Yathrib,¹ then thou shalt pray in the mosque of Cairo, then thou shalt pray in the mosque of Jerusalem, then thou shalt pray in the mosque of al-'Irāq, then thou shalt pray in the mosque of al-Kūfa". O God, make us to be of those who pray in these mosques and thereafter make us to be of the martyrs slain at the hands of the vile unbelievers. Amen.'²

(b) *Relations with the outside world after the fall of El Obeid*

The fall of El Obeid was followed by the Mahdi's first attempts to gain followers outside the Egyptian Sudan, and also by his first contact with European Christians in the persons of Hicks and Gordon. On 12 May 1883 he sought to open communications with Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī at Jaghbūb through the sultan of Wadai.³ In his letter he offered the Sanūsī leader a place in the Mahdist hierarchy which since the Emigration to Qadīr

¹ The use of the pre-Emigration name of Medina is perhaps another of the Mahdi's deliberate parallels between his career and that of the Prophet.

² MS Nujūmī, first unnumbered folio.

³ Text in MSS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 47-9; Nujūmī, 127-9; Indhārāt, 36-40. The text in Nujūmī is corrupt where the appointment of the Khalīfas is described, and reads:

ثم حصلت حضرة عظيمة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فيها خلفا من اصحابه من اصحابي

Shoucair attempted to amend this and his printed text (Shoucair, III, 171) reads:

ثم حصلت حضرة عظيمة عن النسي (صلعم) فيها خلفه من اصحابه من اصحابي

This corruption is the source of one of the errors in the translation given in Wingate, *Mahdism*, 71, where this passage is rendered:

had been modelled on precedents from primitive Islam. The Mahdi himself held supreme authority as Successor of the Prophet (*Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*), while the next rank was that of the Successors (*khulafā'*) of the four Orthodox Caliphs. Three of these places had already been assigned, to 'Abdallāhi b. Muḥammad, *Khalīfat al-Siddīq* (who was to succeed the Mahdi as sovereign in 1885), to 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū, *Khalīfat al-Fārūq*, and to Muḥammad Sharif b. Ḥāmid, *Khalīfat al-Karrār*, the Successors respectively of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Alī. The Sanūsī was now designated Successor of 'Uthmān by the authority of a vision of the Prophet, and was bidden to conduct a *jihād* against Egypt or else to make the *hijra* and join the Mahdi in Kordofan. This endeavour to find an ally in an influential religious leader outside the Egyptian Sudan failed; the letter received no reply. It shows, however, that the Mahdi's thoughts were already turning to the prospect of a Holy War against Egypt.

After the Mahdi had installed himself in El Obeid, a last Egyptian attempt was made to overthrow him. This failed when Hicks Pasha's force was defeated at Shaykān in November, 1883. The Mahdi then began preparations for an attack on Khartoum. He moved his camp from El Obeid to al-Rahad, on the way to the White Nile. While he was there, a Syrian merchant came from Darfur, where he had fallen among the *Anṣār*. This man, 'Abdallāh al-Kaḥḥāl, professed his belief in the Mahdi's mission and was provided with letters summoning the Syrians to rise against the Turks.¹ With these as a safe-conduct, he made his way back to Egypt via Darfur, Wadai, and Benghazi. His allegiance to the Mahdi was feigned and the incident produced no repercussions, either in Syria or Egypt.

The Mahdi appears to have shown no particular interest in Hicks, his first European and Christian opponent. Towards Gordon his attitude was different, since Gordon was already known among the Sudanese both as a fanatical Christian and as the energetic and ruthless suppressor of the slave-traders. When Gordon arrived in the Sudan on his last mission, he sent on 9 February 1884 a letter offering the Mahdi recognition as sultan of Kordofan. The Mahdi's answer, written on 5 March, presents several points of interest. Although he realized Gordon was a representative of the British and Khedivial governments, he wrote to him as an individual Christian, whose conversion alone was at stake:

'If you would be compassionate to the Muslims, first have compassion on

'Subsequently a vision took place in which the Prophet and his special disciples, who are also my helpers, were present'.

The correct reading as given by the other sources is:

ثم حصلت حضرة عظيمة عين فيها النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خلفاء خلفائه من اصحابي

'Then there took place a great vision wherein the Prophet appointed successors of his successors [or caliphs] from my companions'.

The covering letter to the sultan of Wadai (Burqū), Muḥammad Yūsuf, is given in MSS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 49-56; Indhārāt, 57-66.

¹ These letters are mentioned in Shoucair, III, 261, but the text is not given.

your soul. Save it from the anger of God and raise it up to follow the true Faith by following our lord Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, who revived the obliterated sects of the prophets and apostles and came to confirm the books in his hand. . . . So first purify your soul by entering into his sect, then have compassion upon his community by following his *Sunna*.'

The offer of the sultanate of Kordofan evoked from the Mahdi a reassertion of the religious nature of his mission, implying a supremacy over all earthly powers :

'Know that I am the Expected Mahdi, the Successor of the Apostle of God. I have no need of the sultanate nor of the sovereignty of Kordofan or elsewhere. I am but the slave of God, guiding unto God and what is His.'

Eight other letters from the Mahdi to Gordon are extant¹ but they throw no light on the Mahdi's conception of the world outside the Sudan. In the last, written in January 1885, a fortnight before the fall of Khartoum, the Mahdi urged Gordon for the last time to submit, but promised him that if he wished, he should be sent to the British Expeditionary Force, then advancing

¹ The following letters from the Mahdi to Gordon are extant :

No.	Date	Texts
1	7 Jumādā I 1301 = 5 March 1884	MSS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 84-91; Nujūmī, 24-6. Shoucair, III, 226-30. Translation, Wingate, <i>Mahdism</i> , 111-15.
2	Accompanying 1	MS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 91. Shoucair, III, 230. Translation, Wingate, <i>Mahdism</i> , 115.
3	Probably sent on 1 Ramaḍān 1301 = 25 June 1884; probably received on 9 September 1884	MSS Nujūmī, 26-8; Yale, 470-5. Yale text printed in <i>JAOs</i> , XXXI, 1911, 368 ff.
4	1 Muharram 1302 = 21 October 1884	MS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 170-6. Translation in Hake, <i>Journals</i> , 522-30.
5	30 Muharram 1302 = 19 November 1884	Shoucair, III, 280. Translation in <i>SNR</i> , XIII, 1, 1930, 60-1, which implies that the letter was received by 12 November 1884.
6	19 Šafar 1302 = 7-8 December 1884 (Hake)	MS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 195-7. Translation in Hake, <i>Journals</i> , 553-6. In Hake the letter is ascribed to 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Jubāra (Jifara or Wadji Barra, i.e. Wad Jubāra). Hake's identification of Jubāra with the Khaliḥa 'Abdallāhi b. Muḥammad, in spite of Gordon's explicit statement (<i>Journals</i> , 388), is an error which was copied by B. M. Allen, <i>Gordon and the Sudan</i> , 410. Yūsuf Mikhā'il includes this among the Mahdi's letters.
7	Rabī' I 1302 = December 1884-January 1885	MS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 177-8. Shoucair, III, 289. Shoucair dates this letter 9 Rabī' I 1302 = 6 January 1884 [<i>sic</i>].
8	21 Rabī' I 1302 = 8 January 1885	MSS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (1), 65-6; Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 177. Shoucair, III, 290-1.
9	25 Rabī' I 1302 = 12 January 1885	MS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 178-9. Shoucair, III, 289-90. <i>SNR</i> , XXIV, 1941, 229-32 (slightly edited text and translation). Shoucair's dating, 20 Rabī' I 1302 = 7 January 1884 [<i>sic</i>] is unsupported from the sources.

up the Nile. So far from demanding the promised ransom of £20,000, the Mahdi declared that he would not claim five pieces of silver.

(c) *Propaganda after the fall of Khartoum*

Khartoum fell on 26 January 1885, Gordon being killed during the fighting. Four days later the steamers of the Relief Expedition reached the confluence of the Niles, only to return precipitately on discovering that they had come too late. Practically the whole of the northern part of the Egyptian Sudan was now in the hands of the Mahdi or his agents. He began to prepare a further extension of the *jihād* and planned to carry the war across the frontier into Egypt. In June 1885 letters were despatched to the people of Egypt¹ and to the Khedive Muḥammad Tawfiq.²

The summons to the khedive marks an interesting development of the Mahdi's thought. Although the Mahdist movement owed much of its success to the Sudanese reaction against European pressure, as in the attempted suppression of the slave-trade, the Mahdi had hitherto made no allusion to this. He had attacked the 'Turks' for their failure to maintain Islam. Even the arrival of Gordon had not prompted him to reinterpret the *jihād* in a generally anti-Christian or anti-European sense. This, however, he did in the letter to Muḥammad Tawfiq, as the following paragraph shows:

'The intrigues of the unbelievers, which they have brought in upon the Muslims, and their errors, which they have caused to dominate the hearts of mankind, have brought about the obliteration of the Faith and have taken away the rules of the Book and the certain *Sunna*, so that the distinctive marks of Islam have become strange among mankind.'

The Relief Expedition seems to have opened the Mahdi's eyes to the British domination in Egypt. He urged the khedive to 'free himself from being a captive of the enemies of God' and required him to submit to the Mahdia, so that 'we shall all be one force to establish the Faith, to expel the enemies of God from the land of the Muslims, to exterminate and extirpate them to the last one, if they do not turn to God and submit'. In a phrase which contrasts with what he wrote to Gordon the year before, the Mahdi claimed to have been informed by the Prophet that he should possess the whole earth.

At this time also the Mahdi's attention was drawn to another part of Muslim Africa. In January 1885 some Moroccans living in Egypt wrote to ask him to appoint one of their number, Muḥammad al-Ghālī, as governor of Fez in order to spread the Mahdia in the Maghrib. The Mahdi replied in May with five letters which display a cautious attitude to this invitation to dabble in Moroccan politics. His commission to Muḥammad al-Ghālī contained the following proviso:

'Inasmuch as you are aware that in the region of Fez are worthy leaders who serve as examples in the Faith, I have therefore, out of my love for the

¹ Mentioned in Shoucair, III, 347.

² Text in MSS Yūsuf Mikhā'il (1), 134-8; Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2), 241-6. Printed in Shoucair, III, 347-51.

agreement of the Muslims in God, entirely committed the matter to them. If they agree upon the aforesaid Muḥammad al-Ghālī, that is consonant with Our purpose and We have given him Our blessing for them. If they agree upon some other eminent person, We have given them permission to do so.’¹

Another of the letters is addressed to the actual governor of Fez, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.² This recounts the circumstances in which the Mahdi made the provisional appointment of Muḥammad al-Ghālī, but is careful not to exclude the possibility of al-Ḥasan himself retaining power :

‘Inasmuch as you have hitherto been the governor of that region and the director of its affairs, We have thought well of you and have written to you herein to lose no time in obtaining your salvation . . . and to answer Our summons to establish the Faith and fight in the Holy War against the enemies of God, the unbelievers. If the local people agree in appointing you over them as Our representative, then We appoint you over them, but you are to act in unanimity with the aforesaid Sayyid al-Ghālī ; . . . if the local people agree upon another than you, . . . be as one of them and do not mind the ending of your rule, for that is a mercy from God. . . . Know that shortly, if God will, I shall come with the Party of God to Egypt, for the affair of the Sudan is finished.’

The Mahdi was not to realize his plan of invading Egypt. On 22 June 1885 he died in Omdurman after a short illness, leaving his followers stupefied at this premature termination of his expected career of conquests. The universal mission to revive Islam throughout the world had shrunk in practice to the overthrow of the khedive’s administration in the Egyptian Sudan. Probably unintentionally, the Mahdi had become a national leader rather than a restorer of Islam. Yet in spite of the ambitious scheme of conquests indicated in the vision after El Obeid, it may be questioned whether he had seriously considered the further stages in his *jihād*. Without any personal knowledge of the world beyond the Egyptian Sudan, the Mahdi seems to have made little effort to acquire information. Effectively his horizon was bounded by Egypt. His attempts to communicate with other Muslim notables and territories were spasmodic and casual, dependent largely on chance contacts. There was none of the careful testing and preparation of feeling that had preceded his manifestation in Abā. Although there were leading Muslims outside the Sudan, notably the pan-Islamic leaders, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ‘Abduh, who were anxious to gain the support of militant Mahdism for their own schemes, the Mahdi appears to have been wholly unaware of them. His attitude to the outside world reflects the geographical isolation of the Nilotic Sudan.

2. THE EARLY YEARS OF THE KHALIFA’S REIGN : 1885-9

The death of the Mahdi was followed by the recognition of his chief lieutenant, ‘Abdallāhi b. Muḥammad al-Ta’ishī, as head of the Mahdist state with the title of *Khalīfat al-Mahdī* ‘the Successor of the Mahdi’. He remained the

¹ Printed in Shoucair, III, 351-2.

² Printed in Shoucair, III, 352-3.

effective ruler of the northern part of the former Egyptian Sudan until his defeat by Kitchener in the battle of Karari, near Omdurman, on 2 September 1898. His reign of 13 years may be divided into three periods. Between his accession in 1885 and 1889, the Khalifa showed himself to be the upholder of Mahdist ideology and continued the policy of the *jihād* against the outer world of unbelievers—an outer world which was by this time conceived of primarily in geographical terms as meaning the lands outside the Mahdist Sudan. A number of events in 1889 and 1890, notably the defeat of the Mahdist invasion of Egypt at Tūshkī, ended this aggressive and expansionist phase of Mahdism, with which the present survey closes. The remaining phases may be briefly summarized. From 1889 to 1896, although the old ideological pretensions were not abandoned, the Mahdist state adopted a policy of isolation from the unbelieving world outside, having little contact with the territories beyond its frontiers, except for occasional armed raids and a limited amount of trade. Finally from 1896 to 1898 the Mahdist state was on the defensive against the Anglo-Egyptian invasion. The threat from European imperialism had already been foreshadowed by Belgian expeditions into the south-western fringes of Mahdist territory, and by the Italian capture of Kassala in 1894.

(a) *Propaganda after the Mahdi's death*

The death of the Mahdi with his promised career of conquests unfulfilled came as a stunning shock to the Sudanese and seems to have shaken the credit of the movement in the Muslim world outside. This reaction and the manner in which the Khalifa sought to restore the situation appear in a letter which he addressed to the people of Egypt.¹ Speaking of the divine assistance which, he claimed, assisted the Mahdi to victory, he continued :

‘Do not trouble yourself over the cessation of that divine assistance with the passing of the Mahdi, for between the Mahdi and his ancestor, the elect Prophet, is a close similarity. When the Prophet passed away, the assistance remained with his noble Companions until the Faith of God was confirmed and its compass extended as you know. The passing of the Mahdi to the world to come before the conquests of Mecca, Constantinople, and other cities . . . does not impugn his being the Mahdi of the end of the age, of whose manifestation the Prophet gave the Muslim community good tidings.’

The Khalifa goes on to say that as the early Muslim conquests under the caliphs are to be ascribed to the Prophet, so with the new victories under the Mahdist dispensation :

‘It is known that in his time [the Prophet] conquered only Mecca and Khaybar ; the rest of the conquest being by the hands of the caliphs after him. Likewise his Successor, the Mahdi, came and all the conquests of countries attributed to him in the *ḥadīth* must certainly be by the hands of his successors (*khulafāʾ*) and his companions, since they are his heirs who undertake the affair after him.’

¹ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 421-2.

The successes of the Mahdi had attracted to Omdurman in 1885 a number of people from other Muslim lands, who were anxious to test the potentialities of the new movement. The Moroccan delegation has already been mentioned, and, although these particular envoys were not allowed to proceed after the Mahdi's death, the Khalifa generally used such visitors as agents for his propaganda abroad. In 1886 he made a particular effort to win supporters in the Arabian peninsula. An opportunity appeared on the arrival, soon after the Mahdi's death, of a messenger from the Su'ūdī *amīr* in Najd, 'Abdallāh b. Fayṣal b. Su'ūd.¹ In February 1886 the Su'ūdī messenger was given a letter to his master² in which the Khalifa appointed 'Abdallāh as Mahdist agent-general over all the *amīrs* and peoples of Najd, 'on condition of guiding them to God, bringing them into the way of the Mahdi, joining with them in the *jihād* against the enemies of God and acting according to the Book of God and the *Sunna* of His Apostle'. The Khalifa also speaks of his own intention of waging the *jihād* abroad, having finished with the conquest of the Sudan.

In July 1886 several letters were sent to the Hijaz. A certain Ḥudhayfa b. Sa'd, described as the chief of the Aḥāmida tribe,³ was commissioned as the Khalifa's agent over all the tribes of the Hijaz, 'to summon them to God and to urge them to the *jihād*'.⁴ The *jihād* in the Hijaz was to be aimed against the Turks, 'for they have changed the Faith of God and made alterations in it'. Nevertheless the Khalifa adopted a cautious attitude towards the Ottoman *vali* of the two Holy Cities. He wrote offering to make him his agent over that region, 'on condition that he straightway undertook the business of the Mahdia' but if he should prove false, Ḥudhayfa was empowered to attack him. A letter to the people of Mecca, addressed as Quraysh,⁵ summoned them to the Mahdia and informed them of Ḥudhayfa's commission, while a similar missive was sent to the people of Medina.⁶

(b) *Propaganda in the western Sudan*

Like the Mahdi before him, the Khalifa directed his propaganda to the Muslim powers of the western Sudan. Among these was the picturesque warlord, Rābiḥ Faḍlallāh. Rābiḥ, a Sudanese, had as a young man been an assistant of the leading Sudanese slave-trader, al-Zubayr Raḥma Maṣṣūr, who had controlled the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl and had enabled the Egyptians to conquer Darfur in 1874. When Gordon and his lieutenant, Gessi, broke

¹ 'Abdallāh was one of the less successful Su'ūdī rulers. The early years of his reign were marked by a prolonged struggle with his brother, while from 1882 his authority waned before the growing power of Muhammad b. Rashid, the *amīr* of Ḥā'il, who was rapidly becoming the paramount ruler in Najd. Like Muhammad 'Abduh and Ḥayātū b. Sa'id, he may well have seen in the Mahdist forces potential allies against his opponents.

² Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 435-6.

³ A relationship may exist between the Ḥijāzī Aḥāmida and the Sudanese Aḥāmida. See H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, I, 281.

⁴ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 433-4.

⁵ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 434.

⁶ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 434-5.

the power of al-Zubayr's son (al-Zubayr himself being held in exile in Cairo) Rābiḥ with a following of irreconcilables made his way beyond the range of Egyptian rule. In 1886 he and his followers were in Dār Banda, west of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl.

The Mahdi had written several times to Rābiḥ without effect and in August 1886 the Khalifa made a determined effort to gain him as an ally. He sent him a long letter¹ which says remarkably little about the religious aspects of the Mahdia but dwells at great length on those military successes against the Egyptians and British which would most appeal to the Sudanese warrior and slaver. The Khalifa then outlined his plans for future conquests:

'We are striving to prepare expeditions and to send them to conquer the regions of the great cities, and shortly by God's help they shall be conquered. The news reaching us from those districts is that all the people desire to be included in the way of the Mahdia, as soon as its army occupies their districts; and that all the enemies, Turks and others, are in great fear of the *Anṣār*, and especially the English, for they have withdrawn from Egypt and left its protection to the Turks; and that the Turks are in great terror and genuine alarm about the Mahdia. We have read their printed Gazette² from which we know their condition and fear of the Party of the Mahdia.'

Passing on to practical details, the Khalifa lists his armament; over a hundred cannon, numerous firearms of various sorts, eight steamers and transports, 'yet with all this our reliance for the victory of the Faith is upon God, not upon this equipment'. In an accompanying letter the Khalifa names various notables, known to Rābiḥ, who were assisting the Mahdia.³ Rābiḥ, however, was fighting for his own hand and was not minded to make an alliance with one who might become his master. The Khalifa's appeal received no response. Rābiḥ continued his adventurous life in the west and, some years later, carved out for himself a kingdom in Bornu, south of Lake Chad, where finally he was defeated and killed by the French in 1900.

Another western potentate with whom there had been correspondence during the lifetime of the Mahdi was Ḥayātū b. Sa'īd, the great-grandson of the Fulani religious reformer, Shaykh 'Uthmān dan Fodio. Shaykh 'Uthmān's successors ruled an extensive empire from Sokoto, but Ḥayātū's father, the eldest surviving grandson of Shaykh 'Uthmān, had failed to establish his claim to the sultanate of Sokoto in 1875. Ḥayātū himself had been from his youth an earnest student of Islam and an opponent of relaxations in the application of the *Sharī'a*. He gained a following but in 1878 was compelled to leave the neighbourhood of Sokoto, where his presence constituted a danger

¹ Printed in Shoucair, III, 440-8.

² 'Turks' here as elsewhere in Sudanese usage during the period means the ruling class of Egypt. Copies of the Gazette (*Al-Waḥdī' al-Miṣriyya*) and other Egyptian papers which reached the Khalifa in Omdurman are still extant in a fragmentary condition in the Sudan Government Archives.

³ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 448.

to the reigning sultan. He set out, ostensibly on pilgrimage to Mecca, but after some years of wandering in the vassal-states on the eastern fringe of the Fulani empire, he established himself with his forces in Balda, south of Lake Chad. He still hoped to gain the throne of Sokoto, and the appearance of the Sudanese Mahdi seemed to promise an ally whose religious outlook resembled his own. From Ḥayātū the Mahdi received in 1883 a letter of glowing devotion :

'I and my father and all that belong to me swore allegiance to you before your manifestation was perceived. . . . Shaykh 'Uthmān dan Fodio recommended us to emigrate to you, to assist you and to help you when you were made manifest.'¹

This profession of faith was not, however, followed by any action and in November 1886 the Khalifa wrote to Ḥayātū,² telling him of the intended conquest of Egypt and the arrival of foreign visitors in Omdurman. In another letter, written in May 1887,³ the Khalifa urged Ḥayātū to visit him but no such visit ever took place, although the amicable correspondence continued. Ḥayātū was too remote from the Mahdist state to co-operate with it effectively.

Between Ḥayātū and the Khalifa were the sultanates fringing the Mahdist province of Darfur ; Dār Sila, Dār Tāma, and Wadai. These states felt themselves threatened by the expansion of Mahdist power and their relations with Omdurman were uneasy. The most important of them was Wadai, with the sultan of which, Muḥammad Yūsuf, the Mahdi had ineffectually corresponded. In 1887 there had been a rebellion against the Mahdia in Darfur, led by a member of the former ruling house. He had been defeated, and the Khalifa feared that with other refugees he might seek asylum with the sultan of Wadai. Early in 1888 therefore the Mahdist military governor of Darfur, 'Uthmān Ādam, sent messengers to the sultan and instructed them to spy out the land.⁴ This was followed at the end of February by warning letters from the Khalifa himself to Wadai, Sila, and Tāma.⁵ In May further letters were sent from Omdurman, written by old acquaintances of the sultan who had played an important part in the earlier days of the Mahdia.⁶ The sultan, however, took no steps to expel the refugees and malcontents from his territory and in September 1888 'Uthmān Ādam reported to the Khalifa that the Mahdist forces were being concentrated against Wadai and Tāma.⁷

At this point there was a dramatic development in the latter territory, where a young religious leader, usually called Abū Jummayza, appeared and asserted that he was the Successor of 'Uthmān (*Khalifat 'Uthmān*), the holder of the position in the Mahdist hierarchy which had once been offered to the

¹ MS Nujūmī, 58-9.

² Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 439.

³ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 439.

⁴ Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum : MAHDIA, 1/11, 3, 224 ; Khalifa to 'Uthmān Ādam.

⁵ MAHDIA, 1/11, 3, 227 ; Khalifa to 'Uthmān Ādam.

⁶ MAHDIA, 1/11, 3, 378 ; Khalifa to 'Uthmān Ādam.

⁷ MAHDIA, 1/12, 3/1, 206/1 ; 'Uthmān Ādam to Khalifa.

Sanūsī. For a time his movement flourished and into it were swept the opponents of Mahdism in Darfur and the western fringes of the Khalifa's dominions. The rebel army advanced on 'Uthmān Ādam's capital, El Fasher, where it was defeated in battle. Abū Jummayza himself had died of smallpox a short time previously. This rebellion set a limit to Mahdist expansion in the west. During the following months 'Uthmān Ādam was preoccupied in re-establishing his authority in Darfur, where he died prematurely in October 1890. Under his incapable successor, Maḥmūd Aḥmad, Mahdist control of Darfur was precarious.

(c) *The Jihād against Abyssinia*

On the frontier with Abyssinia, the Mahdist regime had inherited the problems of its Egyptian predecessor; an undemarcated boundary or rather a debatable land, where the unrestrained activities of powerful local warlords might involve their nominal sovereigns in serious hostilities. The key-point on the frontier was the town of al-Qallābāt, where dwelt a colony of non-Arab pilgrims from the western Sudan. Khedive Ismā'il's expansionist policy had led to an Egyptian-Abyssinian war in the seventies. The historical causes of hostility between the governments in the Sudan and Abyssinia were given renewed vitality and a tincture of religion with the establishment of the Mahdist state.

Already in 1885 the Mahdi had written to summon King John of Abyssinia to accept his mission¹ but the actual outbreak of hostilities was deferred for over two years. In that time much had happened on the border. The Abyssinian governor, Ras 'Adār,² had given asylum to refugees from Mahdism and, as a reprisal for Sudanese raids, had crossed the border in January 1887, killed the Mahdist governor of al-Qallābāt, and sacked the town. The Khalifa despatched an army to the frontier and sent an ultimatum to King John.³ The Abyssinian sovereign was summoned to accept Islam. The rest of the letter indicates that this was a diplomatic formality rather than a serious demand. But warfare against the Abyssinians aroused some repugnance among Sudanese Muslims, because of the *ḥadīth* excepting them from the *jihād* on account of the asylum granted by the Negus to the Prophet's Companions. In his letter the Khalifa dealt with this objection:

'We were watching you in accordance with the saying of the Lord of the Apostles, "Leave the Abyssinians alone, while they leave you alone". So we did not allow the army of the Muslims to raid your land until from your side serious aggression repeatedly took place against the weak Muslims who are near your country, with slaughter, the taking of captives, plunder and damage—while the apostates from their faith as Muslims took refuge with you.'

¹ Extract printed in Shoucair, III, 466-7.

² The Ras Adal of Wingate's *Mahdism* and other contemporary works.

³ Printed in Shoucair, III, 487-9. The Gregorian equivalent of the date there given (Jumādā I 1304) should be January-February 1887.

The Khalifa then laid down his conditions for peace. John was to restore the Muslim prisoners to their own country and to abstain from further aggression on Muslim territory. The apostates (i.e. the Sudanese refugees from Mahdism) might return to their own land if they wished: otherwise they were to record their change of faith in writing and send these documents under their seals to the Khalifa, 'so that we may reckon them amongst the company of your folk and your party, and people of your sect and your army'.

During the following months the Mahdist forces at al-Qallābāt were strengthened and placed under the command of an experienced and courageous general, Ḥamdān Abū 'Anja, who in January 1888 led a large-scale raid into Abyssinia. The Mahdists reached Gondar and looted the town. War-propaganda in the form of visionary assurances of victory, was in the meantime being put out by the Khalifa. A second raid in June-July 1888 was less successful and in January 1889 Abū 'Anja died. His death occurred at a critical time. John had made overtures for peace, which had been rejected, and was now assembling a great army to march against al-Qallābāt. Abū 'Anja's death was followed by a dispute over the command of the Mahdist army, which was ultimately conferred by the Khalifa's commissioners on al-Zākī Ṭamal. On 9 March 1889 the Abyssinians attacked the *Anṣār*, who were on the verge of being routed when John was fatally wounded. His withdrawal from the field turned victory into defeat for the Abyssinians. The crown, sword, and head of the Abyssinian monarch were among the trophies of victory sent to Omdurman. Al-Zākī Ṭamal's despatch announcing the victory was lithographed in the capital and copies were sent to all parts of the Mahdist dominions. Among the recipients was 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nujūmī, then engaged in the *jihād* against Egypt.

(d) *The Jihād against Egypt*

Although the Mahdi was planning war against Egypt when he died, and although the Khalifa addressed a manifesto to the Egyptians in the early days of his reign, the organization and delivery of the attack were long deferred. Until 1887 the Khalifa was too preoccupied in establishing his authority within the Mahdist state to undertake a major offensive outside. By February or March 1887, however, a strong expeditionary force had been built up in the far north of his dominions. Its base was at al-'Urdī¹ but there were advanced units farther north, almost up to the Egyptian-held frontier-post of Wādī Ḥalfā. The Mahdist commander, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nujūmī, had distinguished himself at the siege of Khartoum and in other operations during the Mahdi's lifetime. He was regarded with some suspicion by the Khalifa, who installed a man of his own tribe at al-'Urdī, nominally as al-Nujūmī's lieutenant.

In April 1887 messengers from the Khalifa reached Wādī Ḥalfā with letters addressed to the khedive, to Queen Victoria, and to Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II.

¹ New Dongola, an arabicized form of the name (*Urdu*) given to their settlement on that site by the refugee Mamluks who fled from Muhammad 'Alī Pasha.

The texts of these letters follow the precedents laid down by the Mahdi in summoning the rulers to accept Mahdist Islam and threatening them with war if they failed to do so. In his letter to the khedive,¹ the Khalifa reiterated the claim that he sought no earthly sovereignty:

‘Were my aim in this affair the possession of the transient world and its passing glory, which brings no advantage, there would be enough in the Sudan and its adjoining regions, as you know, because of their extent and the variety of their fruits. But as God knows, my aim is only the revival of the Muhammadan *Sumna* and the path of the Prophet among the generality of mankind.’

Like the Mahdi, he condemns the khedive’s reliance on unbelievers, and he concludes by warning him of the impending ‘occupation by the armies of the Mahdia of [the khedive’s] northern regions and Egyptian lands’, if he will not submit and join the Mahdist forces in fighting the infidel enemies of God.

The letter to Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd is similar in tone.² The sultan is accused of assisting the unbelievers to overthrow Islam and of refusing to listen to the Mahdi. The Khalifa urges him to repent and lays down the courses of action open to him:

‘Either to fight against the unbelievers and to drive them out humiliated from the lands of Islam, such as Egypt and others, and to act by the Book of God and the *Sumna* of His trustworthy Apostle, and to abolish all the innovations which have been occasioned by the enemies of the Faith; or else to endeavour to join us, so that together we may undertake to assist the Faith and to cut off the unbelieving people.’

The letter to Queen Victoria,³ which contains the usual formal summons to Mahdist Islam, is interesting as showing some grasp of the British position in Egypt and of the international complications of the situation. The queen, it says, would be wrong in supposing that ‘the armies of the Mahdia, arisen to support the Muhammadan *Sumna*, are like the troops of Aḥmad Pasha ‘Urābī, into whom the deceit of the world entered, so that thereby they lost their Faith and came to forsake its assistance and enabled you to gain possession of Egyptian soil’. The Khalifa goes on to point out the futility of past British attempts to intervene against the Mahdi, and reproaches Victoria for her failure to act in concert with other Powers:

‘All this is from your bad management and insistence on your opinion apart from the rest of the states. If you had sought their advice, as you should have done, they would have directed you until all your fears were allayed. Either they would have advised you to refrain from clashing with the Party of God, which you are incapable of resisting, and you would be limited to guarding your own land only; or they would have reinforced you with men and arms, and would have joined you in war against the Party of the Mahdia—in which case the disgrace would not be yours alone on the occasion of defeat, but it would be shared.’

¹ Printed in Shoucair, III, 423-6.

² Printed in Shoucair, III, 429-32.

³ Printed in Shoucair, III, 426-9.

The delivery of these letters to the British authorities in Egypt was not followed by any immediate move on the part of the Mahdist expeditionary force. The difficulty of provisioning and holding together a large army, a problem which the Khalifa never solved, delayed the advance until 1889. When at last the *Anṣār* moved, it was with the courage of despair. Supplies in their base-areas were failing; the line of their immediate advance was through the most barren and desolate parts of Nubia. Their only hope was either to defeat or to elude the forces on the Egyptian frontier and to hope for assistance from the local people.

This hope was to be disappointed. As al-Nujūmī wrote in a last pathetic letter to the Khalifa, during the 23 days of their advance through enemy country nobody came to them either for the purposes of religion or of trade. The Egyptians, he said, were co-operating with the enemy; they were unreliable, and reports that they were awaiting the coming of the Mahdia were totally incorrect.¹ Al-Nujūmī's disillusionment and realization of the hopelessness of his cause were sudden and complete. Yet he persisted to the last in his loyalty to the Khalifa, rejecting with contempt an invitation to surrender. When the end came on 3 August 1889, it was not al-Nujūmī and his army only, but the whole sustaining ideology of Mahdism, which ceased to exist on the field of Tūshkī. Henceforward, although the old apocalyptic language continued to be used and the old religious sanctions to be invoked, the Mahdist state lost its wider theological connotations and was reduced to a Sudanese sultanate which embodied in its administration much of the personnel and practice of its Egyptian predecessor.

SOURCES

1. *Manuscript and lithographed*

- Indhārāt: *Kitāb al-Indhārāt*. Lithographed in Omdurman during the Mahdia, copies in the Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum. Photograph in the Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, accn. no. 108316.
- Nujūmī: *Letter-book of al-Nujūmī*. MS in Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum. Photograph in Library, SOAS, accn. no. 101492.
- Yale: Mahdist letter-book in Yale University Library, Arabic MS no. 543. Microfilm in Library, SOAS.
- Yūsuf Mikhā'il (1): *Memoirs of Yūsuf Mikhā'il*. MS in Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum. Photograph in Library, SOAS, accn. no. 101489.
- Yūsuf Mikhā'il (2): *Letter-book of Yūsuf Mikhā'il*. MS in Khalifa's House Museum, Omdurman, exhibit K. 316. Photograph in Library, SOAS, accn. no. 101490.

2. *Printed*

- Hake, *Journals*: A. Egmont Hake, *The journals of Major-Gen. O. G. Gordon, C.B., at Kartoum*, London, 1885.
- Shoucair: Naum Shoucair (Na'ūm Shuqayr), *The history and geography of the Sudan/Ta'rikh al-Sūdān al-qadīm wal-l-hadīth wa-jughrāfiyatuhu*, Cairo, [1903].
- SNR: *Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum, 1918—
- Wingate, *Mahdism*: F. R. Wingate, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan*. London, 1891.

¹ MAHDIA, 1/1, 4/1, 101/2; al-Nujūmī to Khalifa, 28 Qa'da 1306 = 26 July 1889.

‘THE MAP OF HAJJI AHMED’ AND ITS MAKERS

By V. L. MÉNAGE

(PLATE I)

THIS study owes its inception to Sir Percival David, who possesses among the treasures in his private collection one of the few surviving copies of a large engraved map of the world, known to students of cartography as the Map of Hajji Ahmed. Invited by its owner to translate for him the legends in the map and especially the lengthy text accompanying it, which are written in Turkish, I became aware that a close analysis of this text yielded more information than has so far been obtained about the origin of the map.¹

The map was printed from six wooden blocks, which, owing to peculiar circumstances, have survived. They are now exhibited in St. Mark's Library in Venice, having been discovered towards the year 1795, locked away in a chest, in the archives of the Council of Ten. The discovery of the blocks must have aroused some interest, for the official printer, Pinelli, was instructed to take impressions from them. When the six sheets thus obtained were assembled, it was found that they presented a map of the world; it was further recognized that the script used on the map for the place-names and the text was that used for Turkish. Having had 24 impressions of the map made, the Council of Ten ordered the blocks (‘l'originale autografo’) to be transferred to the ‘Public Library’ (i.e. St. Mark's²), and asked Simone Assemani, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Padua, to describe the map. His comments were published in a four-page pamphlet entitled *Dichiarazione d'una mappa turchesa inoisa in quattro³ tavole di pero, ritrovate nell'archivio dell' eccelso Consiglio de' Dieci* [Venice, 1795], for which he was rewarded with a gold medal to the value of 12 ducats.⁴ Assemani recognized that the

¹ Sir Percival was good enough to place at my disposal a set of full-size photographs of another copy of the map (preserved in Venice), to lend me his copy of d'Avezac's article (see below), the only thorough published description, and to permit me to check doubtful readings in the photographs with his own very clear copy of the map. For this and for the fruitful discussions I have had with him I offer him my sincere thanks.

² Older guide-books describe the blocks as being exhibited in the Sala dello Scudo in the Ducal Palace, for they were exhibited there as part of the collection of the Archaeological Museum from 1847 to 1924. They are now in a small room in the Libreria Vecchia, hanging beside the famous map of Fra Mauro.

³ The map itself in fact occupies only four blocks (see below, p. 293, n. 4).

⁴ While in Venice recently I saw one (catalogued Rari V 38) of the two copies of Pinelli's impression preserved at St. Mark's Library. On the back is written:

‘Impressione Comandata dall' Eccelso Consiglio di X^{ti} di No. 7 (‘No.’ is crossed out and the ‘7’ altered to ‘6’) Tavole di Legno rappresentanti la superficie del Globo ritrovate nell' Archivio Trib.^{1o} suddo.

‘Copia di Articolo nella Scrittura de Soprintendente agl' Archivi de' dì 12. 7^{mbre} 1795: Prestatosi all' opera con lodevole disinteressatezza questo Pubblico Stampator Pinelli stimandosi abbastanza premiato per l'onore della Commissione, venne a risaltarne dall' union di que' Fogli una completa Mappa rappresentante la superficie intiere del nostro globo Terraqueo, e si è potuto con sorpresa riconoscere che i caratteri di essa Mappa erano tutti in lingua Turchesca.

‘Copia di Articolo di Decreto dell' Eccelso Consiglio di X^{ti} de' dì 18. 7^{mbre} 1795: ommissa

text was written in Turkish in A.H. 967 (beg. A.D. 3 Oct. 1559) by a certain Hajji Ahmed of Tunis.

Assemani's report, which is neither complete nor free from inaccuracies, remained, apart from two notes by Hammer,¹ the only account of the map until 1865, when the French geographer A. B. d'Avezac read to the Académie des Inscriptions and the Société de Géographie a paper entitled *Note sur une mappemonde turke du XVI^e siècle conservée à la bibliothèque de Saint-Marc à Venise*.² He had before him only a much reduced photograph of one of the 1795 impressions, but as a geographer he was able to give a thorough description of the cartographical features of the map, and for the study of the text he had the assistance of Barbier de Meynard, professor of Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. D'Avezac quotes all that had previously been published concerning the map—the report by Assemani, the notes by Hammer, and some less important references mainly depending on Assemani. He also gives the substance of three notes in the Venetian archives which throw some light on the circumstances in which the map was made. To these we shall return later, for, as we shall see, the map itself tells—more eloquently than any external evidence yet discovered—how and why it was produced.

In the years following d'Avezac's description, brief notes were published by Jomard³ and Nordenskiöld,⁴ and a lengthier discussion by Fiorini⁵; these all depend on Assemani or d'Avezac. Fiorini's article prompted a note by Gelcich.⁶ In recent years the map has been referred to by Taeschner,⁷ Bagrow,⁸ Kramers,⁹ and Keuning,¹⁰ who all rely on their predecessors. Only

Si rileva con compiacenza, che sia anche riuscito di rinvenire fra queste Carte la descritta Mappa in Lingua Turchesca incisa sopra varie tavolette, rappresentante la superficie del Globo, di cui si lauda, che ne abbia procurata la stampa e quindi l'illustrazione col mezzo del riputato Professore di Lingue Orientali Abbate Assemani, Predelibera, che abbia ad essere passato, e custodito l'originale autografo di detta Mappa nella Pub.^{ca} Biblioteca, si assente, a seconda del suggerimento del N. H. Soprint.^o, che con una Medaglia del valore di Zechini dodici abbia ad esserne gratificato il dotto Professore suddetto. omissis Domenico Calliari Fantinelli seg^o.

I take this opportunity of thanking the authorities of the Library for the kind assistance they gave me.

¹ The first in his *GOR*, VIII, 594, the second in *Bibliotheca Italiana*, LXII, 1831, 308 f.

² Paris, 1866, published as *Extrait du Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (décembre 1865).

³ E. F. Jomard, *Introduction à l'Atlas des monuments de la géographie*, Paris, 1879, 54.

⁴ A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile atlas*, Stockholm, 1889, 89.

⁵ M. Fiorini, 'Le proiezioni cordiformi nella cartografia', *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. It.*, Ser. III, II, 1889, 554-78 and 676.

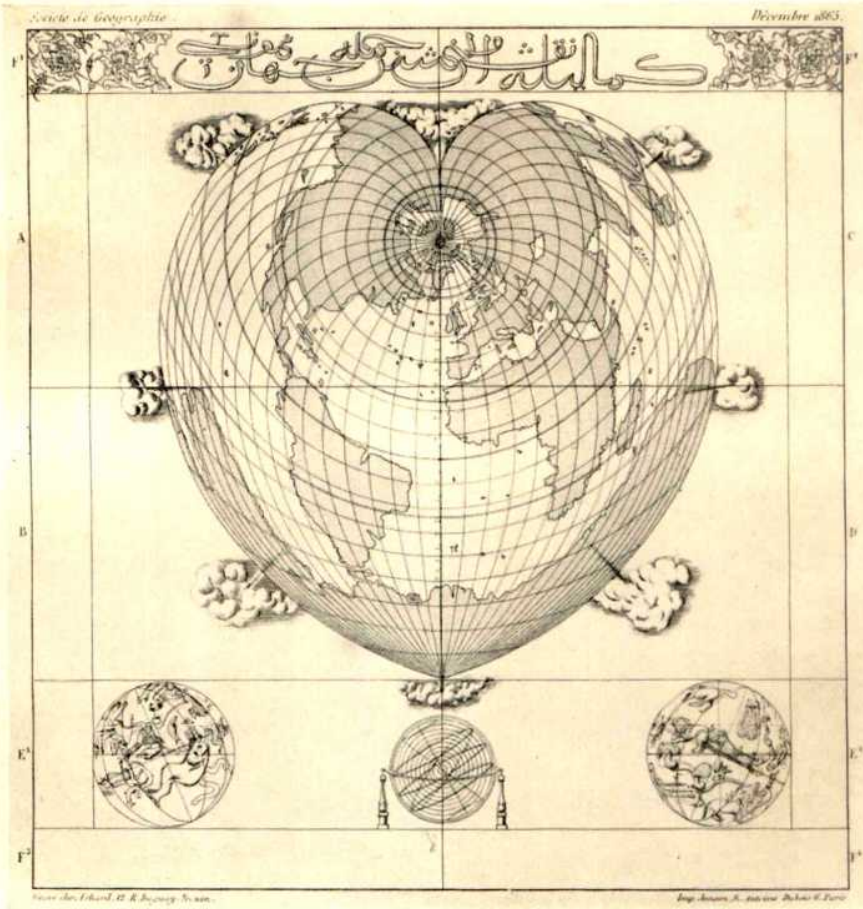
⁶ E. Gelcich, 'Der tunesische Geograph Hadji Ahmed', *Das Ausland*, LXV, 1892, 750.

⁷ F. Taeschner, 'Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen', *ZDMG*, LXXVII, 1923, p. 71, n. 3 = 'Oğmānillarda joğrafiyā', *Turkiyyat Mejmū'at*, II, 1928, p. 306, n. 4.

⁸ L. Bagrow, *A. Ortelii catalogus cartographorum*. (Erster Teil A-L) (Erganzungsheft Nr. 199 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen), Gotha, 1928, 67 f., and *Die Geschichte der Kartographie*, Berlin, 1951, 345.

⁹ J. H. Kramers, art. 'Djughrāfiyā', *EI Suppl.*, 71b.

¹⁰ J. Keuning, 'The history of geographical map projections until 1600', *Imago Mundi*, XII, 1955, 12. Keuning is in error in stating that H. A.'s map is reproduced as Pl. XII of Jomard's *Monuments de la géographie* (Paris, 1854); this is a map by Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Sharfi of Sfax, of A.H. 1009/A.D. 1600-1.



Adnan Adıvar¹ went back to the map, by examining photographs (in the Bibliothèque Nationale) of the 1795 impression.

Of the 24 copies made in 1795—of which Sir Percival David's copy is one—only a few seem to have survived. D'Avezac knew of three, two in St. Mark's Library and one in Vienna, in the library of Metternich²; Fiorini recorded two more, both in Venice, one in the library of the seminary of S. Maria della Salute and one in the Museo Correr.³ By d'Avezac's time the blocks, cracked and worm-eaten, were reported to be in no condition to permit the taking of further impressions.

The large engraving obtained by fitting together the six sheets is nearly square, its overall dimensions being 115 cm. high by 111 cm. wide. As the diagram⁴ (Plate 1) shows, its most prominent feature is a planisphere drawn on what is known as the single heart-shaped projection.⁵ Below the point of the heart is a small armillary sphere, flanked by two celestial hemispheres. The broad border which frames the engraving is filled with a stylized flower pattern, except along the top, where it contains the title, written in a bold calligraphic hand: *کمالیله نقش اولنمش جمله جهان نمونسی*, which may be rendered: 'The representation of the whole world depicted in its entirety'.

All the spaces left vacant between the 'heart' and the borders are filled by a long continuous text in Turkish—the 'companion-text', as I shall call it—with 140 lines to the right and 152 to the left, of very unequal length: the shortest, where the bulge of the heart comes close to the border, contain

¹ Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris, 1939, 70-2, reproduced with slight modifications in *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul, 1943, 73-4. He gives a few lines of the text in French translation in the former and in transcription in the latter.

² D'Avezac, p. 65. The last is the copy that had been given to Hammer in 1831 (cf. *GOR*, VIII, 594). M. Boni (in *Notizia di una casettina geografica* . . . , Venice, 1800, quoted by d'Avezac, p. 20) spoke of a copy in the Museo Naniano, but according to Fiorini (op. cit., p. 570) part of this collection, including the map, had later been dispersed.

³ The Museo Correr had also one of the four sheets making up the map itself, apparently a proof-sheet. Bagrow (*Catalogus*, 87) records four copies, two in the Marciana and two in Vienna, the latter in the libraries of Metternich and of Hauslab; but this statement seems to depend on the information given to d'Avezac by Valentinelli, then librarian of the Marciana, which d'Avezac (p. 65, note) corrects: Hauslab's map was not a copy of the 1795 impression of H. A.'s map, but a very similar map by Cimerlinus (see below, p. 298).

As to Assemani's *Dichiarazione*, it was generally assumed that it too was printed in only 24 copies, one to accompany each copy of the map, but Fiorini shows that there is no justification for thinking that so few were printed. Nevertheless he knew of only four copies, one in the Museo Correr, two in the possession of the Cav. Tessier, and a fourth in the Marciana, the copy which Valentinelli had copied for d'Avezac. On comparing the Marciana copy with the text given by d'Avezac I found that in the latter some misprints have been tacitly corrected; some mistakes have been made as well, but none that seriously affect the meaning.

⁴ The Société de Géographie of Paris have kindly permitted me to reproduce the diagram that accompanied d'Avezac's article in their *Bulletin*. The letters A-F show how the six sheets taken from the blocks had to be assembled: sheets A-D fitted together without adjustment, E was cut in two and the two pieces arranged end to end, F was cut into four strips to form the upper and lower borders.

⁵ Such 'cordiform' projections are described and illustrated in the article by Keuning cited at p. 292, n. 10 above.

only four or five words, the longest, where the heart tapers to the South Pole, over fifty.

The companion-text falls naturally into five sections which may be summarized as follows¹:

- A. Preface (I, 1-12): The author has been prompted to compile his map by Abu'l-Fidā's² words on the importance of geographical knowledge, and has made it 'in conformity with [Abu'l-Fidā's] Book of Mathematics',³ in which are listed 'the climes and countries and cities of the world, together with their latitudes and longitudes'; but he has added the new lands not known to Abu'l-Fidā and given information on the customs of the peoples and on the rulers reigning now, in the year 967. He can omit the proof that the world is spherical and other matters, since they have been dealt with by Abu'l-Fidā.
- B. Introduction (I, 13-39): After general notes on latitude and longitude, the Equator, the Tropics, and the Poles, the author says that on the Earth there are 12 great countries and 7 famous rulers, which are regarded as the counterparts of the 12 Houses of the Zodiac and the 7 Planets in the Heavens. Whereas in antiquity only three continents were known, a fourth, known as the New World, was discovered by the Spaniards and the Portuguese 'since the Moslem year 700'.⁴
- C. Description of the Continents (I, 40-96): Treating them in the order Africa, Europe, Asia, and the New World, the author gives the extreme latitudes and longitudes of each continent and names the principal countries and rulers which 'illumine' them.
- D. Description of the 12 principal countries of the world (listed below i-xii) and its 7 great rulers (listed a-g) (I, 97-II, 127): They are treated, in no apparent logical sequence, in the following order, the description of each beginning with the mention of the House or Planet of which it is the counterpart⁵:

¹ I and II denote the right- and left-hand columns respectively, arabic numerals the lines in each column. Apart from Assemani's rather inaccurate summary of the whole of the companion-text, two lengthy passages from it are known in the translations which Barbier de Meynard made for d'Avezac, deciphering with difficulty—and, understandably, not without mistakes—the small photograph available to him.

² Text: سلطان اسمعيل ابو الفتح. It was Hammer who first recognized that by 'Abu'l-Fath' the author meant the historian and geographer Isma'il b. 'Alī Abu'l-Fidā.

³ Text: كتاب الرياضى موجنبه. Hammer saw that the words كتاب الرياضى (rendered by Assemani 'un opera . . . intitolata . . . *Delizioso Prato*') meant 'Book of Mathematics' and no doubt referred to Abu'l-Fidā's famous *Taqwīm al-buldān*. The implication of the ambiguous موجنبه will be considered below (p. 309, n. 1).

⁴ Text: تاريخ مملكانك سنه سبعماية دد برو. There seems to be some confusion here. Perhaps the writer originally intended to say '70 years ago', i.e. in A.H. 897 = A.D. 1491-2, which is indeed the year of Columbus's first voyage. A legend written in the body of the map along the east coast of the Americas says that 'these lands' were discovered in 898.

⁵ The expression used is generally بگزەنللى (*sic*, presumably for *berzetildi*), i.e. this ruler or country 'has been likened to' this Planet or House. The belief that a land or city should be

- i. The Maghrib (Cancer)
- ii. The land of the Blacks ¹ (Scorpio)
- iii. Temistitan ² (Virgo)
- iv. Peru (Aquarius)
 - a. The Khan of Cathay and Khotan (the Moon)
- v. Turkestan (Sagittarius)
- vi. Arabia (Taurus)
- vii. The land of the Monomotapa ³ (Gemini)
 - b. The Emperor of Abyssinia (Saturn)
 - c. The Ottoman Sultan (the Sun)
 - d. The Emperor of France (Venus)
 - e. The Emperor of Spain (Jupiter)
- viii. Italy (Leo)
- ix. Portugal (Pisces)
- x. 'Alaman' ⁴ (Aries)
- xi. Sarmatia ⁵ (Capricorn)
 - f. The Emperor of the Qizilbash ⁶ (Mars)
 - g. The Emperor of Bengal (Mercury)
- xii. Malabar (Libra)

In each of these accounts the author follows a set pattern: he starts with the latitudes and longitudes of the country or empire concerned,

under the influence of a certain Planet or House is of great antiquity, but the theory expounded in this text is more elaborate: the author seems to regard geographical entities—lands and cities—as equivalent to constellations and fixed stars, while the political entities—states and rulers—play the part of the Houses of the Zodiac and the Planets; as the states and rulers expand and contract their power they 'illumine' different areas of the world just as the Planets (and the Houses?) 'illumine' different constellations in the sky. A system which embraces Temistitan and Peru must be a late (and European) invention; the fact that the Ottoman Sultan is the Sun shows that the arrangement here presented was made expressly for the map. In some cases reasons for the identifications can be guessed: it is natural that Portugal, the great maritime power, should equal Pisces and Turkestan, famous for its archers, Sagittarius; the Leo of Italy may represent the Lion of St. Mark.

¹ i.e. the Sudan or 'Negritia' of European maps. It is defined as the area bounded to east and west by Abyssinia and the Ocean and to north and south by the Sahara and the land of the Monomotapa.

² By Temistitan H. A. means New Spain, the *province* of Mexico. The old Aztec name of the city of Mexico was Tenochtitlán, which appears in various distorted forms in European accounts. H. A.'s spelling seems to derive from that used by Ramusio, who included in the third volume of his *Navigazioni et viaggi* (Venice, 1553) a 'Relazione d'Alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna, & della gran Città di Temistitan Messico'.

³ The Monomotapa was the ruler of a negro kingdom in the hinterland of Mozambique (cf. *Enc. Brit.*, eleventh ed., s.v.). This title appears in the map and in the companion-text as a quasi-Moslem patronymic spelt ابن متاشا and بن متاسيا, and even as the name of a tribe بني متاسيا, but the position of the name in the map and the description given in the text put the identification beyond doubt. In the first volume of Ramusio's *Viaggi* this potentate is called the Benomotapa; in the map of Africa added to the second edition (1554) his realm is marked as REG. DE BENOMOTAXA. The latter spelling must lie behind H. A.'s rendering.

⁴ According to H. A. 'Alaman' is divided into three parts, the northern part consisting of England, Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden.

⁵ 'Sarmatia' comprises the region from 'Alaman' in the west to the Don in the east, the southern boundary being the Danube and the Black Sea.

⁶ i.e. the Safevid Shah.

names the countries and seas that bound it, and gives general notes on the religion and characteristics of the inhabitants and a list of the main products. In some cases he supplies fragments of historical information. E. Epilogue (II, 128-52): It is here that the author speaks of himself and of how he came to make the map.¹ The section begins:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَيُّهَا الْحُكَمَاءُ وَالْعُلَمَاءُ بَرَكَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ شَوَايِلُجِهْ مَعْلُومَكُزْ
اولا كه بو فقير الحقير الضعيف المحتاج الى رحمت ربّه الغنى حاجى احمد من شهر تونس
كوجكندن برو مغرب جانبنده فس نام شهرينه اولان مدرسه ده طاشمند طريقله
اوقويوب خيله مَدّت و زمان بعيد اكثر عمرى اقدام و اهتمام اوزره عليم حكمت و كمالي
ناموس هواس ايلدم و مراد اوزره عليم معرفت تحصيل ايلد كمدنصره صفحه
دورى روزكاردن فرنيكستانده اسير اولدم آنده فرنك بگلريندن يارار و اهلى معرفت
بر كمسنة بنى صتون آلدى بو تقديرجه اسلام طريقى و سرتى مقتضاسنجه اخلاص
اوزره عبادتمدن عييج بر زمانده حالى اولدم كركى كيبى مستقضى قلدُم و تحصيل
ايلدم عليم اجلدن و جانبلره باكه نواع عزتلىر و خرماتلىر ايلدلىر ايله اولسه قديم زماندن
افلاطون و سقراط و ابو الفتح و معظم اللقما نام فيلوسفلرك كتابلرين قولنجه بو
ولايتلرده يشبو مصنفات شكل جهاني رسم ايدب بيان ايلدلىر و بو رسم اچنده
افلاكك و وير يوزى اولان احوالرين بلكليا بر مقتضاي عليم و ترتيب يازوب بلد ردلر
تا كيم مطالعه ايدنرى اكر خاص و اكر عام دُر غايتيله فايده بولالر بن داخى بو
آسل كمال و كركلو مصنفات كورجك جميع اسلام اهلى نه و بگلرينه معتبر
ولايزم اولنمكين كما ينبغى اوسلوب اوزره مسلمان حظ ايله فرنك دليدن و حظ لرندن
نقل ترجمه ايلدم ير بابده داخى امكه مقابله سنه از دنامه سين و يرمكه عهد ايلدلىر
اما والله العظيم و تالله الكريم بو اوسلوبه كتورنجهيه دكين چكدو كوم زحمتلىر و محتلر
دليله تقريره قابل دكلدُر الحمد لله الذى عطانا الفهم و الشفقة لانهم بو
معتبر اولان مصنفات جميع مسلمانلرك حيرينه سبب اولدم و بو حصوصى ايچون
اوميددركه فخر و عزت برله فرنكيستاندن خلاص اولاوز مستغنى صاغ سليم اسلام
ولايتلرينه كيرو و ارمه سنه ميسر قليويوه.

Translation

'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: O ye wise and O ye learned, the blessings of God be upon you! Be it known unto you that I, this poor, humble and feeble creature, who stands in need of the mercy of his Generous Lord, Hajji Ahmed from the city of Tunis, had from my childhood

¹ The whole section was translated by Barbier de Meynard, and parts have been quoted in transcription by Adnan Adlvar; nevertheless it is not superfluous to give here the text of the more important passages, not least as a specimen of the language and style. The text is quoted exactly as it is written, with no attempt to emend the numerous errors in spelling and syntax

followed the *dānīshmend*-course¹ in the *medrese* of the city of Fez in the Maghrib. Over a long period I devoted most of my life to the zealous and persistent pursuit of learning and wisdom and an honourable name, but after I had acquired the learning I desired I became, through the decree of revolving destiny, a captive in Europe (*Firengistān*).² There I was bought by one of the Frankish lords, a good and learned man, so that I have never lacked freedom to perform my religious duties or failed to fulfil them according to the rule and prescription of Islam; and thanks to the learning which I had acquired the people here treated me with all honour and respect.

{Now the people of these countries (i.e. Europe) have drawn and produced this representation of the shape of the world according to the teaching of the philosophers of old, Plato, Socrates, Abu'l-Fidā and the great (?) Lokman, and have in this map written down and communicated fully,} according to the demands of science and logical arrangement, the facts concerning the Heavens and the surface of the Earth, in order that those who peruse it, of high or low degree, may draw great benefit from it.

{I therefore, on seeing this really excellent and important work,}³ and realizing that it was of value and essential to all the Moslems and their rulers, translated it systematically from the language and script of the Franks into the Moslem script; and they undertook to grant me my manumission as the reward of my labour. But I swear by the Mighty and Gracious God that the troubles and trials that I underwent before bringing it to this form are beyond description. However, praise be to God, Who has granted us understanding and solicitude for others, for by means of this valuable work I have become the instrument for benefiting all the Moslems. Thus it is my hope that I may be delivered with glory and honour from Firengistān and that the Self-Sufficient God may bring about His servant's return safe and sound to the lands of Islam.'

Here Hajji Ahmed turns to enumerate the advantages of the map, emphasizing among them the inclusion of the New World, whose existence, he says, had been postulated of old but has now been proved, and digressing to describe the circumnavigation of the globe, the experimental proof that the world is a sphere. This brings him to the concluding lines, which again deserve to be quoted in full:

و بو ترجمه قدیر اولدکوم قدار اغامک امر ایله تورک دله یازدوم زیره کیم
بو دیل دونیاده غیتله حکم ایلدن ولطف کرمکزدن و کمالی احسانلریکزدن تمنا و تضرع
اولنور که اکر یشبو رسمی جهانک سهو قلم اولش واریسه اصلاح اده سز واللہ علم
الصصح

¹ *dānīshmend tariqile* does not mean, as Barbier de Meynard understood it: 'sous la direction d'un professeur'.

² *Firengistān*, 'the land of the Franks'.

³ The passages bracketed thus { } are rendered by Barbier de Meynard (d'Avezac, 44 f., note): 'Dans les temps anciens, des savants tels que Platon, Socrate, Aboulfeda, et le grand Locoman, philosophes, ont composé dans ces pays des ouvrages où ils ont dessiné et expliqué la figure du Monde Moi à mon tour, après avoir vu ces ouvrages rédigés avec perfection . . .'. But قَوْلِنِجِه (in spite of the *damma*) is to be read *qawlinje* and یَشْبُو stands for *ishbu*; مصنفات is to be taken as a singular. H. A. means that this map is (admittedly) the work of the Franks, but it derives from sources acceptable to Moslems.

Translation

'On my master's instructions I have, to the best of my ability, written this translation in Turkish, for this language is most dominant in the world. If any mistakes have occurred in this map of the world, you are prayed and besought of your goodness and kindness to correct them: for it is only God who knows the truth.'

Besides this companion-text there are, distributed in appropriate places on the map itself, over 20 legends, some of considerable length, giving information on the Moluccas, Magellan's Strait, the Canaries, Mozambique, etc., with the principal emphasis on the Spice Trade and the Portuguese control of it.

Of the large number of place-names in the map, some, which are especially interesting, will be discussed later. We turn first to consider the sources of the map and the projection on which it is drawn.

Assemani and Hammer had regarded the map as an original work and an independent contribution to cartography.¹ But, as can be seen from the passages of the companion-text quoted above, the author himself makes no claim to any originality: he expressly states that he has 'translated' an already existing European map. Although not helped by Barbier de Meynard's translation, where the meaning of the passage is blurred,² d'Avezac saw from the general features of the map itself that the projection used by Hajji Ahmed and formerly regarded as peculiar to him was in fact not new—he recognized it as one of the cordiform projections published by Johannes Werner of Nuremberg in 1514 and first used as the basis of a world-map by the French cartographer Orontius in his planisphere of 1534, published in 1536. D'Avezac knew Orontius's map only through an imitation of it made by Johannes Paulus Cimerlinus of Verona in 1566 and entitled *Cosmographia universalis ab Orontio olim descripta*. The close resemblances between Hajji Ahmed's map and this imitation of Orontius led d'Avezac to conclude that Hajji Ahmed had based his map on Orontius's original map of 1536. Since d'Avezac wrote, two copies of Orontius's map have come to light,³ and comparison with Cimerlinus's map shows that the latter does indeed follow very closely the map of 1536.

D'Avezac's deduction that Hajji Ahmed used Orontius directly is less

¹ Moreover both were under the impression that Hajji Ahmed had made his map in a Moslem country after being liberated from captivity. Thanks to Barbier de Meynard's translation, d'Avezac demonstrated that the map was made in Europe (in fact in Venice, as will be shown below). D'Avezac also disproved a legend which had grown up in the nineteenth century to the effect that the blocks had been found in a Turkish galley captured by Morisini in 1664; this story is, however, still repeated in the 1913 edition of Baedeker's *Northern Italy* (p. 365).

² See above, p. 297, n. 3.

³ Bagrow, *Catalogus*, 67. One copy is in Nuremberg, one in Paris; the latter is reproduced as Pl. I in L. Gallois, *De Orontio Pinaco Gallico geographo*, Paris, 1890. According to F. C. Wieder (*Niederlandsche historisch-geographische documenten in Spanje*, Leiden, 191E, 128) there is in Madrid a copy of Cimerlinus's map dated 1556, i.e. three years before the date of H. A.'s work, but according to R. V. Tooley ('Maps in Italian atlases of the sixteenth century', *Imago Mundi*, III, 1939, p. 17, Nc. 19) Almagia has stated that this is an error. Cimerlinus's map is reproduced in the *Facsimile atlas*, p. 89, and in Bagrow's *G. der Kartographie*, p. 131.

certain, for yet another map copied from Orontius is now known. It is signed by a certain 'Jacobus Franchus', who would seem to be Jacopo Francia, an engraver and goldsmith of Bologna.¹ This map is unfortunately not dated, but as Jacopo Francia died in 1557 his map—if he is indeed the author—would have been available to Hajji Ahmed when he was at work in 1559. In any event so much is sure that in the middle of the sixteenth century, the heyday of Venetian cartography, when Italian and foreign maps were being reproduced in great numbers (with or without acknowledgment), Orontius's map, either in the original or in an Italian copy, was at Hajji Ahmed's disposal. Nevertheless his map, compared with the European maps which belong to the same group and might have served as his model, shows some important corrections and additions. One improvement is Hajji Ahmed's more accurate delineation of the coast-lines of North America. Moreover his map gives many more place-names—over a score for example, on or near the west coast of South America, where the European maps are almost blank.

Having disposed of Hajji Ahmed's originality as a cartographer, which he never claims, we have to consider a claim that he does make, namely, that he is an erudite Moslem, honoured in Firengistān for his learning.

As can be seen from the passages quoted above, the Turkish in which the map is written is barbarous in the extreme: the whole text so abounds in mis-spellings, pleonastic constructions, anacoloutha, and gross grammatical mistakes² that it is frequently difficult to establish the sequence of thought.

¹ Bagrow (*Catalogus*, 67 f.) records only one copy, in Nuremberg, but to judge from his description of it a map in private hands, of which the British Museum published a photographic reproduction in 1929 (catalogued 'Maps 920 [348]'), is a second copy. Mr. R. A. Skelton the superintendent of the Map Room, has been good enough to confirm that this identification is probably correct: he reads the signature on the B.M. photocopy as 'Jacob[us] Franchus fec. Raph. Faitel(?) form.'. To Mr. Skelton I am also indebted for the identification of 'Franchus' as Jacopo Francia; he adds 'Another possible identification for Jacobus Franchus is Giacomo Franco (1550-1620), who was active at Venice as an engraver and printseller (also of maps) from 1579, but I find it hard to believe that Finé's map could have been copied after 1580'. The maps of Franchus and Cimerlinus are independent engravings but are practically identical in outline and content.

² Here are a few examples, with the meaning as revealed by the context:

I, 9 . . . بو تقدیرجه ابتدا مباشرت اولان بودر که

So we begin by saying that . . .

I, 28 . . . ذیرا انلر نیست بودر که

For they mean (intend to convey) that . . .

I, 85 . . . مذکور پادشاهلرک وعل عثمانوک تابع اولان ملکتلردن غیری . . .

. . . apart from the countries of these emperors and the countries subject to the Ottoman House . . .

I, 117 . . . عبور ایلمهسه قصدلری واردر . . .

. . . they intend to cross . . .

II, 1 وپادشاهلری آسود مالک درلر

Their Emperor is called the Black King (or King of the Blacks?).

II, 93 . . . یالکئر مسکانلرینه قناعت آتامق ایچون . . .

. . . because they are not satisfied with just their native land . . .

Remarkably few errors may be attributed to the engraver,¹ but there are many which can be explained by the fact that Turkish was apparently not Hajji Ahmed's native language, for in his text he tells us that his home town was Tunis and that he was educated at Fez, and says apologetically that he has written in Turkish 'to the best of his ability'. Let us assume then that his language was Arabic and—remembering that he claims a *médrese*-education—see how his Arabic stands up to examination, giving him the benefit of the doubt wherever the blame can reasonably be put on the engraver.

In the first place, common Arabic loan-words are often mis-spelt. The mis-spelling usually consists of a 'false quantity', where the writer has inserted a vowel-letter where none is required, as in: متمكن (= متمكن 'resident'), منجم (= منجم 'astronomer'), مصر (= مصر 'Egypt'), ميصير and مصير (= ميصير 'government'), واقع (= واقع 'situate'), آخير (= آخر 'other'), اقدم (= اقدم 'before'), قادر (= قادر 'able'), لازم (= لازم 'necessary'), سلطنت (= سلطنت 'dominion'), وقت (= وقت 'time'); or where essential vowels are omitted, as in: الحاق (= الحاق 'attachment'), معروف (= معروف 'well-known'), حُكْمَت (= حُكْمَت 'government'), صغير (= صغير 'small'), شرعت (= شرعت 'code of law'), and اسلمه (= اسلمه 'to Islam'), مال غنيمت (= مال غنيمت 'booty', but in the context simply 'wealth'). The writer also tends to insert or omit an *ayn* quite arbitrarily, as in عمان محيط (as well as the correct spelling اوماني محيط 'exempt'), اطاعت (= اطاعت 'obedience'), اعموماً (presumably for عموماً 'in general'), and على عثمان and even على اوثمان (for آل عثمان 'the Ottoman dynasty').

As might be expected, a number of Arabisms slip into the text: we find كما for 'as', لانه for 'because', كذلك for 'similarly', and have seen in the Epilogue the macaronic من شهر for 'from the city'. There appears even one Arabo-Turkish sentence (II, 48-50): سبانيه پادشاهى . . . حاليا : ليس² البلد الذى فى حكمة البورطوغال كلياً سبانيه ولا يتنده واقع اولان مملكتلرك سلطانيدُر 'The Emperor of Spain is at present the ruler of all the territories in Spain (i.e. the Iberian peninsula) except the district which is under the rule of the Portuguese'.

¹ The engraver (certainly a European) worked with astonishing care and skill. In one place he must be held responsible for a lacuna: at I, 113, in the description of Peru, several words have been dropped, perhaps one line of the draft from which he was working, and in some words a 'tooth' is missing.

² For ليس.

These we might accept, but hardly *لأنك* and *لأنهم* (both meaning simply 'because'), *السلطان معظم* for 'the mighty Sultan', the enumeration *أولى* *مشار إليه*, *... ثاني ... ثالث ...* for 'first ... second ... third ...', *مشار إليه* for 'the above-mentioned', and such phrases as *المتعلمين ومتفلسفين* 'the learned and the philosophers', and *الحالة هذه* 'at the present time'.

To all the grammatical errors which the author makes, not only in Turkish but also in Arabic, may be added the fact that he claims to have studied in the medrese of Fez, whereas there were several, and that he even mis-spells the name of that town, writing *فس* for *فاس*. Still more astonishingly, Morocco appears in the companion-text not as *مراكش* (the name given in the map itself) but once as *مَارْقَو* and once as *مُرَّق*, forms which, mutilated though they are, clearly derive not from a Moslem *Marrākish* but from a Frankish *Maroc* or Morocco. We can safely conclude that the author was not the educated Tunisian he purports to be.

Yet poor as the author's Turkish and Arabic are, he must be credited with some familiarity with Ottoman chancery style—a point whose importance will become clear later. This familiarity is revealed by his use of the expressions *شويلجه* *بله* *سز*¹, *موجينجه*, *معلوم* *اولا* *كه* all characteristic of Ottoman documents, and still more by the array of rhyming honorifics he joins to the name of the Sultan:

حضرت پادشاهی نسلی عثمان سلطان السلاطين جهان وملجاء خواقين دوران . . .
(I, 78 f.) السلطان سليمان

نواب جلالتماب اعظمت نصاب حضرت على اوثمان كه سلطان عظمدر (II, 16)
سلطان سلطين برهان الخواقين صاحب قرن الزمان كه اسكندر ذولقرينه مثل
اولان سلطان سليمان شاه (II, 27 f.)

Again, whereas the Sultan's name itself is here once given in the current form 'Suleyman', it appears once also as 'Suleymanshah', the form reserved for official usage.²

A further inference about the author can be drawn from his 'orthography'. Besides the typical faults of 'false quantities' and the arbitrary insertion and omission of 'ayn, there are one or two odd spellings of a different sort: *شُفَة*, which in the context³ can stand for nothing but *شبه* 'doubt', cannot be

¹ The first at I, 13 and I, 33 (and *ma'lūmunuz ola ki* at the beginning of the passage quoted on p. 296 above), the second at I, 4 (cf. p. 204, n. 3 above), the third at II, 150 (the *-siz* being written with a typical *divānī* flourish).

² cf. P. Wittek, 'Notes sur la Tughra ottomane', *Byzantion*, xviii, 1948, 321 f.

³ II, 142: *هيج شك وشك قلمدى*: 'No doubt at all remains (that the world is round)'.

due to mispronunciation of the word, nor can it be dismissed as a mistake of the engraver, for in Arabic script such a confusion cannot possibly arise. Are we not forced to suppose that شفه has arisen from the misinterpretation of شبه written in Latin characters, i.e. in an Italian rendering such as 'sciuphe', whose -ph- has been understood to represent the sound -f-? Other errors of the same order are the words شكرلر and قورما, which the contexts show to mean 'cities' (شهرلر) and 'dates' (خرما) respectively.¹ Even if the latter might have arisen from a confusion of the Arabic خ and ق, the misreading of the ه of شهر as ك is excluded; whereas a 'scechir' in Latin script could have been taken to represent *shekir*. Likewise قورما too might be the result of a misinterpreted 'churma' or 'curma'. Having in mind this hypothesis, namely that the text might have been transliterated into Arabic characters from a draft in Latin script (a hypothesis that will prove to be not so bold as it must appear at first), we can easily account for the confusion of 'quantities' and 'ays, and explain لأزيم and اعطاعت and even على اوثمان :

If it is hard to believe that a Moslem, even if he was enslaved in a Christian city, would have used Latin script, a slight indication in the companion-text suggests that its writer was no Moslem at all: whereas at every mention of 'Isā (Jesus) the name is followed by the customary formula of blessing ع م (i.e. عليه السلام), at the one mention of Muḥammad (at I, 75 as حضرت رسول (i.e. محمد المصطفى), there follows no صلعم, which a Moslem could hardly have failed to add.³

Though it is surprising to find in the companion-text evidence of transliteration from Latin script, it is natural enough that the bulk of the place-names in the map—at least those for places outside the Moslem world—

¹ The first at I, 109: 'In these lands there are few شكرلر, most of the people living in villages'. The word قورما appears twice in the text (I, 104 and I, 109) among the products of the Maghrib and of the Land of the Blacks. Assemani translated 'carne' (d'Avezac, p. 34), apparently reading the word as T *kavurma*; this is unconvincing: the word stands first in each list, and it would be strange if the products of the Maghrib did not include dates.

² This hypothesis may also explain the strange rendering of 'Lokman' in L. 10 of the passage quoted on p. 296 above. One is tempted to emend the impossible معضم المقما of the text to معظم الحكماء لقما. That a copyist's eye should jump the word حكام in Arabic script is unlikely, but in Latin script it could easily happen with some spelling such as 'muazzam alhucama Luemā'. However, it is so strange to find this pre-Islamic sage cited as an authority that it may be that the writer intended somebody quite different.

³ The name of Jesus appears three times, as عيسى, عيسى, and يسوع. Does this last strange spelling reflect an Italian 'Gesù'? 'Christian', rendered three times correctly by نصراني, appears three times also as كيرستيان, instead of the normal spelling خريستيان. Another odd feature is that dates (expressed three times in different locutions employing the word هجرت) appear three times as يلدہ . . . يلدہ مسلمانوك . . . تاريخ مسلمانوك, surely an unnatural expression for a Moslem to use.

represent transliterations of the current European forms. In the case of South America it is the Spanish forms which consistently underlie the compiler's spellings (صنطا اكنه = Santa Elena, صاتياقو = Santiago, صنمكل = San Miguel, etc.), but in other areas his transliterations reflect differing spelling conventions according to the language of the maps from which the names ultimately derived. A good example of the often heterogeneous result is provided by the 17 names given for places in the British Isles. Five are patently Italian forms: انغيلتاره = Inghilterra, سقوسيه = Scotia, ايرلنده = Irlanda, لوندره = Londra, and سنمیکل = San Michel'/St. Michael[']s Mount]. The Orkneys have their Ptolemaic name رُقَادَس = Orcades. Four names are unmodified English forms: نرفولتی = Norfolk, سولاند = Sutherland, ادینبورغ = Edinburgh, and فلم برغ بورنی = Flamborough Head; the compiler usually translates the words for geographical features, and so in the last case the 'Caput' or 'Prom.' of his source appears as the Turkish *burni*. The four place-names in Ireland, ارماقانا, مومونيه, قولتونه, and غالی تیه, represent the Latinized names Armacana, Momonia, Hultonina, and Galuina, which were used in contemporary maps for the modern Armagh, Munster, Ulster, and Galway; in the last case the -u- has been misread as -it-, perhaps through confusion with the better-known Galicia in Spain. A similar Latinized form lies behind مولا, namely Mula, well-attested as the 'classical' name for the island of Mull.

There remain انطونا near the Isle of Wight and یرتا off the north coast of Scotland. The key to these puzzling forms is to be found in George Lily's map of the British Isles (Rome, 1546),¹ in which the names are written in a mixture of Latin and English. Hence Hampton (the modern Southampton) appears as Hamtona: this or a similar spelling has produced انطونا, while یرتا stands for Lily's Hirtha (Gaelic Hirta, the modern St. Kilda).² In each case the compiler has dropped the initial H, obviously because it is silent in Italian (but not in Turkish!).

The names the compiler gives for towns in Europe usually reflect Italian forms³: تولونه = Tolone/Toulon, مرسلیه = Marsilia/Marseille, راتیزبونا = Ratisbona/Ratisbon, قولونیه = Colonia/Cologne, etc.; a noteworthy exception is Venice itself, which appears as البندقیه, its classical Arabic name.⁴

Words for geographical features are usually translated: 'cape' is *burun*

¹ Reproduced at p. 126 of Bagrow's *G. der Kartographie*.

² St. Kilda, a tiny island lying to the west of the Outer Hebrides, is shown by Lily, with the name Hirtha, as a large island situated north of Scotland, which is where H. A. shows یرتا. The inclusion by H. A. of this remote islet suggests that he was influenced, directly or indirectly, by Lily's map, which marks it with such undue prominence and in the same position.

³ As Assemani pointed out, with examples. D'Avezac comments very little on the place-names, as they were mostly illegible on his small photograph of the map.

⁴ But رندیک, in the companion-text.

or *rās*, 'river' *irmak*, 'mountain' *dagh*, etc. Their names too are sometimes translated into Turkish when the meaning is patent—and known to the compiler—though not always without elementary grammatical errors: e.g. التونك ارمغى = Rio de Oro, ياشيل بورنو = Cape Verde, and (correctly) آقيندى بورنى = Cape Corrientes. In ليونه داغى = Sierra Leone ('Lion Mountain') the 'Leone' has been left untranslated. Similarly the Cape of Good Hope appears as سپه راسى 'The Cape of Spe'; this must derive from 'C. [Bonae] Spei', the name being left in Latin, although in the companion-text and in legends written along the coasts of Africa the Cape is mentioned four times with spellings such as بونه اسپرانچ بورنى, i.e. in its Italian form 'C. di Buona Speranza'.

Names of places in the Moslem world appear in general in their 'Moslem' form, the compiler having carefully substituted the current Moslem names even where contemporary European cartographers prefer to use the names of classical antiquity: قايسارى = Kayseri, سيواس = Sivas, قونية = Konya, اسطنبول = Istanbul, سناب = Sinop, قدس شريف = Quds-i Sherif/Jerusalem, ارض روم = Erzerum, مراکش = Marrakish, فراط ارماغى = the Euphrates, etc. But there are lapses, some of a revealing nature: Mosul is mis-spelt موسول; Kashgar has not its correct spelling كاشغر but appears as قاسقار, which represents the contemporary Italian spelling 'Caschar'; Üsküdar is written سكوتر, which is close to the Frankish 'Scutari'; and Timbuktu (a name which should be familiar enough to a man who has studied at Fez) appears as طامبوتو, which is nothing other than the Italian 'Tombotto'.¹ The compiler is evidently not sufficiently familiar with the Moslem world to give to every place its correct Moslem name.²

European influence in matters concerning the Moslem world is also discernible in the contents of the companion-text and the descriptive legends,³ and can in two contexts be proved, owing to the fact that significant errors and spellings allow us to identify the source.

In describing 'Cathay and Khotan' (section D a of the companion-text) the writer speaks of Jenghiz Khan 'who in the year 510 set out with a great army from the Tatar homelands beneath the North Pole and seized power

¹ Sofala in Portuguese East Africa (in the Arab geographers, including Abu'l-Fidā, سفالة) appears as كنفلة; the Portuguese spelling Çofala or its Italian rendering Cefala may be responsible for H. A.'s *kāf*.

² cf. also 'Fez' and 'Morocco' in the companion-text (p. 301 above).

³ Such influence in the description of countries outside the Moslem world is of course only to be expected: thus there are clear echoes of the accounts of European travellers in the statements that the inhabitants of Patagonia are giants, that the people of Brazil wear feathers, that the Niger probably rises in the same region as the Nile, that the people of Bengal worship cows and snakes, etc.

over all Asia'. This is amplified in a legend (cramped and difficult to read) in the body of the map near the North Pole :

بو يرلردن تاتار طایفه سی که سکندر ذولقرنین بلجان طغرلنه سد ایلوب قدرت
الهی برله دکر چکیلدی اجلدن یول ویرب چکدر¹ بو تقدیرجه سعادتلو جنکیز
خانه ونسلی نه تابع اولد کیری اجلدن مشرق اقطارندن مصیر مملکتلری واناطولو
و . . . (؟) دکین فتح وضبط ایلمشردر

'From these lands, where Alexander the Two-Horned had built a wall at the *B.ljān* mountains, the Tatars emerged, for, by the power of God, the sea receded and left a passage for them. So, under the leadership of Jenghiz Khan and his line, they spread their conquests from the Eastern regions as far as the territories of Egypt and Anatolia and . . . (?)'.²

The *B.ljān* mountains are marked twice on the map, as a chain in the 60th parallel of latitude, and in each case clearly spelt بلجان. I can trace no such name nor any such story in Moslem sources, but both are to be found in a Western source, and moreover one published in Venice very shortly before the date of the composition of the map, namely the part of Hayton's *Flower of histories* printed in Italian in the second volume of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi*.³ There we read (f. 62D) :

'Il paese, nel quale premieramente habitarono i Tartari è di là dal gra monte Belgian, delqual è fatta mentione nell' historie di Alessandro.'

Hayton then relates a lengthy story, according to which Jenghiz, instructed in a dream, prostrates himself nine times, the sea recedes, and he and his followers issue forth round the end of the mountain barrier. It can hardly be a coincidence that three main elements of this story—the name Belgian, the receding of the sea, and the reminiscence of Alexander's 'wall'—appear in the legend on Hajji Ahmed's map.

The second instance is even more conclusive. In describing the Maghrib (section D i) Hajji Ahmed writes :

وهجرت رسولك تاريخ نده سنه اربع مایه قاین تام خلیفه نوک زماننده مزکور
عربلر عربستاندن چکوب انده عبر ایدوب صکره روم طایفه سین قوبوب دورت
یارار پادشاهلک ییری فتح ایلمشردر

'In the year 400 of the Moslem era, in the time of the Caliph *Qāyīn*, these Arabs left Arabia and crossed to this land ; later they expelled the Romans and conquered an area composed of four great kingdoms.'

In the Caliph 'Qāyīn' we can easily recognize a Caliph al-Qā'im, either the

¹ The writer must mean چکدر.

² The last word is perhaps 'Sarmatia'.

³ Vol. II of the *Viaggi* was the last of the three volumes to appear. The preface is dated July 1553, but publication was delayed by a fire in the Giunti printing-works, so that the title-page of the first edition bears the date 1559 (two years after Ramusio's death). However, as the last page bears the date 1558 and the compiler of the map was working after October 1559 (when the Hijra year 967 began) there is no doubt that this volume was available to him.

Fatimid (A.H. 322-34) or the Abbasid (A.H. 422-67), but the statement that Byzantine rule in North Africa was brought to an end in the reign of either of them by newly-arrived immigrants from Arabia is very wide of the mark. However, the impossible date '400' and the mention of a Caliph 'Qāyīn' enable us to identify the source from which, though in a much condensed form, the information is taken. This source is again Ramusio's collection, in this case the first volume, where in the *Description of Africa* by Leo Africanus we read (f. 3):

'Nello essercito che mandò Otmen Califà Terzo nell' anno 400. di Lhegira . . . venne nell' Africa un grandissimo numero di Arabi . . .'

and in the next paragraph:

'Sempre i Pontefici Mahumetani vietarono à gli Arabi di passar con le loro famiglie, e con i lor padiglioni il Nilo, fino à *gli anni 400. di Lhegira*, nel quale ebbero licenza da un Califà scismatico: e ciò per cagione, che uno, che amico, e vassallo era dal detto Califà si rebellò, e regnò nella città del Cairaoan, & in tutta quasi la Barberia: doppo la morte del quale rimase per qualche tempo il regno nella casa sua: percioche, si come io ho letto nelle historie africane, *nel tempo d'Elcain Califà*, e pontifice di quella casa, essi allargarono i lor regni, e crebbe la sette loro in tanto, che'l detto Califà mandò un suo schiavo, e consigliere, il cui nome fù Gehoar di nazioni schiava con grandissimo essercito verso ponente . . .'

The story goes on to tell how Elcain, on the advice of 'Gehoar' (i.e. Jawhar, the general of the later Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz (A.H. 341-65), induced some 50,000 Arabs, with their wives and children, to migrate from Arabia to North Africa. The historical facts are confused enough in Leo's account, for though the migration referred to, that of the Beni Hilāl, did indeed take place in 'gli anni 400.', i.e. the fifth century, it fell in the reign of the Abbasid, not the Fatimid ('scismatico') al-Qā'im. But they have been further confused by Hajji Ahmed: misled by the date 400 in the earlier passage (most probably a misprint in Ramusio's text¹), he has telescoped the two events, identifying the North African campaigns under 'Uthmān, which did indeed lead to the expulsion of the 'Romans', with the migration ordered by 'Elcain'.²

¹ The new French translation of Leo (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epanlard, Paris, 1956), which has been made from early MSS of the Italian text, reads here '24', a very reasonable date. The '400' in Ramusio's text is clearly a slip: either the copyist of the MS which Ramusio used or the compositor of the printed text has been influenced by the '400' appearing a few lines further on.

² Other items of Moslem history mentioned in the text (for which I cannot suggest the source) are:

- I, 52 ff. 'In the year 580 of the Hijra [Africa] was ruled over by a mighty Moslem emperor who lived in the city of Morocco and conquered Syria, Arabia, Egypt, all Africa, Spain and Sicily.'
- I, 127 f. 'In the year 337 of the Hijra the Caliph of Baghdad and the Caliph of Egypt fell into enmity with each other, and the Caliph of Baghdad called in [the Turks] to assist him . . .'
- I, 134 ff. 'About 800 years ago some of the tribesfolk left Arabia . . . massed together in a great army . . . and conquered Syria and Egypt . . .'
- II, 65 ff. 'In the year 125 of the Hijra a Moslem prince from the Maghrib named أمير عالم conquered Spain.'

Thus our Hajji Ahmed, who has been stripped of his pretensions to erudition, who is thoroughly conversant neither with Turkish nor with Arabic, and who uses Frankish forms for Moslem place-names, is now convicted of having relied in a matter concerning the history of Moslem North Africa on a Western source, and of having been led by it into a gross mistake that only the most ignorant Moslem could have allowed to pass. Only one conclusion is possible: the 'learned Moslem from Tunis', *if he existed at all*, played at the best no more than a very subordinate part in the preparation of the map which is ascribed to him. Why then does the companion-text present Hajji Ahmed as its author and as the translator of the map?

Even without further evidence it could be assumed that the promoter of the map must have been a publisher, in Venice, who thought it a promising venture to produce a world-map for sale in the Moslem world. A current map of the Orontius group was copied and at the same time revised (by correcting the coast-lines here and there and adding many place-names) with the help of up-to-date portolans and ruttiers,¹ if these revisions were not taken over from an already existing improved version of Orontius (not necessarily printed); the latter alternative is more probable, for it is unlikely that so much trouble would have been taken over a work destined for the Moslems. This map was then 'systematically translated into the Moslem script', to use the words of the companion-text; that is to say, the Moslem equivalents for place-names were substituted where such existed and were known to the translator, other place-names were translated into Turkish wherever possible, and the residue simply transliterated into Arabic script. A companion-text was added, primarily with the intention of dispelling possible Moslem prejudices against such a novelty introduced from an infidel land: thus in the Preface the authority of Abu'l-Fidā is invoked as having prompted the drawing up of the map and it is to his works that the reader is referred for proof of the concept that the earth is a sphere²; and though in the Epilogue it is admitted that the map is copied from a Frankish original, this original is said to derive from good 'Moslem' authorities, Plato, Socrates, Abu'l-Fidā, and Lokman. Although the greatest eulogies are reserved for the Ottoman Sultan, the laudatory notice on his bitter enemy, the Safevid Shah, shows that besides the Ottoman Empire Persia too was envisaged as a market.

¹ A 'ruttier' or 'rutter' was a manual of sailing directions for a particular coast (cf. for example 'A ruttier for Brazil' in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, xi). From the ruttiers geographical handbooks were compiled: a famous sixteenth century example was the Spanish *Suma de geographia* of 1519 by Enciso, which was translated, with modifications, into English by Roger Barlow in about 1541. Barlow's MS has been published by the Hakluyt Society (*A brief summe of geographie*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor, 1931 [Ser. II, LXIX]). It contains very similar information to that given by H. A. and the descriptions of the countries are on the same pattern—limits, characteristics, products. Such a book probably served as a model for the compiler of the text and could have provided a mass of detail to add to an already existing map.

² And rightly: Abu'l-Fidā's *Taqwīm* begins with a number of astronomical proofs that the earth is spherical.

The whole production must have been fathered on to a pious Hajji, languishing in Christian captivity, where, however, he remains true to his faith; he claims that his only aim in making the map is to benefit his Moslem brothers. Probably because it was suspected that the Turkish in which the map was written might not be good enough to convince the purchaser, the Hajji had to come from the far Western bounds of the Moslem world, so that his mother-tongue would be Arabic rather than Turkish; hence too the many would-be Arabisms in the text.¹ And the text concludes with an appeal to the religious sympathies of the Moslem customer—an elaborate hint at the heavenly reward which will accrue to those who, by buying the map, will contribute towards the ransom of their enslaved fellow-Moslem. Confronted with all this, one is forced to conclude that Hajji Ahmed, at least as he is presented to us in the text, is no more than a fictitious character.

However, Hajji Ahmed, together with the promoter of the map and two other associates, is mentioned in the Venetian archives, appearing in two texts which (together with the substance of a third) were communicated to d'Avezac and used by him.² These two texts show (1) that in 1568 the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*³ licensed the printing of '*il Mappamondo Arabo con le graduationi delle provincie et città osservate*'⁴ *del Sultan Ismael et raccolte da Cagi Acmet, tradotte dal Membre et Cambi*', and (2) that on 13 May 1568 Marc' Antonio Giustinian was granted by the Venetian Senate a monopoly for printing and selling '*il Mapamondo in Arabo con le graduationi delle provincie et città osservate da Sultan Ismael, et raccolte per cagi Acmet, et tradotte dal Membrè et Cambi, et con molta fatica et spese dal sudetto nobil nostro* (i.e. Giustinian) *dopo un longo tempo finalmente ridotte e perfettione*'.⁵

¹ In making him a graduate of Fez the compiler was perhaps influenced by the fact that Leo Africanus had studied there.

² Valentinelli, the librarian of the Marciana, informed d'Avezac of the existence of these records, which had been discovered by his assistant Lorenzi. His communication (quoted by d'Avezac, p. 64) suggests that the documents were actually in Lorenzi's possession, but Barozzi (in the course of a notice of d'Avezac's article in *Raccolta Veneta*, I, 2, 1866, 139 f.) makes it clear that Lorenzi had transcribed documents preserved in the State Archives at the Frari.

³ The *Riformatori dello Studio* were a board of three patricians set up by Venice in 1517 as supervisors of the University of Padua. To this board the Council of Ten had in 1544 entrusted the censoring of all works submitted for publication. (The text of the decree is given in the little pamphlet *Parte dell' illustrissima signoria di Venetia in materia delle stampe*, Venice, 1565, of which there is a copy in the British Museum.)

⁴ The word '*osservate*' does not appear in the Italian text as quoted by d'Avezac, but as he translated '*observées par*' and the word appears in the second text I assume that it has been accidentally omitted.

⁵ On a visit to the Frari I found the grant of the monopoly recorded in Vol. 47 (1568-9) of the series '*Senato Terra*'. The entry begins (f. 31r): '*Di xiii Detto* (sc. Maggio 1568):

Che al diletto nobil nostro Marc' Antonio Giustagnan sia concesso, sicome egli hà humilmente supplicato, che altro, che esso, ò chi haverà da lui causa, ò licentia, non possa in questa, ne in altra città, ò luogo del Dominio nostro stampar, far stampar, ne da altri stampato vender il Mapamondo in Arabo con le graduationi . . .' etc. Then follow a provision that every infringement of the monopoly was to be punished by a fine of 300 ducats, the statement how the fine was to be spent, and the record of the voting, with a note that G.'s relatives abstained. That the description of the map given in this minute is that supplied by G. himself in his application is

The work is described as the 'Arabic world-map' or the 'world-map in Arabic', which means no more than that it is written in Arabic script. The mention of 'cagi Aemat' and 'Sultan Ismael' (i.e. Abu'l-Fidā, who figures so prominently in the companion-text) puts it beyond doubt that the map here recorded is in fact our 'map of Hajji Ahmed'; and the reference to the 'longo tempo' at the end of which the work was finally perfected accounts for the lapse of time between 1559, when the companion-text was written, and 1568, when the production was submitted for censorship.

How have we to understand '*con le graduationi*' . . . observed by Abu'l-Fidā, gathered together by Hajji Ahmed, and translated by Membre and Cambi? As *con* must have its obvious meaning of 'with, accompanied by',¹ the '*graduationi*' can only be the companion-text, which is thus presented as consisting of data extracted from Abu'l-Fidā's book and put together by Hajji Ahmed. It is less obvious into which language this text was translated by Membre and Cambi, but as the censors would certainly have wanted to know about the contents of the lengthy companion-text it can be assumed that an Italian translation by a trustworthy interpreter had to be made for them. Of Membre we know that he was the official Turkish interpreter of the Signory; the most probable interpretation is then, as Adnan Adıvar was the first to recognize, that 'translated' means 'translated from Turkish into Italian'.² There is, however, good reason to doubt whether this translation represented the real contents of the companion-text, for how could this text, which contains

shown by comparison with the application of Antonio Pigafetta of 5 August 1524 (reproduced as Pl. 16 in the catalogue *Navigatori Veneti del quattrocento e del cinquecento*, Venice, 1957), which includes not only a description of the work in question but also a proposal for the amount of the fine and how it should be apportioned.

In the short time at my disposal I could not trace the two other references. The bundle Riformatori dello Studio di Padova 284 contains original applications to the censors (each accompanied by the *nihil obstat* granted) for the years 1550-78, but I could not find G.'s application among them.

¹ The Italian wording can hardly imply that the map was drawn up 'according to the data' of Abu'l-Fidā's observations, though this seems to be the force of *كتاب الرياضی موجینجه* in the companion-text (see above, p. 294, n. 3), evidently meant to impress the Moslem reader. If such an implication was intended, either in the Italian or the Turkish, it has no justification. Figures of latitude and longitude given in the companion-text for the extreme limits of countries agree with the representation (after Orontius) of the countries in the map. As for the towns marked in the map, a few examples of the positions of Moslem towns show that the compilers did not, as they might well have done, rely on Abu'l-Fidā: whereas for the latitude of Tiflis Abu'l-Fidā reports two figures, 43° and 42°, for Hasankeyf 37° 35', for Kayseri 40°, for Mosul 33° 35', for Samarcand 40° and 37° 30', for Vostan 37° 50', and for Sultania 39°, H. A.'s map shows *تيفليس* in 45°, *سلطانيه* in 40°. In no case do the figures of A. F. and H. A. agree—and in all cases except one (Mosul) A. F.'s are more accurate.

² D'Arvieux's interpretation is that H. A. drew up the whole work in Arabic, and that 'ses legendes arabes avaient été mises en turk à tout le moins avec l'aide de Membre et Cambi'. Adnan Adıvar (*La science*, p. 72) rejects this explanation because of H. A.'s positive statement that he wrote the Turkish text himself; he suggests that H. A. dictated the text in bad Turkish, and that the 'translation' was made into Italian, in connexion with the application for permission to publish.

so much up-to-date information, be described as 'graduationⁱ' drawn exclusively from Abu'l-Fidā? Obviously the promoter of the enterprise wanted the censors and the Senate to be deceived into thinking that the text contained little if any information which was not already known to the Moslems.

The appearance in the companion-text and now again in these records of the name 'Sultan Ismael' must not suggest that it is unavoidable to postulate the existence in Venice of a Moslem scholar who was acquainted with Abu'l-Fidā's writings.¹ Just in these years the name of Abu'l-Fidā was known in Venice, at least in learned circles, for the French orientalist Guillaume Postel had recently brought from Istanbul a manuscript of the *Taqwīm al-buldān*. He was compelled to pawn it with the Duke of Bavaria, but not before part of it was translated into Latin for Ramusio, who made use of it in compiling his commentary on Marco Polo's travels in the second volume of the *Viaggi*, where also he included a table showing the latitudes and longitudes (*le graduationⁱ*!) of many places as recorded by Abu'l-Fidā, speaking enthusiastically of this valuable work '*venuto divinamente in luce a nostri tempi*'.² With these references ready to hand in the *Viaggi*, there was no need for the compiler to have direct knowledge of the works of Abu'l-Fidā—and we have seen that he did indeed use the *Viaggi* while composing his text.

Of the two Italians who, according to the records, 'translated' the companion-text, nothing is known of Cambi but the other is well-known: he is Michele Mambre, the Turkish interpreter of the Signory for a long period in the second half of the sixteenth century. As such he was known personally to Ramusio, the secretary of the Council of Ten, who refers to him as '*huomo dottissimo nella lingua Araba, Persiana & Turcha*', and who, while editing his *Viaggi*, availed himself of his services as interpreter in consulting Persian visitors to Venice.³

As to the publisher of the map, Marc' Antonio Giustinien, he is known for another venture in which he had engaged. In 1545 he had set up a Hebrew press, and from 1548, when Bomberg's press ceased publishing, had held a monopoly of Hebrew printing in Venice. In 1550, however, he quarrelled with Alvise Bragadini, who had also entered the field, and the two rivals denounced

¹ Slight though this acquaintance must have been, since A. F.'s *Taqwīm al-buldān* is referred to not by its title but only as the 'Book of Mathematics', statements on the importance of geography attributed to him are not to be found in the text of the *Taqwīm*, and even the name Abu'l-Fidā is mis-spelt as Abu'l-Fath.

² *Viaggi*, II, Preface, f. 18. With very few exceptions the figures given by Ramusio agree with those in the printed text of the *Taqwīm* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris, 1840), except that in all cases where Abu'l-Fidā gives a figure as an exact number of degrees Ramusio adds 8 minutes, e.g. for A. F.'s 'Tiflis: Long. 73°, Lat. 43°', R. has 'Tiphlis: Long. 73° 3', Lat. 43° 8''; it seems that R.'s translator had read ۵ (= ۴۰۰) as the numeral ۸.

³ *Viaggi*, II, Preface, f. 14v. Among the Persians Ramusio interrogated with Mambre's help was a merchant named 'Chaggi Memet'. V. Lazari, in his *I viaggi di Marco Polo . . .*, Venice, 1847 (quoted by d'Avezac, p. 59), suggested that this Hajji Mehmet was the author of the map. D'Avezac pointed out that this identification was impossible, but it may be the reason why the map is sometimes referred to in modern guide-books as the work of 'Haji Mohammad'.

each other's productions as containing matter objectionable to the Catholic faith. As a result, the Pope ordered the wholesale burning of all copies of the Talmud and similar literature, the Council of Ten putting the decree into effect in 1553.¹ As the companion-text was written in 1559-60, Giustinian must have embarked on his Turkish project soon after this disaster. Though a Christian, he would feel no more scruple at publishing for the Moslem market than he had felt when printing for Jewish readers, and among the type-cutters he had employed at his Hebrew press he might have found a craftsman able to reproduce with fidelity a text in Arabic script. To procure the map was no problem, but he still needed to provide for the transliteration of the place-names in it and the composition of a companion-text which would impress the Moslem purchasers.

The companion-text itself has revealed that he turned, not to a learned Moslem from Tunis, but to someone, probably non-Moslem, with an imperfect knowledge of both Arabic and Turkish and a good but not intimate knowledge of the Moslem world and Moslem habits of thought, someone who was acquainted with Ramusio's *Viaggi* and through it knew of 'Sultan Ismael', someone who was familiar with the language of the Ottoman chancery and who apparently drew up the companion-text in Latin script.

Who answers to this description better than the Mambre whom we have already seen to be connected with the scheme? He was Ramusio's unofficial assistant and must thus have learned about Sultan Ismael. His official duties confronted him continuously with Turkish documents, whose distinctive style the companion-text reflects. Professor Bombaci, who has examined in the Venetian archives translations of documents made by Mambre, finds him 'esperto conoscitore del turco'²; but to express the unfamiliar ideas of the companion-text in Turkish would have been a different matter from translating into Italian Turkish documents that consisted in large part of stereotyped formulae, and the errors of syntax in our text are no objection to its being ascribed to Mambre. The use of Latin script for Turkish is not, it is true, attested for Mambre, but he is known at least to have received a letter so written.³ It came from his Ottoman counterpart Ibrāhīm, by birth a Pole, who, like his Hungarian-born colleague Murād, was accustomed to write

¹ cf. C. Roth, *Venice*, in the 'Jewish Communities Series', Philadelphia, 1930, 254 ff.

² A. Bombaci, 'La collezione di documenti turchi dell' Archivio di Stato di Venezia', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xxiv, 1949, 95-107. The phrase quoted appears in Bombaci's article in *RO* referred to in the next note.

³ See A. Bombaci, 'Una lettera turca in caratteri latini del dragomanno ottomano Ibrāhīm al veneziano Michele Membre (1567)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xv, 1949, 129-44. A similar flavour of chancery style to that noticed in the companion-text is to be detected in Ibrāhīm's letter: he too begins with 'malu(m) olla kym' (262r 1) and concludes the first part of his letter with 'süile bilelis' (262v 20); he also includes a 'ssymdi ky chalde' (262r 17) and an admonitory 'tallul ittermeyp' (262v 28). Ibrāhīm often renders initial Turkish *İ-* by *y-* (*ykenn*, *ydesis*, etc.); this rendering may lie behind such spellings as *يستانبول* = Istanbul and *يشبو* = *ishbu* in H. A.'s map.

Turkish in the Latin script of his native language.¹ So Latin script was to some extent used for writing Turkish and such texts were understood.

If Mambre was in fact asked to draft the companion-text, might he not have used for this task the script that came easier to his hand, leaving it to a subordinate—perhaps the Cambi mentioned in the records—to transliterate his text (and the place-names in the map as well) and write it out for the engraver? Not until 1568 was the map ready to be presented for censorship, when Giustinian, thanks perhaps to the misleading description he supplied, procured the licence from the censors and the grant of the monopoly from the Senate.

The fate of Giustinian's scheme can be deduced from the third note in the archives. It records that Giustinian was shortly afterwards accused of a contravention of the Press laws and that as a result of this charge various objects were removed from his house. There is no indication that this incident had anything to do with the map. But if we consider the general mood prevailing at Venice 'shortly after' 1568, we can see that an enterprise aiming at the export of such a map to Turkey would have been frowned on. By 1569 the Signory was receiving from its bailo in Istanbul warnings of Ottoman preparations to attack Cyprus, and popular apprehensions became acute with the mysterious explosion in the Arsenal on 13 September of that year, which was suspected to be the result of a Turkish plot.² It is very likely that the measures taken against Giustinian resulted in the withdrawal of the licence for the map, a search of his house, and the seizure of all doubtful material. The records show that Giustinian was acquitted, but the fact that the blocks were found in the archives of the Council of Ten shows that they were retained, perhaps confiscated. In any case they remained there locked away and were finally forgotten, not to come to light again for over two centuries.

It seems therefore that if Hajji Ahmed really existed and did have any share in the production of the map that goes under his name, the only thing he was required to do was to lend his Moslem *cachet* to an infidel production and perhaps also to figure as the ostensible author before the licensing authorities of Venice. In any case his name must be erased from the roll of Moslem geographers and his map ceases to be of importance as a monument of Moslem cartography.

The 'Map of Hajji Ahmed' remains of interest, however, on two counts: (1) it represents a revision of Orontius apparently more accurate and more detailed than the two other extant revisions; (2) it reveals the first attempt made by a European publisher to enter the Moslem market. Giustinian's

¹ On Ibrāhīm and his transcription of a letter of Suleyman I see A. Zajączkowski, 'List turecki Sulejmana I do Zygmunta Augusta', *RO*, xii, 1936, 91-118; on Murād see F. Babinger, 'Der Pfortendolmetsch Murād und seine Schriften' in *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Turkenzeit* (ed. by E. Mittwoch and J. H. Mordtmann), Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, 33-54.

² The memory of Giustinian's earlier venture of the Hebrew press may have contributed to his being regarded with suspicion, since it was generally believed that the Sultan's hostile attitude was due to the urging of his powerful Jewish protégé, Joseph Nasi.

venture was undertaken some 20 years earlier than that which is attested by the Turkish firman printed at the end of the text of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's version of Euclid's *Elements*, printed by the Medici Press (Rome, 1594). This firman of Murad III, issued to two Italian merchants in 1588, authorized them to import without hindrance and to sell freely 'books printed in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish'.¹ Some scheme for exporting books to the Orient, more ambitious than Giustinian's, had therefore been launched by 1588. Of its success, as little is known as of that achieved by the Medici Press some years later with their enterprise. But in both cases the promoters did at least manage to produce their wares, a stage which the unfortunate Giustinian had never reached.

A NOTE ON 'BELGIAN'

Hayton's *Flower of histories* was dictated in French in 1307 to Nicolas Falcon, who translated it into Latin. The critical edition (in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, II, Paris, 1906) gives both the first French version and the subsequent Latin 'translation', which is, say the editors, 'remanié, corrigé et amplifié'.²

In the French text the name Belgian occurs only in the 'Jenghiz Khan' context (*Recueil*, 147 ff. = Latin text, 283 ff.), but in the Latin text it appears once more, at the end of the first chapter of Part One. There the last words of the French text (p. 122): 'de toutes les autres parties le royaume de Cathai est environés ou de désert ou de la mer oceane' are expanded in the Latin text (p. 262) to: '... et ex parte septentrionis cum deserto de Belgian, et ex parte meridiei sunt insule maris superius nominate'. So for Hayton Belgian is (1) a desert region north of Cathay and (2) a mountain range meeting the sea from behind which Jenghiz emerged.

Three similar names have been discussed by P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-won Ts'in-Tcheng Lou*, I, Leiden, 1951, 37-49), namely: (1) Baljun-aral (an island), (2) Dalan-Baljus or -Baljut, i.e. 'the seventy Baljun' (the unidentified scene of the battle between Jenghiz and Jamuka [*Secret history*, §129]), and (3) Baljuna or Baljun (a river or lake). They conclude that these names of three distinct places are derived from a single Mongol word whose meaning is still uncertain.

None of them is appropriate to the context in which Hayton speaks of 'Mount' Belgian, but the last may be reflected in the name of the 'desert' north of Cathay. For according to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, text, p. 215) Baljuna is a place (موضع) where there are many springs (چشمه) to which

¹ cf. Selim Nüzhet, *Türk matba'ajıllığı*, Istanbul, 1928, p. 11 and appendix, where the firman is reproduced; also H. W. Duda, 'Das Druckwesen in der Türkei', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1935, 228 f.

² Of the four parts of the book only the third, the History of the Mongols, is given by Ramusio. As he states in his preface (f. 61r), he used a manuscript 'over 150 years old', which was, according to the editors of the critical edition, a text in the Latin version.

Jenghiz retired after his battle with Ong Khan 'on the bounds of the land of Cathay' (بحدود ولایت ختای). This battle was 'very famous among the Mongols and still spoken of', and the few men who accompanied Jenghiz to Baljuna were called 'the men of Baljun' (بالجونتر): cf. Pelliot and Hambis, p. 44).

However, a mountain named Belgian from behind which the Mongols emerged and at which Jenghiz prayed brings to mind the famous Burqan Qaldun, the 'Divine Mountain' (cf. N. Poppe, 'On some geographic names in the Jāmi' al-Tawārīx', *HJAS*, xix, 1-2, 1956, 34), the legendary home of the Mongols, the refuge and base of Jenghiz and his traditional burial-place. It would seem that the name of the mountain in Hayton is either simply a corruption of Burqan, or, more probably, a modification of Burqan that has arisen from Hayton's equating it with the Baljun north of Cathay at which Jenghiz and his faithful 'Baljunites' gathered. The reference to Alexander shows that Hayton carried the process of identification one stage further: he had heard of Derbent, the 'Porte de Fer' between the Caucasus range and the Caspian Sea (French text, p. 128 = Latin text, p. 267)—if not otherwise at least from his uncle, who had passed through it on his way to Batu's camp on the Volga—and he would not unnaturally equate the mountain from which the Mongols emerged with the mountains behind which the savage peoples of Asia had been confined by Alexander.

It is clear that Hayton's history was used as a source by sixteenth century cartographers, for the desert of BELGIAN is to be found 'north of Cathay' on many maps, e.g. Ortelius's *Tartaria* (1570), Rumold Mercator's 'World' (1587), Gerard Mercator's 'Northern Lands' (1595), and Blaeu's 'World' (1648) (cf. Plates 87, 92, 96, 99 of Bagrow's *Geschichte der Kartographie*).

A SPURIOUS FÖLKTALE

By W. B. HENNING

PROFESSOR G. VERNADSKY, well-known as an historian of ancient Russia, recently published an Ossetic folktale,¹ which he had obtained from a Mr. Dzambulat Dzanty, an Ossete by birth,² who in his turn stated that he had heard it (and written it down) in his youth, 'in the village of Great Iron (*Bolshoe Osetinskoe*) at the time of hay-making (*zosgärdän*), June, 1910', from an 'old white-bearded man' by name of Khulyx [*K'ulix*] 'The Lame One', who 'was a poet himself and in some of his own works followed the pattern of the old Ossetian oral traditions'.³ As the old gentleman was 'over seventy in 1910',⁴ we cannot hope to consult him now about his sources or about the numerous strange words and expressions in the text presented, after an interval of 45 years, by Mr. Dzambulat Dzanty.

The tale, cast in the form of a prose epic, purports to give an independent account of the story, known from the Russian *Annals* (*Povest' Vremennix Let*) and alluded to in the *Slovo*, of the fight between Mstislav, Prince of Tmutorokan', and Rededyä, the chief of the *Kasogi* (Circassians); but Rededyä has turned here into a leader of the *Ossetes* and his name is altered to *Iry-Dada*. According to the *Annals* this fight took place in A.D. 1022. That the *Ossetes*, a nation lacking historical tradition, should have preserved, with fair accuracy, the memory of an isolated historical event as remote as nine centuries ago, is exceedingly improbable. The genuine Ossetic folktales, of which large numbers have been published, deal with spirits and demons, heroes and giants, and the like, not with recognizable historic situations.

Not satisfied with laying the scene of his tale in the early eleventh century, its narrator has painted it on an ethnographic background that, inconsistent in itself, reaches down even further into antiquity. We are not greatly surprised at finding the *Ossetes* generally referred to here as *Alani*, although their present-day name, *Ir/Iron*, occurs also (e.g. line 9).⁵ The old term, *Alan-*, was still known, and applied to the ancestors of the *Ossetes*, in the fifteenth century⁶;

¹ G. Vernadsky and Dzambulat Dzanty, 'The Ossetian tale of Iry Dada and Mstislav', *Slavic folklore: a symposium* [*Journal of American Folklore*], 1956, 216-35.

² Elsewhere (*JAOS*, LXXVI, 1956, 189, n. 13) Vernadsky mentions a book by Dzambulat Dzanty, *L'empire des Oss-Alanes* (Institut d'Ossétologie, Clamart/Seine), I, 1953, which I have not seen.

³ loc. cit., 222.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Supposedly also in the wilful corruption of Rededyä, *Iry-Dada*, which Vernadsky translates as 'Father of the Iron (Ossetians)' (p. 217); but 'Daddy of the *Ossetes*' would be more adequate.

⁶ As proved by Josaphat Barbaro, who began his travels in 1436 and spent 18 years at Tana, on the doorstep of the land of the *Alani*: 'the cuntrey of Alania is so called of the people Alani, which in their tonge they call As' (*Travels to Tana and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 5); 'cuntreys of divers languages . . . to witt, Elipehe, Tatarcoisia, Sobai, Cheuarthei, As Alani . . .' (p. 25).

it persists in Mingrelian¹; but from Ossetic itself it has disappeared, except in the compound *allon-billon*, found a single time in a folktales.² 'Iry-Dada', however, provides us not merely with this rare term *allon-billon* (spelt *Alon-bilon*, lines 66 and 124), but also with profuse occurrences of the simple *Alon* (pl. *Alantā*),³ which would appear to have escaped the notice of all the scholars, among them many born Ossetes, who hitherto have investigated their language.

Even if we passed the *Alani*, we must draw the line at the *Ruzs-Alan* (lines 6, 47, 93, 121, 135), evidently the *Rozolani*. This nation disappeared from the ken of the peoples inhabiting the lands near the Caucasus as early as the second century B.C., when they crossed over to the European side of the Don; having later migrated further westwards they are last heard of in the third century of our era. In time as well as space the *Rozolani* were neatly distinct from the *Alani*; for the latter appear on the scene only about the middle of the first century (A.D.), then still on the Asiatic side of the Don. The close association, in which we are accustomed to think of those two nations, is not so much an historical one as rather the product of modern etymologizing scholarship: since Müllenhoff (1866) and V. F. Miller (1887), who explained *Rozolani* as a compound of an Iranian word for 'light' (exemplified by Ossetic *rūzs*) and the name *Alani*, it has acquired the status of a learned dogma. Actually, this etymology is somewhat in doubt; for at the earliest occurrence of the name familiar to us from literary sources as *Ῥωξολαῖ*, in an inscription from the closing years of the second century B.C.,⁴ its spelling is different altogether: *τὸ τῶν Πευξινολῶν ἔθνος*.⁵ At any rate, the place for the *Rozolani* is in the pages of Strabo, Tacitus, and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, not in Ossetic fairy-tales taken down in 1910; and *Ruzs-Alan* provides a safe *terminus ante quem non*: 1887, the year in which the third part of Miller's *Osetinskie etymidi* appeared.

There are a good many further items of antiquarian interest; only some of the pearls can be mentioned here. The first rank is disputed by the *Sarmatae* (lines 48, 51, 143)⁶ and the *Tochari*. The latter, however, appear thinly disguised as an appellative, *tozar* 'warrior' (for example line 31 *Alon tozartā* 'Alan warriors' or line 51 *tozar Mstislav*!); the narrator composed his 'Iry-Dada' out of books on history—Professor Vernadsky, travelling in the reverse direction, has made this allegedly Ossetic word *tozar* the basis of a novel

¹ V. I. Abaev, *Osetinskiy yazik i fol'klor*, I, 1949, 249.

² V. F. Miller, *Os.-Russko-Nem. slovar'*, s.v.; cf. Abaev, loc. cit., 246.

³ If this were an inherited word, its plural should be **Aladti*.

⁴ cf. Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 73, n. 4. L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*, 1955, 265, unconvincingly tried to separate *Rozolani* and *Reuzinali*; that Ptolemy should have both names side by side (the latter perhaps as *Ῥεζινολοί* or *Ῥακινολοί*, reflecting possibly **Ῥεζινολοί* in his source) provides no argument whatsoever against their identity.

⁵ Inscr. of Diophantus, I, 23 (e.g. *apud* Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 617); *-λαν-* may thus be due to metathesis, and *-νολ-* is easily enough explainable, in terms of 'Sarmatian', as from OIr. *narya-*, Oss. *tal*. Cf. Vasmer, *Iranier in Sudrussland*, 49.

⁶ In the last two verses Vernadsky gives a different explanation.

explanation of the name of the mighty *Tochari* (For Roman Jakobson, 1956, 588 sq.).

More recondite yet than the *Sarmatae*, *Roxolani*, and *Tochari* are the *Antes*, who, to judge by Vernadsky's translation, still enjoy a great vogue in Bolshoe Osetinskoe: 'the Antes', 'Antian drinks', 'the Antian prince', 'an Antian horseman', etc. (meaning in effect *Russian*); but here one doubts whether the narrator ever had heard of them. The *Antes*, famous in the sixth century, were a confederacy of Slav tribes; but according to Vernadsky, Slavs organized by *Alani*, or rather by their sub-division, the *Ās*. This latter opinion appears to have been based on most dubious etymologies of names, in particular of the name *Antes* itself, for which Vernadsky has proposed three different explanations (two of them in the same book), all tending to show connexion with the *Ās* or their language:

(a) *Antes* = *Ās*. 'The transmutation of the **A*ς into **Av*ς is in full accord with the phonetic laws of the Greek language, cf. γίγας, plural γίγαντες.¹ Here the actual name was *Ās*, distorted by Greeks into *Antes*. However, no Greek would have rendered a foreign tribal name *Ās* as **A*ς, and in any case **Av*ς does not exist, the Greek form being **Av*ς in fact.

(b) *Ās* = *Antes*. 'The contraction of the name *Ant* into *As* may be explained from the phonetical laws of the Greek language (compare πᾶσι from πανσι).² Here the actual name was *Ant*-, out of which the Greeks somehow made *Ās*: this *Greek* form, it would seem, was then adopted in the Caucasus and in Central Asia as well (for *Ās* occurs also in Arabic, Mongolian, Chinese, etc.).

(c) In a note contributed to the *JAOS*, LXXIII, 3, 1953, 192, Vernadsky withdrew explanation (a)³ and suggested that 'the name is of Iranian origin and should be explained in the light of Sanskrit *anta* "end, limit" and Ossetic *andā* "outside"; the *Antes* thus should be the 'outer' tribes of the *Alani-Ās*. It will be noted that, once the link between the names *Antes* and *Ās* is withdrawn, no reason remains discernible for deriving the former from an Iranian language; apart from that, an adverb such as Oss. *adā*, Dig. *andā* is scarcely fit to serve as the name of a nation, while the appertaining adjective Oss. *adtag*, Dig. *andag* 'being outside' cannot be represented by **Av*ς.

On the strength of this last etymology, Vernadsky has rendered as 'Antian' every *adtagon* in the text of 'Iry-Dada'.⁴ Yet, *adtagon* is an everyday word in

¹ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, New Haven, 1943, 106.

² *ibid.*, 83.

³ Nothing is said about explanation (b), which V. may not have considered essentially different from (a).

⁴ Lines 27, 29, 36, 40, 42, 83; and so *andāston* lines 54, 62, 65, which (not mentioned in any dictionary) may be intended as an 'elegant variation', but in that case would be an incorrect form (*andā* being Digor only).

Ossetic, and its ordinary meaning ('exterior, wild, strange, foreign, alien') fits the passages admirably, e.g. line 27 *ādiagon adāmā* 'the strangers, foreigners'. Even in the unlikely event that the narrator had dipped into Procopius and desired to import the Ἀντί into his tale, would he have used a harmless adjective of this sort to disguise his intention? for that it was meant to conceal the name of a long-forgotten nation, could not have occurred to anyone of his listeners. Unless indeed he was possessed of second sight and foresaw in 1910 that *adiag(on)* was going to be claimed as the etymon of *Antes* in 1953.

This tale of 'Iry-Dada' does not spring from the deep well of national remembrance; it is the product of book-learning. If Mr. Dzambulat Dzanty had left it at his original statement: *āz fequston* 'I heard (this tale . . .)' (in a prefatory remark, p. 221), we should be free to assume that his memory had played him false. However, in an additional note, quoted in translation from a letter written in Russian to Professor Vernadsky, Mr. Dzambulat Dzanty changed this statement to 'I heard and wrote down the tale . . .' (p. 222); yet, whether any amplifications or other modifications have been introduced, and if so which,¹ since the writing-down in 1910, we are not told, so that there is room for speculation. As to the narrator of the tale, old Khulyx, he must have been more learned than he let on. There is no reason at all for blaming him; for an Ossete, as well as anyone else, is entitled to tell or write historical romances and inspire himself by browsing in the Public Library. We, however, should be capable of distinguishing such productions from genuine folktales.²

¹ One such modification is the change in transcription, into a new kind of romanization.

² This is not even the first time that the story of Mstislav and Rededya has been supposed to be reflected in Caucasian folklore. Šora-Bekmurzin-Negmov, the Kabardian author of a history of the Circassians (*Istori'a Adıgeyskago naroda*, Tiflis, 1861), incorporated it in his work, but Prince N. S. Trubetzkoy proved that it was simply borrowed from the Russian *Annals*. Vernadsky himself gives an outline of the history of this earlier attempt (p. 217), which was unsuccessful and, one should have thought, would prove discouraging.

PASHTO VERSE

By D. N. MacKENZIE

غنچه د گلو م په لاس ده
که خوځک گلونه بویوی نو را د شینه

IN, and since, the nineteenth century a more than passing interest in Pashto verse, both literary and popular, has been shown in Europe, as the following titles (not to mention a number of chrestomathies) testify :

H. G. Raverty, *Selections from the poetry of the Afghans*, London, 1862 ;

C. E. Biddulph, *Afghan poetry of the seventeenth century, being selections from the poems of Khush Hal Khan Khatak*, London, 1890 ;

J. Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-90.

In more recent years the Pashto Academy (*Pax̌to Ītolana*)¹ of Kabul has published an admirable series of books, including the verse of such major poets as *Xuṣṣḥāl Xān Xatak*, 'AbdulHamīd Momand, 'AbdurRahmān Bābā, and others, and two valuable collections of popular verse.² Yet, to my knowledge no writer, Afghan or European, has ventured to write on Pashto prosody in any of its forms.³ It is, therefore, with some trepidation that I offer the following few notes on the subject, the more so as they are the result of a 'paper' analysis, without benefit of native Afghan advice. But in so doing I may perhaps win for my subject a more favourable verdict than Biddulph's, who felt that Pashto metre was not 'such as would commend itself to or be appreciated by European readers unaccustomed to its rhythm'.⁴

Pashto verse falls simply into the two categories of 'literary' and 'popular'. Literary verse is that cast in the Arabo-Persian mould of the *bayt*, *γazal*, *kaṣīda*, *rubā'ī*, *maṣnawī*, etc. Afghan writers tend to refer to such verse generally as 'metrical' ('*arūzī*'). This is a misnomer, for though they follow the classical rhyme patterns Pathan (*Pax̌tūn*) poets do not, indeed cannot well, obey the

¹ Although based on Lentz's *Lateinalphabet für das Paschto*, Berlin, 1937, the transcription employed here is a personal attempt (which must needs be justified elsewhere) to represent the Pashto script by a similarly pan-Pashto transcription. It does not, therefore, accord with the phonemic system of any one dialect, least of all, probably, with that analysed in Penzl's *Grammar of Pashto, a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar*, Washington, D.C., 1955. Of the more unusual diacritics, [˙] (plainer and less ambiguous than a subscript dot) indicates a retroflex consonant, while [˘] marks a distinction in the Arabic script having no significance in Pashto.

² *Milli sandere*, edited by Muḥammad Gul Nūri, Kabul, 1944 ; *Pax̌tani sandere*, edited, Pt. I, by Muḥammad Din Žwāk, Pt. II, by Muḥammad Ḥasan Zamīr Sāpī, Kabul, 1955-6 (cited below as *PS*, I and *PS*, II respectively).

³ [Addendum. S. M. Idris touches upon the subject in 'Pashto poetry through twelve centuries', *Journal of the University of Peshawar*, No. 3 of 1954.]

⁴ *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

quantitative rules imposed on Persian verse. In fact, *all* Pashto verse is syllabic in nature.

Popular verse is again divisible into two categories. The spontaneous verselets sung, we are told, at work and on the road, and those sung to the national *atañ* dance, are truly popular. Often, it would seem, they are traditional, and nearly always anonymous. Then there are the more ambitious songs of the professional musicians. These always have a 'signature' but, professional ethics being what they are, not necessarily that of the true composer.¹ It is this latter type of 'popular song' which is mainly represented in Darmesteter's collection and in the second part of the *Pax̌toni sandare*.

The popular songs are classed according to their rhyme patterns. The commonest forms are the *γazal* and the *čārbaŷta*. Darmesteter dismisses the former perhaps too easily with the words,² 'Il n'y a rien de particulier à dire du *ghazal*: il a passé de la poésie persane dans la poésie indienne, et c'est là que l'ont pris les poètes populaires de l'Afghanistan'. Far from the simple rhyme pattern of the literary *γazal*:

MM AM BM CM etc.

the popular *γazal* (PS, II, 117-66) may have such rhyme schemes as:

MM AAMM BBMM CMM etc.

MM AAAM BBBM CCCM etc.

MM AABM CCDM EEFM etc.

and, with internal rhymes,

M-M aaB-M-M ccD-M-M eeF-M-M etc.

aaM-bbM C-ddM E-ffM etc.

M-M aaA-M bbB-M ccC-M etc.

The famous song 'Zaxmī Dil', by Mīrā, may serve as an example.³

Γazal da Mīrā.

Zaxmī pa ɣam k̄že prot yəm da hiŷrān pa k̄lāro.

z̄fə me yowəʃ pa mangul k̄že čə nən rāyala xāro, ro rc.

Lab šakar larī, sīna ɣamar larī, dandān ɣawhar larī;

zə ye wīštələm pa ɣamīr, jəka ɣad̄ yəm pa nāro, ro ro

Təl pa ɣang yəma, pa wīno rang yəma, zə stā malang yəma.

yār tabīb day jəmā, zə muhtāʃ yəm da dāro, ro ro.

Ši'r čə xpəl wāyī, waz̄n da bəl wāyī, jān t̄ə de ɣal wāyī;

Mīrā wāyī təl ɣanā, ɣammāz ɣīr šu pa paŋjəro, ro rc.

'I lie in sorrow, wounded by the daggers of separation.

Kharo carried off my heart in her hands when she came to-day, softly,
softly.

Her lips hold sugar, her breast bears fruits, her teeth are jewelled;

¹ See Darmesteter, op. cit., p. xciii.

² op. cit., p. cxv.

³ This text, differing again from the three versions given by Darmesteter, op. cit., No. 70, follows as far as possible that sung by Begam Jan of Peshawar on a 'Banga-Phone' record, NP 14.

she has struck me to the heart, therefore do I cry, softly, softly.
 I am always at war, coloured with blood, I am thy dervish.
 My beloved is my physician, I am in need of physic, softly, softly.
 If one calls a verse his own and sings the song of another let him call himself
 a thief ;
 Mira always praises God, for the slanderer has been caught in a cage, softly,
 softly.'

The *čārbayta* (PS, II, 1-116), which despite its name may have any number of *bayts* from two onwards in each stanza, differs from the *γazal* in having a refrain. It is also known as the *sandera*, the 'song' *par excellence*, or the *badāla*. Darmesteter rightly analysed the rhyme patterns as :

RR AAA..MRR BBB..MRR CCC..MRR etc.
 or rR(mM) aAaAaA..mMrR bBbBbB..mMrR etc.
 where (m)M rhyme with the refrain (r)R. The following is a particularly short example (PS, II, 92), with an internal rhyme :

Čārbayta da Aḥmad Xān.

<i>Məx de day ʃumāt, ʃanam,</i>	<i>ʃin xāl de imām day.</i>
<i>Wə-me-lidə ʃubḥ ū šām ;</i>	<i>naṣṭa da islām day.</i>
<i>Məx de ləka lmar, ʃənəy,</i>	<i>waxtī da bām pa sar.</i>
<i>Zə de yəm nokar, ʃənəy,</i>	<i>tə ləre sūr šāl pa sar.</i>
<i>Lūr da zorawər ye tə,</i>	<i>gərje da kalā pa sar.</i>
<i>Ďera ʔāwsta ye tə ;</i>	<i>nən me dar ta pām day.</i>
<i>Məx de day ʃumāt, ʃanam,</i>	<i>ʃin xāl de imām day.</i>
<i>Zə Aḥmad Xān ʔāfəma,</i>	<i>laga zamāna šwəla.</i>
<i>Ďer pa armān lāfəma,</i>	<i>dā zəmə bāna šwəla.</i>
<i>Xwəla ʔe war na ʔoṣṭa mā,</i>	<i>masta begāna šwəla.</i>
<i>Wəgorəy, 'ālāma,</i>	<i>da 'āšik da ʔə anʃām day.</i>
<i>Məx de day ʃumāt, ʃanam,</i>	<i>ʃin xāl de imām day.</i>

' Thy face is the congregation, O idol, thy bright mole the prayer-leader.
 I saw it morning and evening ; it is a sign of my faith.

Thy face is like the sun, lass, early on the roof.
 I am thy servant, lass ; thou art afar with a red shawl on thy head.
 Thou art the daughter of a tyrant, wandering on the roof of the fort.
 Thou art very beautiful ; to-day I am thinking of thee.

Thy face is the congregation, O idol, thy bright mole the prayer-leader.

I, Ahmed Khan, weep ; the times have betrayed me.
 I went with great sadness, this was my pretext.
 When I sought her mouth from her she, intoxicated, became a stranger
 to me.

Behold, ye people, this is the end of a lover.

Thy face is the congregation, O idol, thy bright mole the prayer-leader.

Within these rhyme patterns the lines of the *γazal* and *šārbayta* show a bewildering variety of lengths. They may, but by no means always do, have one of the regular syllable and stress patterns described below, but the versification seems to be subordinated to the demands of the tune.

A third type of popular song, which may be mentioned to obviate any misunderstanding, is the *rubā'ī* (*PS*, II, 167-80). This is in fact no more than a popular version of the literary *γazal*, as a short example (*PS*, II, 169) will show.

Rubā'ī da Mīrā.

Be la tā na zēmā hēc nē šī ārām,

lōka prōt ēc wī māryō pa mazīrū dām.

Xušālī ba zēmā cō wī pa dunyā kēc

ēc walāt yēm stā pa dār sahār mēšām?

Ka de hēr yēm rā ta sām wawāya hāl,

ēc me 'ūm^{ar} zyātī nō kēm nāšrām.

Dā me xpōla kambastī da, ay nigāra,

ēc badbīn yēm sū da lāsa pa xpāl kām.

Rab da pāra Mīrā mā seza pa ōr kēc,

war ta wārka da sro māyo yar ōak šām.

'Without thee I can have no rest, like a bird lying in a strong snare.

What happiness can I have in the world when I stand at my door morning and evening?

If thou hast forgotten me tell me the plain truth, that I may no longer spend my life in unrest.

This is my own misfortune, O beauty, that I can see no hope for my desire at thy hands.

For the Lord's sake, do not burn Mira with fire, but give him a full goblet of red wine.'

Turning to the more popular verselets we find a gratifying regularity of syllable and stress patterns. The commonest type, to judge from the 7,000 examples published in the *Pāštānī sandere* (*PS*, I, 1-330), is the distich. This is called *landey* in the west (*land* 'short') and *lāpa* or *misray*, in the east. A *misray* has two unequal lines, the first always of nine syllables, the second of thirteen.¹ The lines do not rhyme with each other, but the last line always ends in *-īna*, *-ūna*, *-əna*, or *-əma*.

The pattern of stresses within the line is constant throughout.² A main

¹ *Contra* Lentz, *Lateinalphabet*, p. 11, 'Die Silbenzahl wechselt'.

² The importance of the distribution of stresses in Pashto verse was first kindly suggested to me by Professor G. Morgenstierne and it is largely through his encouragement that I have pursued this analysis.

stress, always coinciding with the normal prose word-stress, we may mark [—]. Since main stresses recur at four-syllable intervals it seems probable that a counter-stress [˘] occurs on each second intervening syllable. This does not, however, necessarily coincide with the normal word-stress. The pattern of the *misrāy* is then :

9 — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ —
13 — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ —

as in :

Pa lōyo γró da xwōdāy nazār day ; 9
pa sār ye wānōre drawī, čāpēr gulāna. 13
 'The sight of Gód rests on high móuntains ;
 He showers snów upon their héads, around them flówers.'
Funčā da gūlo mē pa lās da ; 9
ka cōk gulāna bōyanōt no rā-de-šīnā. 13
 'I hold a pósy in my hánd here ;
 let who'd enjóy the flowers' frágrance come then tó me.'

Although it is not essential, either line may have a caesura. This then comes after the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable of the first line, and after any of the fourth to eighth syllables of the second line. In the following examples the spacing marks a caesura.

Misrāy — Landōy.

Kalām ba māt, gūtē ba pré ktēm, 4 + 5
pa wīno ráng kāyāz ba yār larā lešēma. 4 + 9
 'I'll break my pén, cut off my fingers,
 and send the létter writ in blóod to my belóved.'
Islām kaxštáy, kufār daryāb day, 4 + 5
šaytān nahāng day 'ālamāna γārkaōwīna. 5 + 8
 'Islam is the ship, impiety the ocean,
 Satan is a monster dragging mankind under.'
Āxēr ba wrān še, pēšawāra ; 5 + 4
da nangrahār nšūnē šerā dar tā kawīna. 6 + 7
 'At last, Pesháwar, you'll lie in rúins ;
 so do the girls of Nangrahār heap curses ón you.'
Ahmāda, xwōdāy de jānnatī ka, 9
tar hīndūstāna pōre tā kōtī jāngāna. 7 + 6
 'Ahmed, may God grant thee paradise,
 that carried wars even unto Hindustan.'
Da āxirāt saxtā xwārt da ; 4 + 5
cōk čē tožā war tā larī xušāl ba wīna. 8 + 5
 'The hereafter holds many trials in store ;
 happy he who makes provision for it.'
Āxēr ba xāwōre šē, gūrāta, 6 + 3
ka dē har cōna pā zarbāfto kšē sātēma. 13

' In the end you will be dust, my body,
however much I keep you in fine fabrics.'

The following example from among many in *Abaseen* (a Karachi periodical) shows the vitality of the form :

Xwdāyā, 'amāl me nek nasīb kfe, 9
da pākistān jūdā de dā du'ā kawīna. 13
' " O God, mayest Thou grant me good fortune in all my deeds ",
thus do the girls of Pakistan pray to Thee.'

Begam Jamāl.

The *da atān nāra* (PS, I, 331-47), 'dance song' or chorus, normally has three or four lines of the following rhyme and syllabic patterns :

(A) M B M, (7) 11 7 11.

The stress patterns of the two lines are again regular, namely :

7 - ' - ' - ' - ' -
11 - ' - ' - ' - ' - ' - ' -

as in (PS, I, 332) :

Amrēt pa wēna tōra, kāndahāra, 11
zulfē me ūjde šāwe ; 7
ūjde zulfē ba cō gərzēm be yāra ? 11
' O péar upon a bláck tree, Kandahár-o,
my lócks are grown so lóng now ;
how lóng must I exist long-locked and lóve-lorn ? '

Another verse usually connected with the *atān* dance is the *sar* or *nīmakay* (PS, II, 227-306). This is normally of two or three unequal lines, not necessarily rhyming, and apparently varying in length from five to fifteen syllables. Any stress pattern is, therefore, by virtue of the individual line and not of the verse form.

Nīmakay.

Mā tā ašl šālūna ráwfa lá bāzāra, 13
zomā širīna yāra. 7

Such a *nīmakay* is usually sung mingled with a *misray*, as in (PS, II, 244) :

Ka dē ašl šāl rā ta ráwaf, 9
zomā širīna yāra, 7
pa srō mangúlo bā de šs čāpt kawēma. 13
Zomā širīna yāra, 7
mā tā ašl šālūna ráwfa lá bāzāra, 13
zomā širīna yāra. 7

' If thou bringest me a fine shawl,
my sweet beloved,
I'll knead thee well with my own rosy hands.
My sweet beloved,
bring me fine shawls from the market,
my sweet beloved.'

Similarly (PS, II, 229), with a different type of *nīmakəy* :

<i>Tor ləwəngīn rā tā tayār kəy ;</i>	9
<i>atāh ēe dā kand'hār nīfūnē kawīna</i>	11
<i>spīnā sīnā bāndē lawāng mazā kawīna.</i>	13
<i>Atāh ēe dā kand'hār nīfūnē kawīna,</i>	11
<i>lānd ye kāmīsūna,</i>	6
<i>lawāng ye pā nāmō γūtē wahīna.</i>	11
‘ Make me a garland of sweet-smelling cloves ;	
when the girls of Kandahar go dancing	
a clove upon a white breast looks delightful.	
When the girls of Kandahar go dancing	
their shifts are short,	
they plunge sweet-smelling cloves into their navels.’	

A last type of short popular song which deserves mention is the *bābū lāla* (PS, I, 348-64), sung by the women of a bridal party to the waiting bride. This is a regular tristich, rhyming A B A, generally with an eight-syllable line of the following ‘ Hiawatha ’ pattern :

8 ˘ - ˘ - ˘ - ˘ -

as in :

<i>Ūx walāf, zangūn-tafālay ;</i>	8
<i>tār haγó ba yē xlās nō kəm</i>	8
<i>cō jīmā fān nā dāy rāγslay.</i>	8
‘ Camel stānding with knees hōbbled ;	
until thén I’ll not reléase it,	
till my lóver cometh tó me.’	
<i>Nāwakśy par lās dasmāl day ;</i>	8
<i>ēē da kām ye bēlawīna</i>	8
<i>pār ztəgī ye dēr armān day.</i>	8
‘ The little bride has a handkerchief in her hand ;	
when they take her away from her people	
there is much sadness in her wee heart.’	

There is some variation, however, in the length of lines, as in :

<i>Rwāje dwé dī dā xādśy^a ;</i>	8
<i>awāl ēe jōy ye zéjī,</i>	7
<i>bəl ēe ráwfi nāwakśy^a.</i>	8
‘ There are twó days of rejóicing ;	
the first her boy-child’s bírthday,	
when a bríde he brings the óther.’	

If we now compare the stress patterns usual in these popular verses an overall scheme emerges providing the clue to the literary verse forms. Starting with the shortest line of five syllables and building always with an extra *initial* syllable we get :

	5	-	ˊ	-	ˊ	-
	6	ˊ	-	ˊ	-	ˊ
	7	-	ˊ	-	ˊ	-
	8	ˊ	-	ˊ	-	ˊ
	9	-	ˊ	-	ˊ	-
	11	-	ˊ	-	ˊ	-
	12	ˊ	-	ˊ	-	ˊ
	13	-	ˊ	-	ˊ	-
	14	ˊ	-	ˊ	-	ˊ
	15	-	ˊ	-	ˊ	-
	16	ˊ	-	ˊ	-	ˊ

From these possibilities it is the 8, 12, 14, 15, and 16 syllable lines which occur most often in the literary *yazal*, precisely those patterns which popular verse generally excludes. Here follow a number of typical *yazals*.

I¹

<i>Pà har kâr k̄ē māslahāt šta,</i>	<i>xpəl, prad̄t ta nās̄hāt šta.</i>	8	8
<i>Če lar-bar la mašlahāt šī</i>	<i>k̄ela x̄yr ū barakat šta ?</i>		
<i>Da safī humra ād̄t da</i>	<i>če pa z̄t̄ k̄ē ye himmat šta.</i>		
<i>Če himmat da safī n̄ wī</i>	<i>muhayyā war ta nakbat šta.</i>		
<i>Sar hāla pa tana ž̄s day</i>	<i>ka da sar sara 'išrat šta.</i>		
<i>Da safī če 'izzat n̄ wī</i>	<i>da ž̄wāndūn ye c̄ laz̄at šta ?</i>		
<i>Pa saḥīḥ̄ yanī haȳs day</i>	<i>da har c̄ā če kanā'at šta.</i>		
<i>Da n̄st̄oy² andūh ma k̄ta</i>	<i>ka pa tan k̄ē de siḥhat šta.</i>		
<i>Če siḥhat da š̄urat n̄ wī</i>	<i>c̄ pa-kār ka de dawlat šta ?</i>		
<i>D̄in dunyā de mubārak šu</i>	<i>ka dānā sara suḥbat šta.</i>		
<i>Os yārī ma k̄ta, Xušhāla,</i>	<i>da yār̄oy² sara āfat šta.</i>		

That there is a proper way to do all things
is my advice to friend and stranger alike.

When one acts without regard for prudence
how can one be blessed with riches ?

A man will have just such happiness
as the courage in his heart merits.

When a man has no courage
misfortune will always dog him.

A head rests well upon its shoulders
if it has happiness for company.

When a man has no honour
what pleasure can his life hold ?

In truth, he alone is rich

¹ Biddulph, op. cit., p. 64 of the texts.

² The diphthong *-oy*, normally one syllable, as in the last line, may *metre causa* count as two, thus : *da n̄st̄oy*.

who is satisfied with all men.
Do not worry about death
while you have health of body.
Even when you have not health
what matter if you have good fortune ?
Your spiritual and temporal lives are both blessed
if you share the company of wise men.
Do not now indulge in close friendship, Khushal,
for that way lies misfortune.'

II 1

Če warbál ye pá sp̄n m̄x āliŋta kēŋi 12
pá nmāāām k̄zē rānā wr̄ŋi niŋiŋta kēŋi. 12

*Ka da max žāst ye dā day če tīds šī
lā ba mā runde pre der āšufta keḡī.*

Pa baño ye oāzē nā dī āwezānde,
hamaqī durr ū qawhar dī, sufta keḡī.

Nəway rang, nəway nəkhat, nəwe ye pāñe,
pa dā bāy kəe 'aʃab gul šigufia keʃi.

Pa žafā me ba pohejī, zob wə-nə-kā
ha-γə kas če pa gesū ye xufta kejī.

*Da Xuṣhāl da xwle xabære xūše nê dî,
dā hama la yawa hāla gufta keḡî.*

‘ When her fórelock falls dishévelled her fair fáce o’er,
it is líke a bright day hídden at the súnset.

If this which can be seen is the beauty of her face
then many more like me will be distracted by it.

These are not tears hanging on her lashes,
all are threaded pearls and jewels.

A new colour, a new fragrance, new its petals,
a rare flower blossoms in this garden.

He will understand by my cries ; may he not sleep
who lies wreathed in her tresses.

The words from Khushal's mouth are not happy ones, all this is said in one sad state.'

Very commonly the rhyme lines are apocopated throughout the poem. This gives rise to a further set of possible patterns :

7' 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1

11' - - - - - -

$12' \quad - \frac{1}{-} - \frac{1}{-} - \frac{1}{-} - \frac{1}{-} - \frac{1}{-} - \frac{1}{-} - \frac{1}{-}$

$$13' \quad \frac{\cdot}{\cdot} - \frac{\cdot}{\cdot} - \frac{\cdot}{\cdot} - \frac{\cdot}{\cdot} - \frac{\cdot}{\cdot} - \frac{\cdot}{\cdot} - \frac{\cdot}{\cdot}$$
$$14' \quad -\frac{\cdot}{-} - \frac{\cdot}{-} - \frac{\cdot}{-} - \frac{\cdot}{-} - \frac{\cdot}{-} - \frac{\cdot}{-} - \frac{\cdot}{-}$$
[illegible]

¹ *Gulshan-i-Roh*, ed. H. G. Raverty, London, 1860, verse texts, p. 65.

III ¹

<i>Kà cə wāyəm lā hiḡrāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	11'
<i>Lā de dārda bə-darmāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	11'
<i>Twān da dām wahəlo nā larəm wa yār ta ;</i>	12
<i>Ė twān nā larəm be-twāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	11'
<i>Ė ye wəwīnəm la jāna xabar nā yəm ;</i>	
<i>Ė xabar nā yəm la jāna wāyəm cə :</i>	
<i>Da xpəl ztə la hāla hec wayəlay nā ṣī ;</i>	
<i>la be-nām aw be-niḡāna wāyəm cə :</i>	
<i>Da 'išk rāz Ė heḡā nā day bayān kəfay</i>	
<i>tro ba zə la be-bayāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	
<i>Da xpəl yār la γama drəst pa oḡyo dūb yəm ;</i>	
<i>la de hase rang tūjāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	
<i>Zə Ė prot yəm da hiḡrān pa tanārə kḡe</i>	
<i>da wiḡāl la gulistāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	
<i>Sar ū māl da safī lūl ka, ztə ye yosī ;</i>	
<i>la de hase dīl-sitāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	
<i>Zāyḡn toḡ, bulbulān šafī la bāya ;</i>	
<i>da de dah^{ar} la bāywoāna wāyəm cə '</i>	
<i>Har Ė wāyəm tar hama wāfa bihtar day ;</i>	
<i>zə Rahmān ba la jānāna wāyəm cə ?</i>	

' If I say anything what can I say of my separation ?
 What can I say of this pain for which there is no remedy ?
 I have not the power to speak to my Beloved ;
 what can I say when I have not the power to speak ?
 I no longer know myself when I behold Him ;
 what can I say when I do not know myself ?
 Nothing can be said of the state of my heart ;
 what can I say of the nameless and the unknown ?
 Since no one has explained the secret of love
 what then can I say of it, knowing nothing ?
 I am utterly submerged in tears of sorrow for my Beloved ;
 what can I say of such a tempest ?
 I who lie roasting in the oven of separation,
 what can I say of the garden of attainment ?
 Of one who loots a man's wealth and takes his heart,
 what can I say of such a stealer of hearts ?
 The crows He calls, and drives the nightingales from the garden ;
 what can I say of the gardener of this world ?
 Whatever I say He is the best of all ;
 what can I, Rahman, say of the Beloved ? '

¹ *Gulshan*, verse p. 15 ; *Paxtūna šu'arā*, Pt. I, ed. by 'AbdulḤayy Ḥabībī, Kabul, 1841, p. 201.

IV¹

Klák zarābāwī yəm, lā mā mā ɣwāfā salāh; 13'
dāke pyāle āxlēm tār gabāh aw tār rawāh. 13'
Cók day è da nmār xūbt ba stā da mēx pa cēr kā? 14'
nmār misāl čirāy day, stā jamāl lekā sabāh. 13'
Ma poša, zāhida, de ɛ mēx la nandāro na;
sterge è dā kār dī pa fatwā da 'išk mubāh.
Toy kfa pa hangām da hādise, sāḱ, pa jam kče
may, è bāda pāci pa zuḱāf kče ɛ misbāh.
Pāca, muhtasiba, Xušhāl rāyay, ɟang ta ɟof ɛa;
ɣus^{al} pa may wəḱta, da mu' min wuzū-y salāh.

'I am a confirmed tavern-haunter, do not ask devotions of me;
 I take full glasses till morning and again till evening.
 Who is there who will liken the sun's fairness to thy face?
 The sun is like a lamp and thy beauty like the dawn.
 Do not hide thy fair face from sight, O devotee,
 eyes of this kind are lawful by the decree of love.
 Pour wine into the goblet on the instant, O cup-bearer,
 that the wine may rise in the glass like a lamp.
 Khushal has come, O tipstaff, arise and prepare for battle;
 wash thyself in wine, the true-believer's ritual ablution.'

V²

Hayrān yəm, nē pohēgēm è ɛ cā yəm, cā ba šēm, 14'
la kēma yəm rāyālay, byā ba kēm lort ta jēm. 14'
Xabār da hāyo tlēlyo byā pa byārta è rā-nē-wəf, 15
la hāla, lā aḱwāla kā ye hār co wəpuštēm. 14'
Dəle è cok lāde šī nən ye špa pa dā bānda kče,
āxer ye la de jāya wār pa wār wāte gañēm.
Jahān yaw katoray šu, ɛ pa maḡal da meḡi yəm,
hayrān pa kče ɟārwezēm, lās aw pče pa kče wahēm.
Dunyā wata è gorēm, kār ū bār ta da wagəfi,
da wətkyo tamāše dī, ɛ ye hēm war sara kēm.
È tē pre mubtalā ye, ka de māl day, ka de mulk day,
dā wāta be la xoba, be la xyāla nē winēm.
È tor weḱta de spīn šwəl xoy de nor nē šu, Xušhāla,
bāwar kfa, os nāḱaḱ da safi nūm dar bānde ɟdēm.

'I am bewildered, I do not understand what I am, what I shall be,
 whence I have come, whither I shall away.
 News of those who have gone before nobody ever brought back,
 however much I ask tidings of them.

¹ *Kalā-i-Afghānī*, ed. T. P. Hughes, Peshawar, 1872, p. 342.

² *Kalā*, p. 351.

When anyone is seen here, spending the night in this bivouac,
 I count on his leaving this place at last at the appointed time.
 The world has become a metal bowl, while I am like an ant;
 I wander back and forth in it bewildered, writhing restlessly.
 When I survey the world and the affairs of its creatures,
 it is all a game for children, and I too am playing.
 When you are afflicted by it, if you have wealth or possessions,
 I do not see all this as other than a dream and an illusion.
 When your black hair has turned white your nature is unchanged, Khushal;
 believe me, I give you now the name of man undeservedly.'

Ki'a.¹

Tāwānēgēm ēē hargīz ba zā da hēcā āzār nā kēm, 16

bē hāsīda, ēē zahmāt larī pa zā kēcē dā hasād. 15

Day ba alās la de zahmata hām hāla ēē ēē day wēmī ;
tar hasada pa ranjūno kēcē hec nāsta bāl ranj bad.

'I am able never to trouble the heart of any man,
 except the envious, who carries the malady of envy in his heart.
 He will only then be free from this malady when he dies ;
 there is no other disease worse than envy amongst them all.'

Occasionally one line of a poem may have an extra initial syllable, and so the next highest stress pattern. For example, the first lines of these two verses from Khushal's long autobiographical *kašīda*² are the only exceptions to the 14-syllable line :

Da xwday minnat rā bānde ēē ye hāst kēm lā 'adām ; 15

bāl xilqāt ye nā kēm, rā paydā šwām lā ādāma 14

'God's favour rests upon me, that He created me from the void ;
 no other creature made me, I am descended from Adam.'

Calērīšt zōya nōr larēm, yaw dāy pa kēcē ēē lōy day ; 15

wāta bārzurdār ša, xwday ye wāsātā la yāmc. 14

'I have twenty-four other sons, this one (Ashraf Khan) alone
 among them great ;

May they all enjoy long life and God protect them from sorrow.'

The last, and typical, verse is :

Hāl haḡḡkat wāyēm ēē har cā watā ma'lūm ēē, 14

zā ēē šā'ir nā yēm ; hāy tobā la madh-ū-zāma. 14

'I (Khushal) tell the whole truth that all may know,

I who am no poet ; now here's an end to praise and blame.'

More rarely a stanza may have a secondary stress pattern throughout, or it may switch to one, as in these lines from the *Guldasta* :

¹ From the *Guldasta*, 'AbdulKādir Xān's translation of Sa'di's *Gulīstān*. Text in *Gulīshan*, prose, p. 160.

² *Kalīd*, p. 351.

*Maṣnavī*¹

Če wāxt pa sāfī tāng šī, nē xlāsēfī lā zarūra, 15'
lāzīm war lāra dā šī čē lās wft pa tēra tūra. 15'
Pišó čē št 'āfīza spāy ye kā tar stna lānde, 15'
xwāh nāxwāh ruṣṣā paydā kā, hāmīla kā pa spō bānde. 16

'When a man falls on evil times and cannot escape from constraint
 then he must needs seize the sharp sword by its blade.

When a cat is cornered it will throw itself on a dog,
 willynilly it will, impassioned, attack the hounds.'

*Maṣnavī*²

Dēr ye hásk kfəl, byā ye wāwīštāl pa zmśka ; 12
mīna nē kā hōxyārān pa dūnyā jśka. 12
Če nīyat wśkāndē da ulōlo ārwāh pāk 12'
cā mār'g pās pa tāx'at bānde, cā pa xāk ! 12'

'Many has it raised up, then thrown down to earth again ;
 therefore wise men have no love for this world.

When pure souls are intent on departing
 what matter if death come on a throne or in the dust ? '

Among the above patterns a 10-syllable line is conspicuous by its absence.
 Its place is taken by a different kind of 10-syllable line in the literary *rubā'ī*.
 Here, for the first time, the line must be divided into feet, thus :

5/5 - ˘ - ˘ - / - ˘ - ˘ -

as in ³ :

Pa māšālīs kšē, berīn la hāma, 5/5
dā āwāz wāxot da xīm la fāma,
čē, 'zā ham stāse may-xūr jalmáy wam ;
jāmā la hāla ma šēy be-yāma '.

'At the party, apart from all those present,
 this voice rose up from the mouth of the wine-jar,
 "I too was once a wine-bibbing youth like ye ;
 be not regardless of my present state"'.

'*AbdulKādir Xān*

and ⁴ :

Tā xō zmā gúl ye, zā būlbūl stā yām ; 5/5
pa zēro žšbo ba dē tal stāyām.
Jānāna, stā yām, čē tāl de stāyām ;
zā xō tal stā yām, nō tāl de stāyām.

'Thou art my rose, I am thy nightingale ;
 in a thousand tongues I'll always praise thee.

¹ *Gulshan*, prose texts, p. 154.

³ *Peztānā šu'arā*, I, p. 181.

² *ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 350.

Beloved, I am thine, for always I praise thee ;
but I am always thine, therefore must I always sing praises.'

Ārūd Gadā

Either foot, or both feet, may have an extra *unstressed final* syllable, thus :

5/6 - ˘ - ˘ - / - ˘ - ˘ - -
6/5 - ˘ - ˘ - - / - ˘ - ˘ -
6/6 - ˘ - ˘ - - / - ˘ - ˘ - -

The longer line may appear in the third line of the quatrain, as in ¹ :

Ābšāra, wāle dā hāse zāfe ? 5/5
La čā faryād kfe, cok pāse ɣwāfe ? 5/5
Ka təl faryād kfe, la kārū sār wahe, 5/6
byā bā rā-nā-šī obā če wlāfe. 5/5

' O cascade, why dost thou weep so ?
For whom dost thou lament and pine ?
If thou criest always, beating thy head on stone,
the water, once departed, will not come back again.'

'AbdulKādir Xān

and ² :

Wagēfī wāfa kārūna xpəl kā ; 5/5
mardān hxyś day če kār da bəl kā. 5/5
Cok čē ārām gaī, da nēko nām gaī, 6/6
da xūjo ztāno dārū ba təl kā. 5/5

' All men work for their own good ;
the real man is he who works for others.
He who would win repose, and a good name,
will always bring relief to aching hearts.'

Xuṣhāl Xān

Alternatively the rhyme lines alone may be longer, as in ³ :

Wafā de xā da, ɟafā de sēway yəm ; 5/6
zə sāmandār yəm, hiṣrān dāɣslay yəm ; 5/6
zə, Kālandār, de pa hiṣrān wəswəm ; 5/5
be-rāhmī mā kfa, dar lā rāɣslay yəm. 5/6

' Thy faithfulness is well, but thy cruelty burns me ;
I am a salamander branded by separation ;
thou hast burnt me, Kalandar, by thy very absence ;
be not merciless, for I have come to thee.'

Kalandar

or the whole quatrain, for example ⁴ :

Bulbul har čā ta dā xābartīna kā, 5/6
' waxt dā bahār šu, ɣūtšy gultīna kā '.

¹ *ibid.*, p. 181.

² *ibid.*, p. 252.

³ *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 244.

Psarlây da háyo ĉe yâr tar cáng larī,
hewâd bel šéway, lâ armāntína kâ.

'The nightingale brings this news to everyone,
 "Springtime has come, the buds are blossoming".
 Those whom Spring surprises with a lover in their arms,
 be they sundered from their homeland, yet are they distressed.'

Xān Gul, Xatīl

and ¹:

<i>Nārāsta šēja</i>	<i>yanēm warbāše kâ ;</i>	5/6
	<i>lā trē be šāna warbāše tēše kâ.</i>	5/6
<i>Pišō tre pāy catī</i>	<i>dā wār ta gōrī ;</i>	6/5
	<i>humrā tre ná šī ĉe pišo páše kâ.</i>	5/6

'A bad wife will turn wheat into barley ;
 more than that, she'll throw the barley away unsifted.
 If a cat licks the milk she'll just look at it ;
 she cannot even be trusted to shoo the cat off.'

'AbdulKādir Xān

A *rubā'ī* may, of course, have one of the simple stress patterns. For example ²:

<i>Dūmyā prēḡda pa dūmyā kše,</i>	<i>kā cā 'āk'āl dāy pa tā kše.</i>	8 8
<i>Afrīdāya, ḡubb da xwḡdāy kša ;</i>	<i>dāy nuksān pa mā-siwā kše.</i>	

'Even in this world leave the world alone,
 if there is any sense in thee.
 Love God, O Afridi,
 for there is fault in all else.'

Kāsim 'Alī, Afrīday

and ³:

<i>Zē bandā yēm ḡinaḡār ;</i>	<i>stā rīzā cā šwa ?</i>	12
	<i>Pā zfa tór yēm ; stā da nūr taḡallā cā šwa ?</i>	12
<i>Kā ḡannāt pa 'ibādāt jēmā mawḡūf wī,</i>		
	<i>dā xo bāy'a šwā ; stā lūtf ū 'atā cā šwa ?</i>	

'I am a sinful slave ; what of Thy approval ?
 I am black of heart ; what of the splendour of Thy light ?
 If paradise depends upon my obedience,
 this is but haggling ; what of Thy grace and generosity ?'

Translation from '*Umar-i Xayyām*, anon.

قلم به مات کوی به پری کرم
 د دی لیکنی که سپکوالی بنکاره شینه

¹ Ahmad Jan, *Da Kissa Khane gap*, Peshawar, 1930, p. 198.

² *Poštāno šu'arā*, I, p. 373.

³ *Gap*, p. 198.

A NOTE ON CHINESE TEXTS IN TIBETAN TRANSCRIPTION

By WALTER SIMON

I

WE witness two kinds of Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription, those which have the Tibetan transcription by the side of the Chinese characters—much as the Japanese syllabic script occurs by the side of the Chinese characters—and those which are in Tibetan script only. There are two outstanding examples of the former kind. The first is the Tun-Huang fragment of the *Chiantzyhwen* 千字文 'the Thousand Character Classic', which was first published by Haneda Tōru¹ (and even before that, referred to by P. Pelliot² and discussed by H. Maspero³ in his paper on the dialect of Ch'ang-An), the second is the *Dahsheng-jongtzong-jiannjies* 大乘中宗見解 (*Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika-Darśana*), which was published by F. W. Thomas, S. Miyamoto, and G. L. M. Clauson.⁴

The latter publication was preceded by two papers, which made available Chinese texts in Tibetan script only. The first⁵ of these texts, edited by F. W. Thomas and G. L. M. Clauson, represented part of Kumārajīva's version of the *Vajracchedika*, the second⁶ (by the same two authors) part of Yih Jinq's version of the smaller *Sukhāvaiṣyūha*.⁷ It may be mentioned in passing that the credit of having first conjectured the nature of the former text as being Chinese and not a 'new Central Asian language' goes to Sir Gerald (then Captain) Clauson.⁸

The material as quoted above was used by Professor Luo Charngepeir in his monograph on the 'Northwestern dialects of Tang and Five Dynasties',⁹ who appended to his study an index to the *Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika-Darśana*.

¹ 'Kan-ban taiin senjimon no dankan' 漢蕃對音千字文の斷簡, *Tōyō Gakuhō*, xiii, 1923, 390-410.

² *JA*, xix, 1912, 584, 589-90.

³ *BEFEO*, xx, 1920, 1-124; see particularly pp. 21, 32, 37, 41, 46-60.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1929, 37-76. The postface of this text (ll. 120-8) has also been preserved without the treatise itself. It occurs on the verso of scroll S. 2944 of the Stein Collection. See now L. Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum* (London, 1957) [in the following referred to as 'Giles, *Catalogue*'], where it is listed among 'Unidentified works' (p. 129, No. 4412) and described as 'An essay on the views of the Mādhyamika School concerning Mahāyānism'.

⁵ *JRAS*, 1926, 508-26.

⁶ *JRAS*, 1927, 281-306.

⁷ Under its Chinese title *Emituojing* 阿彌陀經 (= *Amitābha-sūtra*) the *Sukhāvaiṣyūha* heads the list of Buddhistic texts transcribed into Tibetan which are mentioned in the colophon appended to its transcription. See *ibid.*, pp. 282 and 293. See also below, p. 235, n. 6, and p. 336, notes 1 and 3.

⁸ See *JRAS*, 1926, 312-13 and 509.

⁹ *Academia Sinica. The National Research Institute of History and Philology Monographs*, Ser. A, No. 12, Shanghai, 1933.

text and furthermore another transcript of, and an index to, the fragments of the *Chiantzyhwen*.

After an interval of almost 20 years, Professor F. W. Thomas,¹ in conjunction with Dr. Lionel Giles, published 'A Tibeto-Chinese word-and-phrase book', which, owing to the presence of their Tibetan equivalents, allowed Dr. Giles to identify with certainty a great number of the Chinese entries in their Tibetan transcription, and Professor Thomas's article on the *Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika-Darśana* referred to, and in fact included a specimen of, a long scroll of 290 ll. recto and 196 ll. verso, of which he made use when dealing with the latter text. While this scroll, which I shall call the 'Long Scroll', completes the list of material in London—ignoring the Chinese text of the *Vajracchedika-sūtra* in Brāhmī script, which was also published by Professor Thomas² (and the Introductory Prayers to it published by Professor H. W. Bailey³)—as a result of the publication, completed in 1950, of Professor Lalou's catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts of the Tun-Huang collection,⁴ it is now possible to form a more precise idea of the relevant material preserved in Paris over and above the transcription of the *Chiantzyhwen*. These texts and fragments have been described by Professor Lalou as '*transcriptions*' or as '*transcriptions du chinois*', and in two cases (Nos. 448 and 1239) the Chinese original has been indicated by her, in certain other cases already the beginning and end of the transcriptions, set out by Professor Lalou with great accuracy, allow us to identify the language and sometimes even the actual text in question. I have been privileged to inspect myself the whole of this material, which may be listed as follows:

(i) *Transcriptions of Buddhistic Texts*

(1) *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*⁵ (No. 448)

(2) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*

(a) The opening lines of the 25th chapter (*Guanin-sūtra*⁶)
(No. 1239⁷)

(b) A few lines from the same chapter (No. 1262⁸)

(3) *Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra*

A Tibetan transcription, mutilated at the beginning and

¹ *BSOAS*, xii, 3-4, 1948, 753-69.

² 'A Buddhist Chinese text in Brāhmī script', *ZDMG*, xci, 1937, 1-48.

³ *ZDMG*, xcix, 1938, 579-610. For the Chinese text of these 'Introductory Prayers' (*chiiching* 啟請) to the *Vajracchedika-sūtra* see *Zokuzōkyō* (*Shiuhzangjing* 續藏經), Ser. A, Case 92, Fasc. 2, also *ibid.*, Ser. C, Case 2, Fasc. 2. The prayers also appear in *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. 85, p. 1, col. a, as a reprint of Stein MS S.1846 (Giles, *Catalogue*, p. 30, No. 1352).

⁴ *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vol. i, 1939, and Vol. ii, 1950.

⁵ See below, IV (1).

⁶ As is well known, this chapter corresponds to chapter xxiv (*Samantamukha-parivarta*) of the Sanskrit original. The Chinese title of the Chinese version is included in Tibetan transcription (*Kuan 'im kyī* [= 觀音經]) in the Tibetan colophon mentioned p. 334, n. 7.

⁷ See below, IV (2).

⁸ See below, IV (3).

the end, of the apocryphal *Bayangjing* 八陽經¹
(No. 1258²)

(4) Prayer³ directed to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions (No. 1, 3)

(5) Treatise on Zen by Bodhidharma⁴ (No. 1228⁵)

(6) Hymn in praise of Buddha by Daw-An⁶ (No. 1253⁷)

(ii) *Transcriptions of Non-Buddhist Texts*

(1) A multiplication table⁸ (No. 1256⁹)

(2) A Chinese genealogy¹⁰ (No. 1238)

(3) A poem¹¹ (No. 1230)

The texts listed under (ii) and certain other short fragments are probably merely exercises in writing but the material listed under (i) is clearly of great value.

II

To this material preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale must be added the 'Long Scroll' of the India Office, which I have already mentioned.¹²

¹ See Giles, *Catalogue*, pp. 142-3, Nos. 4821, etc. Professor A. von Gabain, basing herself on Tun-Huang MSS preserved in the Peking National Library, reprinted the Chinese text of this *sūtra* as an appendix to her edition of its Uigur version (*Türkische Turfantexte* VI. *Das buddhistische Sūtra Śākyi Yukmak*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 94-9). The Chinese text is also included in *Zokuzōkyō* (*Shinhizangjing*), Ser. C, Case 23, Fasc. 4, and in *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. 85, No. 2897, pp. 1422, etc. The title of the *sūtra* appears in the Tibetan colophon mentioned above as *Par yañ kyī*.

Fragments of the Tibetan translation of the *sūtra*, entitled *hp̄hags-pa rnañ bgyad ces bya-baḥi rigs-shags-kyi* [or: *theg-pa chen-poḥi*] mdo, have been preserved in Paris (see Nos. 743-45 [and perhaps also No. 742] of Professor Lalou's catalogue) and apparently also in Stuttgart (see R. O. Meisezahl, 'Die tibetischen Handschriften und Drucke des Linden-Museums in Stuttgart', *Trübner. Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, Nr. 7, 1957, p. 43, Sammlung Leder 24,396). The text listed as *mDo-maḥ*, No. 149 in Professor Lalou's *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, iv, Fasc. 1, 'Les Mdo-Maḥ', Paris, 1930, pp. 56-7 and 'Corrections' at end, differs from these fragments.

² See below, IV (4).

³ See *Sino-Indian Studies*, v (*Liebigthal Festschrift*), 1957, 192-9. Perhaps it is this prayer that is referred to in the Tibetan colophon mentioned above under the title *Phyogs bouḥi miha yas*, which might be referring to 'The uncountable (Buddhas) of the ten directions (十方無量 [佛])'. Professor Thomas reconstructed (loc. cit., p. 282) *Samanta(gaṇṭa)-dabādḥj*. A further Chinese prayer in transcription occurs on the recto of No. 1254, but I have so far not been able to reconstruct it with any certainty.

⁴ See also below, p. 337. The Chinese text has been reprinted in *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. 85, No. 2832, p. 1270. See also Giles, *Catalogue*, No. 7830 (3).

⁵ See below, IV (5).

⁶ The Chinese text has been reprinted in *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. 85, No. 2830A, p. 1208. See also Giles, *Catalogue*, No. 6107. The Chinese text is also included in the Paris Tun-Huang collection (Fonds Pelliot Chinois, Touen-houang, No. 3190).

⁷ See below, IV (6).

⁸ See also *Asia Major*, NS, iv, 1, 1954, 24.

⁹ See below, IV (7).

¹⁰ This is unfortunately only a short fragment, see below, IV (8).

¹¹ The first line of this seven character poem (*then hvin si si seḥ 'yi sen*) would seem to correspond to 天運四時成一年.

¹² See above, p. 335.

Professor Thomas had romanized¹ the whole scroll and, in conjunction with Japanese scholars, identified a considerable part of it, particularly of the recto. I have succeeded in identifying a great deal more so that it is now possible to indicate briefly the contents of the whole scroll, which can be described as follows:

The recto of the scroll consists mainly of a very extensive catechism on Buddhist terms. It starts with *jai* 'Fasting' and *jieh* 'Discipline'. After an enumeration of the *wuu jieh* 五戒 (five *śīla*) and *liow niann* 六念 (six *anusmṛti*), it passes on to the *si dah* 四大 (four *mahābhūta*) and *wuu yunn* 五蘊 (five *skandha*), thereby running parallel with the *Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika-Darśana*, but the text is interspersed with verse. It then passes on to Zen 禪, including Bodhidharma's little treatise on Zen, which, as mentioned above,² exists separately in transcription in the Paris collection, to the *Sanbao* 三寶 (*Triratna*), the twelve causes, the *Pāramitās* (including poems), it includes the four great vows of a Bodhisattva, then it returns to the four *mahābhūta*, and ends with the *Kṣitigarbha-sūtra* (*Dihtzangjing* 地藏經) and a short fragment on Fasting.

The verso starts with hymns such as those of the Southern School (*Nan-tzongtzann* 南宗讚), the *Shengjiaw shyrell shy* 聖教十二時, the Vimalakīrti hymn (*Weimo tzann* 維摩讚), the Hymn on becoming a monk (*Chu jia tzann* 出家讚), it passes on to invocations and prayers, including the one to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, a separate transcription of which exists in the Paris collection.³ We meet again the four great vows of a Bodhisattva, there are verses, including the famous poem on the Buddha body, there is a prayer for a favourable rebirth (*Hwei shianq fa yuann* 廻向發願), and the verso ends with a longish confession, to be said in the early morning, the *Ynchaur-liichannwoen* 寅朝禮懺文, of which we have several versions among the Chinese texts of the Tun-Huang collection in London.⁴

III

Pending the publication and indexing of the whole of the above-mentioned unpublished material it may seem premature to raise any particular question in relation to the transcription of the various documents. There is one problem, however, to which again attention may be drawn, viz. the presence or absence in certain documents of the final *-ng* (*-ñ*).

When Haneda Tōru examined the transcription of the *Chiantzyhwen* he observed that words which end in *-ang*, *-iang*, and *-uang* in modern Pekingese and, with certain modifications (not affecting nasalization), would have the same endings in Professor Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese, showed

¹ I was able to inspect Professor Thomas's romanization for a few weeks when I made some brief notes on identified passages. The romanization was, however, recalled by him and sent to Japan so that at present I am unable to make accurate acknowledgments of the parts identified by him and his collaborators.

² See p. 336.

³ See above, p. 336.

⁴ See Giles, *Catalogue*, pp. 204-6.

final -o in 17 cases (e.g. *no* instead of *nang*, *jo* instead of *ch^cang* (*charng*), *lyo* instead of *liang*, etc.), but in three cases he noted the spelling -o^ho : *cho^ho* for *chang* 唱 'to sing', *pho^ho* 紡 for *faang* 'to spin', and *syo^ho* for 像 *shiang* 'a statue'. Furthermore he noted *co^hi* for 幢 *chwoang* 'a barn', and finally he observed the ending -ang in three cases, viz. in 康 *kang* 'health' and 糠 *kang* 'chaff, husk' (both spelt *kha^hi*), and in 絳 *jiang* 'deep red' (spelt *ga^hi*).

In the same way, he observed -e for modern -ing and -eng, but in a number of cases also -e^hi occurs in the transcription.

As is well known, Professor Luo Charngepeir,¹ as did before him P. Pelliot,² suggested an early loss of nasalization (which he regarded as a special feature of the local dialect) in the finals concerned, and while I do not intend to enter into any discussion concerning this suggestion, which seems also to be borne out by transcription of Chinese words in Uigur documents,³ I wish to draw attention to the occurrence in specific circumstances of a final nasal in documents which for the final -ang⁴ show, as a rule, a non-nasalized form. For the sake of brevity, these latter texts may be described as -o texts so as to distinguish them from texts in which we witness such finals as -a^hi, -o^hi, and (in the case of the Prayer 4) even -u^hi as transcriptions of the final -ang.

I have observed the following cases, each of which would seem to be due to what may be called 'specific circumstances' :

(1) In fragment 1239 of the Paris collection, which, as mentioned above, is a transcription of the opening sentence of the *Guanin-sūtra*, the scribe has left out the heading *Guanin-shyhin-prueah* 觀世音菩薩, which precedes the other denomination of the *sūtra*, viz. *Pumen-piin dih alshyrwuu* 普門品第二十五. It must be assumed that, aware of his mistake, he breaks off after the end of the sentence 'folding his hands and turning to the Buddha he spoke these words': *Her jaang shiang For erl tzuoh sh^ha yan* 合掌向佛而作是言, and starts his transcription all over again. When looking at the transcription as set out on p. 341, it will be observed that the words *her jaang shiang For* are rendered *hab joh ho phur* in the first case, and *hab tzo^hi ho phur* in the amended version. Of the two finals -ang which occur in immediate succession, the former has been spelt with a nasal (*dzo^hi*) in the second case.

(2) In a passage on the recto of the 'Long Scroll' (lines 181, etc.), it is explained that the sensations of colour, sound, smell, etc. can only be perceived by the appropriate sense organs if the latter are turned towards what they are expected to perceive. Though I have so far been unable to find the corresponding Chinese original, the reconstruction of the Chinese characters in question seems

¹ loc. cit. (see above, p. 334, n. 1). See also P. Pelliot, *JA*, xix, 1912, 588, 590, and F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG*, xcii, 1937, p. 47, n. 1.

² See A. von Gabain, *Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Huen-Tsang's*, Berlin, 1935, 5.

³ I wish to exemplify on this final only since the issue is apparently much more complicated in the case of -ing.

⁴ See above, p. 336, and note 3.

to me certain. The sentence concerning the sensation of smell with the conjectured Chinese characters following after each transcribed word is as follows : *byir* 鼻 *hbag* 莫 *hhyañ* 向 *hhyo* 香 *ya* 也 *byir* 鼻 *pu* 不 *jug* 著 *hhyo* 香. Though both *shiang* 'sound' and *shiang* 'towards' are regularly written *hyo* in the 'Long Scroll' (regardless of the difference in tone), we witness here, with the two finals *-ang* occurring in immediate succession, that the former has been spelt with a nasal (*hhyañ*).

(3) A similar case is provided by a passage in the 'Long Scroll' (verso, ll. 87-8) where the Vajra banner is mentioned. Though *chwang* 幢 'banner' is normally transcribed as *jo* in the 'Long Scroll', we observe the spelling *kimkojvañ* (*jingangchwang*) in the case of this compound, apparently again on account of the two final *-ang* in immediate succession.

(4) Daw Ann's Hymn in praise of Buddha¹ is another *-o* text, but in one case we witness a final *-añ*, followed by a final *-o*, in the transcription, the two words concerned being *sañ co*. Though, as we have seen,² the Chinese text of this hymn is available it so happens that the line in question³ differs just in these two words from the Chinese version which has come down to us. Owing to a parallel line (or half line) occurring in the *Shiuhmingjing*⁴ 續命經 I feel certain, however, that the Chinese characters in question are *shiang* 相 將.

It must be understood that we are not dealing here with a strict rule which prescribes that one of two successive final *-ang* (*-iang*) must be written with a final nasal. In fact the half line just adduced of the *Shiuhmingjing* is transcribed as *hso hsyo* in the 'Long Scroll', and there are other 'exceptions to the rule' in the 'Long Scroll'. On the other hand, it would seem impossible to consider the above four examples as purely accidental.

(5) Another passage in the 'Long Scroll' shows *hsoñ wo* for *shuang wang* in a line starting with *hsim gyi hsoñ wo* (*shin jing shuang wang* 心境雙亡), but apparently the preservation of the final *-ng* is in this case not due to the rule I have just suggested, since we witness also *hsoñ lim*, which is obviously *shuang lin* 雙林 (*sāla* trees). Apparently *shuang* is normally transcribed as *hsoñ*, because transcribing it as *so* or *hso* would have caused confusion.

(6) A further significant example is provided by the spelling *htoñ* for 唐 *tang* which is to be found in the Paris transcription (line 19) of the treatise by Bodhidharma on Zen, which otherwise must be described as an *-o* text. The spelling occurs in the compound *htoñ hgyan* for 唐言 *tang yan* (language of T'ang = Chinese) and the spelling with a final nasal may perhaps be due to

¹ See above, p. 336.

² See above, p. 336, n. 6.

³ *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. 85, No. 2830A, p. 1268, col. c, line 23 : 寸步驅逐入阿鼻. The corresponding line of the transcription (end of line 28 of the MS) is : *tsun bu tsāñ co tñ 'a pyi*.

⁴ *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. 85, No. 2889, p. 1405, col. a, last line of the *sūtra* : 連臂相將入化城. The corresponding line of the transcription (line 67 of the verso of the 'Long Scroll') is : *hlen hbyi hso hsyo hzib hwañ hsch*.

respect, on the part of the scribe, for the name of the dynasty. In the transcription of the same treatise in the 'Long Scroll' the spelling is without the final nasal (*hto hgyan*).¹

The above six cases have been treated as cases of a deliberate choice, due to specific circumstances, between two systems of spelling, viz. a non-dialectal 'standard' spelling with a final nasal (if we adopt Luo Charngepeir's suggestion²), and a dialectal spelling without a final nasal, ignoring in doing so the difference in the quality of the vowel (*a* or *o*). It must be admitted, however, that it is by no means impossible that, particularly in the case of ambiguity created by two successive finals -*o* (case 2), a distinction was also made when the text was read out. The cases adduced seem in any case to point to the existence, and under specific circumstances to the adoption, of one of two systems of spelling, and any phonetic interpretation of the documents will have to bear this in mind, nor must we lose sight of the possibility that occasionally further systems of spelling may have been used, each of which is likely to have had a history of its own.

IV

The specimens of transcription given below are intended to supplement the unpublished material discussed in sections I and II. It must be understood that the Chinese characters³ added after each word must be regarded as conjectural wherever the actual Chinese text, or its specific version, is not available. This holds good in particular of the opening lines of the 'Long Scroll'. For the description of the manuscripts themselves I refer once more to Professor Lalou's invaluable catalogue, and in the case of the 'Long Scroll' to Professor Thomas's description in *JRAS*, 1929, and to the upper half of Plate II (inserted there after p. 40).

(1) The *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* = Paris 448.

(Lines 1-6)

// Pu 般 𑖀a 若 pa 波 la 羅 hbyi 蜜 ta 多 sim 心 kye 經 / kvan 觀
dzi 自 dzehi 在 bu 菩 sar 薩 / hehi 行 sim 深 pu 般 𑖀a 若 (2) pa 波
la 羅 hbyi 蜜 ta 多 𑖀i 時 cehu 照 gyen 見 / hgu 五 yun 蘊 kehi 皆
khoñ 空 du 度 'ye [sic] — tshe 切 / khu 苦 'eg 厄 𑖀a 舍 li 利 tsi 子 / 𑖀ag 色
(3) pu 不 yi 異 khuñ 空 / khuñ 空 pu 不 yi 異 𑖀ag 色 / 𑖀ag 色 tsig 郎
𑖀i 是 khuñ 空 tsug 郎 𑖀i 是 𑖀ag 色 / 𑖀ihu 受 zo 想 (4) hehi 行 sim⁴ [sic] /
yig 亦 phug 復 𑖀i 如 𑖀e 是 𑖀a 舍 li 利 tsi 子 / 𑖀i 是 ci 諸 phab 法
khuñ 空 zo 相 / pu 不 𑖀ehi 生 pu 不 hbyar 滅 / (5) pu 不 gehu 垢 pu 不
je 淨 / pu 不 tsiñ 增 pu 不 gam 減 / 𑖀i 是 gu 故 khuñ 空 cuñ 中 hbu 無
𑖀ag 色 hbu 無 𑖀ihu 受 zo 想 / hehi 行 (6) 𑖀ig 識 hbu 無 hgan 眼 𑖀i 耳
byi 鼻 𑖀er 舌 sin 身 yi 意 / hbu 無 𑖀ag 色 se 聲 ho 香 hbi 味 tshog 觸
phab 法 hbu 無 hgan 眼 gehi 界 /

¹ Recto, line 107.

² See above pp. 338-39.

³ The character 𑖀 has been used to indicate that no reconstruction has been attempted.

⁴ Apparently mistake for *sig* owing to *hehi sim* in line 1. The correct transcription occurs in line 6.

(2) *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra* (Fragment I) = Paris 1239

☞ /: hBye hu 妙 phab 法 len 蓮 hva 華 kye 經¹ / phu 普 mun 門
 phyim 品 de 第 zi 二 sim 十 hgo 五 / zi 爾 si 時 bu 無 dzin 盡 'i 意
 bu 菩 sar 薩 / tsig 卽 dzuñ 從 (2) tshva 座 khi 起 phyan 偏 dan 祖
 ye hu 右 kyen 肩 / hab 合 joh 掌 ho 向 phur 佛 zi 而 tsag 作 si 是
 hgyen 言 (3) ☞ /: hBye hu 妙 phab 法 len 蓮 hva 華 kye 經 / kvan 觀
 se 世 'im 音 bu 菩 sar 薩 / phu 普 mun 門 phyim 品 de hi 第 zi 二
 sim 十 hgo 五 / zi 爾 si 時 (4) bu 無 dzin 盡 'i 意 bu 菩 sar 薩 / tsig 卽
 dzuñ 徒 tshva 座 khi 起 / phyan 偏 dan 祖 ye hu 右 ken 肩 / hab 合
 tzoñ 掌 ho 向 phur 佛 / zi 而 tsag 作 si 是 hgyen 言 (6) se 世 tsun 尊
 kvan 觀 se 世 'im 音 bu 菩 sar 薩 / yi 以 ha 何 'in 因 hven 緣 / me 名
 kvan 觀 se 世 'im 音 bu 菩 sar 薩 / bur 佛 ke hu 告 bu 無 dzin 盡
 (7) 'i 意 bu 菩 sar 薩² / 'i — sim 心 chiñ 稱 nye 名 kvan 觀 se 世 'im 意
 sar 薩 / tsig 卽 si 時 kvan 觀 khi 其 'im 音 sen 聲 / ke hi 皆 tig 得
 thvar 脫.... [end of fragment]

(3) *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra* (Fragment II) = Paris 1262³

解gye hi 脫tvah 若hzag 三sam 千tshen 大de hi 千tshen 國kog 主⁴cu
 滿man 中cuñ 夜ya 叉chā 羅la 刹chāh 欲yog 來le hi 惱hdo hu 人hzin 聞hun
 其gyi 稱chiñ 觀kvan 世ze 音'yim 菩pu 薩sar 名mye 者ja 是zi 諸cu 惡'ag
 鬼gu 尙zo 不pi 能niñ 以yi 惡'ag 眼hgyan 視zi 之ci [end of fragment]

(4) *The Aṣṭabuddhaka-sūtra* = Paris 1258

(Lines 7-12)

(7) de hu 道 [inserted: hbu 無] tig 得 phab 法 / hbug 復 tshi 此 hbu 無
 hge 礙 hbu 菩 sar 薩 tshi 此 par 八 yañ 陽 kyi 經 hhe 行 dze 在
 yam 閻 hbu 浮 de 提 // (8) chi 處 chi 處 'e hu 有 par 八 hbu 菩 sar 薩
 chi 諸 bam 梵 ten 天 hvañ 王 'i — tshe 切 meñ 明 liñ 靈 hu 聞 zehu 繞
 tshi 此 kyi 經 hañ 香 hva 華 kuñ 供 yañ 養 // (9) si 如 hpur 佛 hbu 無
 ye 異 hbur 佛 ke hu 告 hbu 無 hge 礙 hpu 菩 sar 薩 hba 摩 ha 訶
 sar 薩 // zag 若 zan 善 nam 男 tsi 子 zan 善 hji 女 (10) zin 人 tif 等 //
 hu 爲 chi 諸 chuñ 衆 si 生 kañ 講 svar 說 tshi 此 kyi 經 sim 深 dar 達
 sir 實 syañ 相 tig 得 sim 甚 / sim 深 li 理 tsig 卽 ci 知 sim □ (11)
 sin 身 // se □ sim 心 hbur 佛 sin 身 // phab 法 sim 心 se 所 'i 以
 hdiñ 能 ci 知 tsig 卽 hyve 慧 hgan 眼 // jañ 常 kyen 見 juñ 種 juñ 種 /
 (12) hbu 無 hdzin 盡 ség 色 //

(5) *The Treatise on Zen by Bodhidharma* = Paris 1228

(Lines 1-5)

☞ // Nam 南 then 天 cug 竺 kuok 國 hphu 菩 de 提 dar 達 ma 摩

¹ 5 characters left out, see above, p. 338.² 24 characters left out, the transcriber jumping to the continuation after the next occurrence of *Guanin-shyhin-pwusak*.³ The Tibetan transcription has been added at the side of the Chinese characters.⁴ The common reading is 土.

[zan 禪 í 師] h̄kvan 觀 mun 門 / h̄bun 問 yvar 曰 / h̄rah 何 mye 名
 zan 禪 de 定 // (2) tab 答 yvar 曰 / h̄zan 禪 yu 爲 lvan 亂 h̄sim 心
 pu 不 khyi 起 h̄vu 無 [duñ 動] / h̄vu 無 nyam 念 hyu 爲 zan 禪 de 定 /
 tvan 端 h̄sim 心 je 止 nyam 念 // (3) h̄bu 無 h̄sehu? 生 h̄b- 無 h̄byar 滅 /
 h̄bu 無 khyi 去 h̄vu 無 bu 不 lahu 來 / h̄jam 堪 h̄zan 然 bu 不 tuñ 動 /
 h̄mye 名 ci 之 hyu 爲 zan 禪 de 定 / (4) gah 何 mye 名 [inserted: yu 爲]
 zan 禪 kvan 觀 / tvab¹ 答 yar¹ 曰 / h̄sim 心 h̄sín 神 h̄jiñ 澄 je 淨 /
 h̄mye 名 ci 之 yu 爲 h̄zan 禪 de 定 / jehu 照 li 理 hpun 分 mye 明 //
 (5) h̄mye 名 ci 之 hyu 爲 kvan 觀 / zan 禪 kvan 觀 dzi 自 dar 達 /
 h̄bu 無 yihu 有 h̄síg □ gva □ / gu 故 mye 名 yu 爲 zan 禪 kvan 觀 /

(6) The Hymn in praise of Buddha by Daw-An Faashy = Paris 1253

(Lines 9-14)

(9) . . . // de 第 'yir 一 to 當 kvan 官 h̄bag 莫 go 誑 phab 法 //
 'yi 依? zì 恃? gye 形 ze 勢 h̄dehi 乃 (10) khyi 欺 h̄byin 貪 // chuñ 蠢
 duñ 動 cuñ 衆 séhi 生 kehì 皆 síg 惜 mye 命 // phu 骨 骨 h̄behi 埋
 sín 身 'yi □ pho 放 (11) kun 君 // lig 力? zág 若? pu 不? ka 加 tsehu 遭
 go 誑 hehi 行 // phab 法 h̄gohi 外 lin 綾 ci 遲 pu 不 kam 敢 chin 瞋 //
 'o 狂 (12) chu 取 'yi 一 dzen 錢 ciñ 微 h̄van 萬 bei 倍 /, nye 命 cuñ 終
 di 地 h̄gog 獄 zihu 受 khan 艱 sim 辛 // phu 富 gyu 責 tshen 前 (13)
 séhi 生 ta □ zì 施 tig 得 // byin 貧 zì 是 khan 慳 tham 貪 sug 宿
 h̄gyab 業 'in 因 // ze 世 zín 人 h̄vu 無 tsi 慈 h̄avu 好 (14) h̄dzihu 酒
 h̄zug 肉 peg 百 h̄vyi 味 thyeu 調 hva 和 khvan 勸 lyug 六 tshin 親 //
 dan 但 khan 看 ci 猪 yo 羊 byi 被 dzehi 宰 sar 殺 // h̄hu 苦 thuñ 痛
 ci 之 sé 聲 zo 上 de 帝 h̄vun 聞 //

(7) The Multiplication Table = Paris 1256

(Lines 1-3)

// gyihu 九 gyihu 九 pa 八 síb 十 'yir 一 / par 八 gyihu 九 tshi 七
 sím 十 zì 二 / tshir 七 gyihu 九 lug 六 síb 十 sam 三 // lug 六 gyihu 九
 h̄gu 五 síb 十 zì 四 / h̄gu 五 gyihu 九 zì 四 sím 十 h̄gu 五 / zì 四 gyihu 九
 sam 三 (2) zìb 十 lug 六 // sam 三 gyihu 九 zì 二 síb 十 tshir 七 / zì 二
 gyihu 九 'yi 一 síb 十 par 八 // 'yi 一 gyihu 九 zì 如 gyihu 九 / °° /
 par 八 par 八 lug 六 síb 十 zì 四 / tshir 七 par 八 h̄gu 五 síb 十 lug 六
 (3) lug 六 par 八 zì 四 síb 十 par 八 / h̄gu 五 par 八 zì 四 síb 十 / zì 四
 par 八 sam 三 sím 十 zì 二 / sam 三 par 八 zì 二 síb 十 zì 四 / zì 二
 par 八 'yi 一 síb 十 lug 六 / 'yi 一 par 八 zì 如 par 八 / °° //

(8) The Fragment of the Genealogy = Paris 1238

Sam 三 hvañ 皇 bug 伏 hehi 羲 señ 姓 phuñ 風 / sin 神 h̄don 農
 señ 姓 kañ 姜 / hvañ 黃 te 帝 señ 姓 ke 姬 // cvan 鼈 hvag 頊 te 帝
 señ 姓 her 軒 h̄gvan 轅 / yu 禹 te 帝 señ 姓 . . . [end of fragment]

¹ sic for tab yvar.

(9) The 'Long Scroll'

(Lines.1-6)

// hchaḥi 齋 geḥu 戒 / hgyar 月 dzin 盡 chaḥi 齋 / hchaḥi 齋 zim 甚
 zi 事 ra 阿 / hchaḥi 齋 zi 是 geḥu 戒 goḥu [sic] 戒 zim 甚 zi 事 ra 阿 /
 geḥu 戒 zi 是 dvaḥu 道 / (2) hdyam 念 zim 甚 wur 佛 ra 阿 / nyam 念
 si 釋 kya 迦 hbu 牟 hji 尼 wur 佛 / hsun 順 byan 便 zim 甚 zi 事 ra 阿 /
 hsun 順 byan 便 zi 事 dahi 大 hbyam 梵 then 天 wo 王 / (3) hpu 不
 hphva 破 chaḥi 齋 / phu 不 hphva 破 geḥu 戒 sé □ / hbyar 滅 ho 亡
 hbyar 滅 tig 得 zim 甚 ra 阿 / li 離 ho 亡 li 離 tig 得 zim 甚 ra 阿 /
 hbyar 滅 sé 生 i 一 tshen 千 i 一 (4) hpveg 百 kyab 劫 dzvaḥu 罪 /
 li 離 tig 得 to 當 aḥi 挨 di 地 hgyvog 獄 / °.° / hgu 五 gehi 戒 / 'ir 一
 pu 不 hśar 殺 hśeḥu 生 / hdzi¹ 慈 hmun¹ 愍 cuñ 衆 (5) hśeḥi 生 gu 故 / °.
 hzi 二 pu 不 hthiḥu 偷 hdvaḥu 盜 / hśeḥu □ 'ig 亦 yiḥu 有 dze □
 gu 故 / °.° hsam 三 pu 不 hzvyā 邪 hhyeḥu 行 / hsiḥu 修 dze 淨 hbam 梵
 hhye 行 (6) gu 故 / °.° hdzi 四 pu 不 hwo 妄 hgyu 語 / li 離 cu 諸
 hkhiḥu □ hgva 過 gu 故 / °.° hgu 五 pu 不 'yim 飲 dziḥu 酒 hzi 食
 hzug 肉 / li 離 hgu 五 hchi 情 gu 故 /

¹ I am indebted to my colleagues Mr. D. C. Lau and Dr. K. P. K. Whitaker for having jointly suggested these two characters.

THE TREATMENT OF OPPOSITES IN *LAO TZŪ* 老子¹

By D. C. LAU

I

IT is obvious to anyone who reads *Lao Tzŭ* that opposites play a prominent part in it. There is hardly a page on which one cannot find some contrasted terms like 'long' and 'short', 'weak' and 'strong'. What may not be so obvious is the complexity of the different theories concerning these opposites. It is the purpose of this paper to study, in some detail, these theories.

First of all I shall make a few preliminary remarks about some terms which I shall use to facilitate my exposition. Of the two members of a pair of opposites, I shall call one higher and the other lower. For instance, 'long' will be the higher, 'short' the lower term. I shall use the pairs 'soft' and 'hard', 'weak' and 'strong' as typical opposite terms in my illustrations. The process of change from the lower to the higher I shall call development; while that from the higher to the lower I shall call decline.

Most scholars who have written about the thought in *Lao Tzŭ* have emphasized one or other of the different theories contained in it. In what follows in this section I shall simply state the different theories, and, in the first three cases, quote accounts of these theories from various works.

(1) For the first theory I shall quote Professor Fêng Yu-lan, who writes in the section on *Lao Tzŭ* in the first volume of his work on the history of Chinese philosophy as follows:

'The greatest general principle underlying the change of things (*shih wu* 事物) is this: if a thing develops to the extreme then it necessarily changes to its opposite. This is called "reversion" (*fan* 反); this is called "return" (*fu* 復). *Lao Tzŭ* says

"Reversion is the movement of the *tao*" (ch. 40).

Again

"The vast means passing on, passing on means far, and far means reverting" (ch. 25).

Again

"The ten thousand things rise together, and I thereby watch their return" (ch. 16).

It is because "reversion" is the movement of the *tao* that "on disaster leans good fortune, and in good fortune lurks disaster", that "the proper becomes again the improper, and the good becomes again the monstrous" (ch. 58). It is because it is so that "if bent it will be whole, if crooked it will be straight, if hollow it will be full, if worn it will be new, if few it will obtain, if many it will be perplexed" (ch. 22). It is because it is so that "gales do not last the morning, and showers do not last the day" (ch. 23). It is because

¹ The text of *Lao Tzŭ* used, unless otherwise stated, is the usual Wang Pi 王弼 version.

it is so that "one who helps a ruler of men with the *tao* does not coerce the world by force of arms, as it is a thing that is liable to recoil" (ch. 30). It is because it is so that "is not the way of Heaven like the stretching of a bow? The high it suppresses, the low it elevates; the more than enough it takes from, the not enough it adds to" (ch. 77). It is because it is so that "the softest in the world gallops over the hardest in the world" (ch. 43), that "nothing in the world is softer and weaker than water, yet for attacking the hard and strong, nothing can be better" (ch. 78). It is because it is so that "things are sometimes added to by being diminished, and sometimes diminished by being added to" (ch. 42).¹

In this passage Professor Fêng is in effect saying that development and decline form a circular process.² When a thing develops to the highest point it changes to the opposite direction which is decline, and when it declines to the lowest point it again changes to the opposite direction which is development. This circular movement presumably goes on indefinitely. Professor Fêng seems also to think that a good deal of what is said in *Lao Tzŭ* follows from this basic principle. Whether this interpretation of the principle of change is acceptable, and what difficulties are involved in its acceptance will be discussed in section II. For the moment it is enough for us to note that one of the important theories concerning opposites is considered by Professor Fêng to be the circular nature of the process comprising development and decline.

This point is even more unambiguously stated by Professor Yang K'uan in his history of the Warring Kingdoms. He writes:

'At the same time he [Lao Tzŭ] considered that the development of contradictions is circular, that whichever side, whether the thesis or the antithesis, reaches a certain degree in development will change into the other. For instance, "the proper becomes again the improper, the good becomes again the monstrous", "on disaster leans good fortune, and in good fortune lurks disaster".'³

(2) The second view is that in a conflict between opposites the lower will overcome the higher. For instance the soft will overcome the hard; the weak will overcome the strong. This view is very clearly and forcefully stated by Professor Yang Jung-kuo in his history of thought in ancient China. He writes:

'... "Valuing the soft" and "Seeing something in the bent" are certainly the quintessence of the thought in *Lao Tzŭ*.

¹ Fêng Yu-lan 馮友蘭, *Chung-kuo ché-hsüeh shih* 中國哲學史, I, 1934, 226-7. All translations in this paper are my own. See also *A history of Chinese philosophy*, translated by Derk Bodde, I, 1952, 182-3.

² cf. the passage quoted from Professor Fêng on p. 352 in which he says, 'Things in the universe are constantly changing. This change is circular . . . This is a doctrine common to the *Changes* and *Lao Tzŭ*'.

³ Yang K'uan 楊寬, *Chan-kuo shih* 戰國史, 1955, 205.

Lao Tzŭ . . . further said, "The soft and weak can overcome the hard and strong" (ch. 36).

Again, "The softest in the world gallops over the hardest in the world" (ch. 43) . . .

Again, "Nothing in the world is softer and weaker than water, yet for attacking the hard and strong, nothing can be better, for there is no substitute for it" (ch. 78).

The idea is that the softest and weakest thing is water, and to attack the hard and strong by the softness and weakness of water ensures victory.

Again, "That the weak overcomes the strong and the soft overcomes the hard, everyone in the world understands but none is able to act on it" (ch. 78).

All the above quotations explain that the soft can overcome the hard and that the soft and weak can overcome the hard and strong, and that of all things the soft and weak is supreme.¹

However, this same point is interpreted by Professor Yang K'uan in terms of the opposites in a contradiction. He writes,

'It is because he [Lao Tzŭ] looks upon the development of contradiction in things as circular change that he goes one step further in considering that in the contradiction in a thing, the fundamental side is that of the void, the weak and soft, the lowly, the stationary and the like. In the development of a contradiction the fundamental side is likely to win, because the soft will change into the strong, and what was originally strong will, after it has reached the point of saturation, change into the soft and so end up by being defeated.'²

(3) There is the view that opposites are interdependent. There cannot be the good without the bad, the ugly without the beautiful. Dr. Hu Shih emphasizes this aspect of thought in *Lao Tzŭ*. He writes in his history of Chinese philosophy as follows:

"It is because the whole world knows that the beautiful is the beautiful that there is the ugly, and knows that the good is the good that there is the bad. Hence the there-is (*yu* 有) and the there-is-not (*wu* 無) produce each other; the difficult and the easy complement each other; the long and the short compare with each other; the high and the low incline towards each other; voice and accompaniment³ harmonize with each other; the before and the after follow each other. Hence the sage abides by deeds without action, and carries on the teaching without words . . . Not to exalt men of superior worth will cause the people not to contend; not to value goods hard to come by will cause the people not to become thieves; not to exhibit

¹ Yang Jung-kuo 楊榮國 *Chung-kuo ku-tai ssü-hsiang shih* 中國古代思想史, 1954, 261-2.

² Yang K'uan, *ibid.*, p. 205.

³ It is difficult to know what *yin* 音 and *sheng* 聲 mean precisely in this context. My rendering is therefore tentative.

what is desirable will cause the people to be unperturbed in mind. Hence the rule of the sage empties the mind but fills the belly, weakens the will but strengthens the bones, always causing the people to be without knowledge and without desire" (ch. 2, 3).

This passage is the basis of the political philosophy of Lao Tzŭ. Lao Tzŭ considers that all the terms good and evil, beautiful and ugly, morally superior and morally inferior, are relative. Just as are such terms as long and short, high and low, before and after, and so on. Without the long there will be no short, without before there will be no after, without the beautiful there will not be the ugly, without the good there will not be the bad, without the morally superior there will be no morally inferior. Hence when people know that the beautiful is the beautiful, there will be the ugly; that the good is the good, there will be the bad; that the morally superior is the morally superior, there will be the morally inferior. The common methods such as rewarding the good and punishing the bad, exalting the morally superior and discarding the morally inferior, are not thorough solutions. The only method of thoroughly saving the situation is the annihilation of all relative terms, such as good and bad, beautiful and ugly, morally superior and morally inferior, and return to the age of undifferentiation of the nameless block; and then to make the people always void of knowledge and desire. To be void of knowledge is naturally also to be void of desire. When there is no desire there will naturally be no crime.¹

Although in the passage quoted from *Lao Tzŭ*, the language is sometimes that of generation, e.g. 'the there-is and the there-is-not produce each other',² there is no doubt that Dr. Hu Shih is right in interpreting the point made as a logical one. This is quite clear from the two opening sentences, 'It is because the whole world *knows* that the beautiful is the beautiful that there is the ugly, and *knows* that the good is the good that there is the bad'. This is because the beautiful implies the ugly, which is its opposite, and the good implies the bad. The beautiful cannot be *known* to be the beautiful without the ugly, and the good cannot be *known* to be the good without the bad. In other words the point is a logical point, and has nothing to do with production either as a historical, or even as a metaphysical, concept. From the point that the distinction between opposites is a logical one, it is then argued that if we give up drawing these distinctions, they will cease to exist. With the distinctions go the stimulation of desires. When desires are not stimulated there will no longer be strife and contention.

¹ Hu Shih 胡適, *Chung-kuo ché-hueh shih ta-kang* 中國哲學史大綱, I, 1919, 62-3.

² It is quite possible, of course, that the rest of ch. 2 does not belong together with the two opening sentences. The distinction between *yin* and *shêng* (whatever their exact meaning may be in this context, see n. 3, p. 346) is hardly of the same type as that between good and not good, beautiful and ugly. Ch. 3, however, seems to continue the train of thought contained in the two opening sentences in ch. 2.

(4) As can be seen from some of the passages quoted from *Lao Tzŭ*, some of the above views are sometimes stated in a different way. They are stated in terms of Heaven. For example, 'Is not the *way of Heaven* like the stretching of a bow? The high it suppresses and the low it elevates; the more than enough it takes from, and the not enough it adds to. The way of Heaven takes away from the more than enough and adds to the not enough. The way of Man is not so; it takes from the not enough in order to offer to the more than enough. Who can take away from the more than enough in order to give to the not enough? Only one who has the *tao*'¹ (ch. 77).

Again, in ch. 79, we find 'The way of Heaven shows no favour. It is always on the side of the good man'. And in ch. 81 'The way of Heaven does not harm but benefits; the way of the Sage acts without contention'. We can see from this that not only a thing changes from the higher to the lower, but that Heaven takes from those who have too much to give to those who have not enough.² Heaven, though it shows no favouritism, is on the side of good people. This seems to mean that, in a conflict, Heaven sides with the good.

(5) Finally, there is the view that the higher always begins from the lower, and that the process of development is always gradual. 'The difficult things in the world necessarily originate from the easy; the big things in the world necessarily originate from the small' (ch. 63). 'A tree that can be spanned by a man's arms grows from a feathery tip; a terrace nine stories high rises from heaped earth; a journey of a thousand *li* starts from beneath one's feet' (ch. 64). Realizing this, one understands, further, that if one wants to do anything to influence the course of the development of a thing, this is much more easily done when the process of development is as yet in its initial stages. 'Deal with the difficult while it is easy; cope with what is great while it is small' (ch. 63). 'When it is secure it is easy to maintain. When the signs are not manifest, it is easy to lay one's plans. When it is fragile it is easy to break. When it is minute it is easy to disperse. Do it while there is yet nothing; put it in order before disorder sets in' (ch. 64).

These are the different theories concerning opposites to be found in *Lao Tzŭ*. In the following sections they will be considered in greater detail, and, when there are inconsistencies among the different theories, an attempt will be made, wherever possible, to remove such inconsistencies by means of re-interpretation.

¹ In the last two sentences I follow the emendation suggested by Mr. Ma Hsu-lun 馬敘倫, *shu neng sun yu yu yu feng pu sui wei yu tao che* 孰能損有餘以奉不足唯有道者. See *Lao Tzŭ chiao ku* 老子校詁, 1956 (originally published in 1924 under the slightly different title of *Lao Tzŭ hsi ku* 老子覈詁), p. 194.

² It may be worth noting in passing that Heaven gives to those who have not enough, presumably, only in order that they should have enough, not in order that they should, in their turn, have more than enough.

II

The best authenticated theory attributed to Lao Tzŭ is 'valuing the soft' and 'abiding by the soft'. According to the *T'ien-hsia* chapter in *Chuang Tzŭ*, 'Lao Tan said, "Knowing the male, abide by the female and be the ravine of the world. Knowing the clean, abide by the dirty¹ and be the valley of the world".² People all prefer to lead, he alone prefers to follow,³ saying, "Accept the dirt of the world".⁴ People all prefer the solid, he alone prefers the empty. He does not hoard and has therefore more than enough.⁵ Alone he has more than enough People all prefer good fortune, he alone is preserved by being bent,⁶ saying, "Just so as to escape misfortune"⁷ He says, "To be hard is to be destroyed⁸; to be sharp is to be blunted".⁹ He seeks always to be tolerant towards others and does not infringe on people'.¹⁰

In criticizing the one-sidedness of the thought of the various schools, *Hsün Tzŭ* says, 'Lao Tzŭ sees something in the bent, but sees nothing in the straightened'.¹¹

In the *Lü Shih ch'un-ch'iu* it is said that 'Lao Tan valued the soft'.¹²

From these passages we can see that the view that the lower is valuable, and that it is best to abide by the soft is one of the views most widely attributed to Lao Tzŭ. We would, therefore, be unlikely to go far wrong if we take this as the most important view in *Lao Tzŭ*. If an interpretation of any other theory in the book is incompatible with this, we shall have occasion to wonder if this interpretation can be right.¹³ Such, I submit, is the interpretation that the process of development and decline forms a circle. The reason is this. If all things undergo a perpetual course of circular change, from the lower to the higher and from the higher to the lower, the injunction 'abide by the soft' becomes idle advice. For it will be impossible to abide by the soft (or the hard

¹ I follow the suggestion of Professor Kao Hêng 高亨 that *ju 辱* is used for *ju 黷*, which means 'grimy', 'dirty'. See *Lao Tzŭ chêng ku* 老子正詁, 1956, 65-6.

² cf. *Lao Tzŭ*, ch. 28. The text there should also read 'know the clean, abide by the dirty and be the valley of the world'. See Kao Hêng, loc. cit.

³ cf. *Lao Tzŭ*, ch. 67, 'I dare not lead the world'.

⁴ cf. *ibid.*, ch. 78, 'Accept the dirt of the state'.

⁵ cf. *ibid.*, ch. 81, 'The sage does not hoard. Having bestowed all he has on others, the more he has; having given all he has to others, he has more'.

⁶ cf. *ibid.*, ch. 22, 'If bent it will be whole (preserved)'.

⁷ cf. *ibid.*, ch. 62, 'Why was the *tao* valued in days of old? Was it not because when one sought, it was by means of it that one attained, and when one transgressed, it was by means of it that one escaped?' (Read *ch'iu yi te* 求以得 instead of *yi ch'iu te*.)

⁸ cf. *ibid.*, ch. 76, 'Hence the hard and strong is akin to death'.

⁹ cf. *ibid.*, ch. 9, 'What is beaten to a sharp point cannot be preserved always'.

¹⁰ *Chuang Tzŭ* 莊子, *Ssü Pu Ts'ung K'an* (SPTK) 四部叢刊 ed., 10.35b-36b.

¹¹ *Hsün Tzŭ* 荀子, SPTK ed., 11.25a.

¹² *Lü Shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, SPTK ed., 17.18a.

¹³ The assumption, of course, is that the greater part of the present *Lao Tzŭ* really belongs together. For anyone who thinks that *Lao Tzŭ* is a haphazard collection of sayings, any attempt to systematize the thought in it will not fail to appear misguided.

either, for that matter), as the soft inevitably develops into the hard. Indeed it will be impossible to abide by anything, for everything will inexorably change to its opposite. In other words in a world of ceaseless change, one cannot stop but has to move with the stream, and in such a world it will be futile to give advice as to what one should abide by.

Before attempting to find a solution, let us first take another point which, as we have seen, some of the writers have tried to relate to the point under discussion. One of the reasons for abiding by the soft is the theory that in a conflict between the lower and the higher, the lower is bound to be victorious.

As we have seen, this theory has been interpreted by Professor Yang K'uan to mean that of the two sides of a contradiction in a thing, it is the lower that is the fundamental.¹ Now if Professor Yang is right in his interpretation, then in the general conflict between the lower and the higher which goes on in all things in the universe, there must come a time when the lower has, in every case, triumphed over the higher, and, if a thing takes its quality from the side of the contradiction within it that is victorious, then all things, by that time, will have become soft and weak and so on. This obviously will not do, and Professor Yang is aware of this, for he goes on to say that the lower is likely to win because when it wins, its opposite will change from the higher to the lower, and, being lower, will in turn win.

Now, there are three objections to this interpretation. First, the terms 'higher' and 'lower' will cease to have fixed application. They become empty terms and the lower will apply to any side *whenever* that side suffers defeat in a contradiction, though immediately before this it applied to the other side of the contradiction. There is, then, nothing which is definitely soft that one can abide by, and this renders the advice 'abide by the soft' impossible to apply and so, pointless. Secondly, this new theory does not really help, for the trick lies completely in using the terms 'lower' and 'higher', when applied to the two sides of a contradiction within a single thing, with no fixed reference, but this does not affect the fact that the thing, which is the unity of the contradiction, will change from one extreme to the other in a circular movement, and we are back where we were before this complication was introduced. Finally, the most serious objection is that this interpretation introduces a degree of complexity not supported by any text in *Lao Tzu*. In *Lao Tzu*, a thing is looked upon as either weak or strong, soft or hard. It can change from being weak to being strong, and vice versa. There is no suggestion, however, that a thing has within itself an inner contradiction between the lower and the higher. The conflict between the lower and the higher is an external conflict between one thing which is weak and another thing which is strong. It is never suggested in *Lao Tzu* that this conflict can be an inner contradiction within any one single thing. This interpretation is, then, neither based on the text in *Lao Tzu* nor helpful in solving our difficulty.

¹ See *supra*, p. 346.

Professor Fêng offers a slightly different interpretation. He also feels that the possibility of abiding by the soft and so avoiding changing into the hard needs some explanation, as this goes against the theory of circular change. His explanation is this. 'When a thing develops to the extreme, it necessarily changes to its opposite. That it can maintain its development and yet not change to its opposite is because it contains in the first place the opposite element, which makes it possible not to develop to the extreme.'¹

This, in some ways, is even more surprising than the interpretation of Professor Yang K'uan. Apart from sharing with Professor Yang the unsupported attribution of a theory of inner contradiction within a single thing to *Lao Tzŭ*, he is suggesting that the two sides of a contradiction can engage in a conflict which does not necessarily result in the victory of one side, but that it is possible for a thing to harbour both the predominant side and an element of the opposite side, and thereby maintain its development without changing to its opposite. If it were possible for a thing to maintain its development and yet not change to its opposite, then there is continuous development without the extreme being reached, and this is an unusual theory.

Another difficulty is that if a thing 'can maintain its development and yet not change to its opposite' 'because it contains in the first place the opposite element which makes it possible not to develop to the extreme', then the advice 'abide by the soft' would be paradoxical, as the way to avoid developing to the extreme, and so avoid decline, is to be *predominantly* strong while containing in the first place the opposite element, viz. 'weakness'. 'Abide by the strong' would describe better this state of affairs. Finally, we must not lose sight of the fact that the purpose of 'abiding by the soft' is that in a conflict between the hard and the soft it is the soft that wins. Now if a thing can maintain its development without reaching the extreme, it may be able to avoid decline which follows on reaching the extreme, but, though it avoids reaching the extreme, it can hardly be called soft or weak. It will be hard and strong to a certain extent, and, as such, it will meet with defeat when it encounters something that is harder and stronger. For these reasons I think that Professor Fêng's interpretation is no more acceptable than that of Professor Yang K'uan.²

Although the interpretation of the principle of change in *Lao Tzŭ* as a circular process is unacceptable, it may be interesting to see why scholars have advanced such an interpretation. I think in doing so they have been influenced by the apparent similarity between the theory of change found in the *Book of Changes* and that found in *Lao Tzŭ*.³

¹ Fêng, *ibid.*, 229; Bodde, 184.

² In rejecting the interpretation of both Professor Yang K'uan and Professor Fêng Yu-lan, I am not denying that there is an apparent similarity between the theory of change in *Lao Tzŭ* and the dialectical process. However, I think that an attempt to press this similarity by offering a detail interpretation of the theory in *Lao Tzŭ* corresponding to a detail account of the dialectical process is unwarranted.

³ J. J. L. Duyvendak, for instance, in his translation of the *Tao tē ching* (Wisdom of the East Series), 1954, also interprets *Lao Tzŭ* by the *Changes*. He writes in the Introduction, 'There

Professor Fêng in the section on the *Changes* writes :

' Things in the universe are constantly changing. This change is circular. The appendices to the *Changes* say :

" There is no going without returning (*fu* 復); this is the meeting of Heaven and Earth " (Hexagram *t'ai*, App. *Hsiang*, *SPTK* ed., 2.1).

" Where there is the end there is the beginning : this is the movement of Heaven " (Hexagram *ku*, App. *t'uan*, 2.9).

" Its way is to return (*fan fu* 反復). In seven days it returns (*lai fu* 來復) In return (*fu*) do we not see the heart of Heaven and Earth ? " (Hexagram *fu*, App. *t'uan*, 3.4).

" When the sun rises to the highest point it declines ; when the moon becomes full it eclipses. The Heaven and Earth wax and wane, growing and diminishing with the seasons " (Hexagram *fêng*, App. *t'uan*, 6.1).

" When the sun goes the moon comes, when the moon goes the sun comes. The sun and moon alternate, and light is thereby born. When the cold goes the heat comes, when the heat goes the cold comes. Cold and heat alternate, and the year becomes complete. That which goes is bent ; that which comes is straightened. The bent and the straightened interact and benefit is produced " (*Hsi Tz'ü A*, 8.3-4).

" Its way is to return ", " there is no going without returning " ; the " going and coming ", " bending and straightening " of things in the universe are all like the circular going and coming of the sun and the moon, the cold and the heat. This is what is called return (*fu*). This is one great general principle on which depends the change of things in the universe. Hence it is said that " in returning do we not see the heart of Heaven and Earth ? "

It is because of this that any thing in the universe, if developed to a certain degree, changes to its opposite. " When the sun rises to the highest point it declines ; when the moon becomes full it eclipses " " When a thing reaches the extreme it reverts." This is a doctrine common to the *Changes* and *Lao Tz'ü*.¹

Now we are not concerned with the question of whether this interpretation of the theory of change in the *Changes* is correct. (I am inclined to think it is.) The problem for us is this. Given that this interpretation is justified, are there grounds for adopting a similar interpretation of the theory of change contained in *Lao Tz'ü* ? In other words, does *Lao Tz'ü* contain, in common with the *Changes*, the doctrine of circular change ? In order to decide on this point

a close affinity with ideas developed in that other remarkable book of obscure origin, the *Yi-ching*, the Book of Changes In this world of hexagrams nothing is permanent ; everything is in constant alternation In the Great Appendix, a rather late section of the Book of Changes, one reads : " An alternation of *Yin* and *Yang* is called the Way, *Tao* " ' (pp. 9-10). He makes use of this idea in numerous places in the book.

¹ Fêng, *ibid.*, 468-9 ; Bodde, 388-9. Professor Fêng goes even further when he suggests that the *Changes* took over the view in *Lao Tz'ü* as to how one should behave in the world. See p. 474 ; Bodde, 392.

we shall take the passages in *Lao Tzŭ* which have led Professor Fêng to the opinion that the doctrine contained in it is one of circular change, and place them side by side with the passages which Professor Fêng has quoted from the *Changes*, and see whether there is any significant difference between the two sets of quotations.

Here are the passages from *Lao Tzŭ* :

'Reversion (*fan* 反) is the movement of the *tao*' (ch. 40).

'The vast means passing on, passing on means far, and far means reverting' (ch. 25).

'The ten thousand things rise together, and I thereby watch their return (*fu* 復)' (ch. 16).¹

Now if we examine these passages from *Lao Tzŭ* together with those from the *Changes* we find one important difference. In the passages from the latter work we find phrases like 'going and returning', 'the end and the beginning', 'growing and diminishing', 'the sun going and the moon coming; the moon going and the sun coming'. In each case there is a pair of terms signifying movement in opposite directions. Taken together they form a cycle, and so suggest naturally the process of circular change. It is not so with the passages from *Lao Tzŭ*. There, instead of a pair of opposite terms, we find only a single term, which is invariably *fu* ('return') or *fan* ('revert'²). Now, 'returning' suggests 'going home', or 'going back to the starting point', and since the higher is developed from the lower, the lower is 'home' or 'the starting point'. What is inevitable, according to *Lao Tzŭ*, then, is decline, when the highest point is reached. This does not entitle us to draw the further conclusion that change is circular. I think that all we are entitled to say is that, according to *Lao Tzŭ*, when a thing develops to the higher limit, it will *necessarily* reverse and begin to decline, *but it is not stated* that when a thing is at, or reaches, the lower limit, it will *necessarily* develop all the way to the higher limit. A thing that is weak will, in some cases, at least, develop to be strong, only if it wants and makes the effort to do so.

Before leaving this point, I shall deal with one passage from *Lao Tzŭ* quoted by both Professor Fêng and Professor Yang K'uan.³

'On disaster leans good fortune, and in good fortune lurks disaster

The proper becomes again the improper, and the good becomes again the monstrous' (ch. 58).

The second part of the quotation offers no special difficulty. The 'proper' and the 'good' are, in my terminology, the higher terms, while the 'improper' and the 'monstrous' are the lower. 'The proper becomes again the improper, and the good becomes again the monstrous' describes, then, a return to the

¹ For these passages quoted by Professor Fêng, see *supra*, p. 344.

² I have translated *fan* 反 by 'revert' and *fu* 復 by 'return', simply because it is better to use two English words to translate two different Chinese words. In fact *fan* and *fu* are in this connexion synonymous, both meaning 'return'.

³ See *supra*, pp. 344, 345.

lower, and is just another instance of the general principle of 'returning'. As for the first half of the quotation, I think it has nothing to do with the principle of change at all. It points out that ordinary people often do not see the real nature of what happens to them. What they think is disaster may turn out to be good fortune; while what they think is good fortune may turn out to be disaster. The best illustration of this is the well-known story of the man in the border country who lost a horse and the comments of the wise old man.¹ We can never be sure that disaster will not bring good fortune, or that good fortune will not bring disaster. The disaster will, then, turn out to be a blessing in disguise, and vice versa. That is quite different from saying that disaster will develop and become good fortune, and good fortune will decline and become disaster.

Let us return to the point where I was dealing with the difference between development and decline. There is another important difference. Development is always gradual, while decline can be abrupt. Instead of the circle, the children's slide will be a better model. One climbs up laboriously to the top only to find oneself sliding down in a moment.

It is here that the theory that the higher is built up gradually from the lower is relevant.² 'A terrace nine stories high rises from heaped earth; a journey of a thousand *li* starts from beneath one's feet' (ch. 64). This means that development is a gradual process, and can be arrested, if one takes the matter in hand at an early enough stage. Hence 'deal with what is difficult while it is easy; cope with what is great while it is small' (ch. 63). It may not be impossible to arrest the process of development just before it turns into decline, but, as we shall see, there is reason to believe that only if development is arrested at an early stage will it be of any use.

To sum up our discussion of the incompatibility between the theory of circular change and the injunction to 'abide by the soft', our solution is this. The process of change is not necessarily circular. Decline, when a thing reaches the highest point, is inevitable, but development is not. Decline can be

¹ *Huan-nan Tzu*, SPTK ed., 18.8a.

² See *supra*, p. 348.

³ 千里之行始於足下. This reminds one naturally of the passage in *Hsun Tzu* (also found in the *Ta Tai li chi* 大戴禮記) containing the sentence 'without accumulating half-steps one cannot reach a thousand *li*' 不積跬步無以至千里 (SPTK ed., 1.10a; cf. also 1.22a 1. 8-22b 1. 1). Because of this it may be thought that this is an idea of the Confucian school, and that this theory does not belong properly to the system of thought contained in *Lao Tzu*. That will, I think, be hasty. This is not the only case where similar ideas are found both in Confucian and Taoist works. To take an obvious example, the idea of *wu wei* 無爲 can be found in the *Analeis*, II.1, xv.4. I see no difficulty in assuming that there was a stock of ideas common to different schools of thought in ancient China. It is not an idea as such that marks it as the property of a particular school. It is the reasons for holding that idea, and the use the idea is put to, that vary from one school to another. According to the Confucians the sage kings could rule through *wu wei*, because through their *de* 德 they could exercise an imperceptible influence over the people while they sat on the throne and did nothing (see *Analeis*, XII.19); whereas according to the Taoists human interference is invariably contrary to the natural course of the *tao* and therefore makes things worse.

abrupt, but development is gradual. Decline is inexorable, but development may require effort. Hence development can be arrested. It is, therefore, both possible and useful to 'abide by the soft'.

There is yet another difficulty in connexion with 'abiding by the soft'. The reason for doing so, as we have seen, is because in a conflict the weak will overcome the strong, the soft the hard. But once the soft has overcome the hard, is it not, then, victorious? If it is victorious, then does it not change to its lower opposite (as decline is inevitable), to being defeated?

It may be argued that victory does not necessarily change to defeat. This is because victory and defeat form a pair of opposites of a different type, to which the theory of inevitable decline does not apply. Inevitable decline applies only to opposites that form two extremes between which there is a continuous gradation. For instance, between the weak and the strong, there is an indefinite number of possible intermediate positions. Not all opposites are of this type. Victory and defeat are an example. One is either victorious or defeated. There are no indefinite number of possible intermediate positions.¹ Hence, it is argued, victory does not necessarily change to defeat.

This argument, ingenious though it is, does not really get us out of our difficulty. Even if it is true that the victorious does not necessarily change to the defeated, does not the weak, in overcoming the strong, become itself strong? If it does become strong, then, as the strong, if not as the victorious, it will necessarily change to its opposite. If that were the case it would be no use abiding by the soft, for by doing so, although we can overcome the hard, we become hard in our victory.

There seems, however, to be a solution, but before dealing with it I shall have, first, to make a preliminary point. In reading *Lao Tzŭ* one thing we have to bear in mind is that it constantly resorts to the paradoxical in language. 'Straight words sound like the reverse (*fan* 反)' (ch. 78). Constantly we find the distinction drawn between what appears to be but is not really so, and what appears not to be but really is so. 'Great whiteness is like dirt'² (ch. 41). 'Great perfection seems chipped . . . Great fullness seems empty . . . Great straightness seems crooked . . . Great eloquence seems inarticulate' (ch. 45). According to these passages what is truly higher seems to be like the lower. The fact that true strength, for instance, seems like weakness implies that it is not really weakness. On the other hand it is even less like what is ordinarily called strength, although it is true strength. It is important for us, therefore, always to bear in mind the distinction between the weak and the soft, on the one hand, and what seems to be weak and soft on the other, when we read *Lao Tzŭ*.

¹ There is another distinction between victory and defeat on the one hand, and, say, weakness and strength on the other. To state this in contemporary philosophical terminology, the former are achievement words; the latter are not. Hence the latter describe a thing in a way that the former do not.

² For taking *ju* 塵 to mean 'dirt', see n. 1, p. 349.

We can now go back to our attempt to find a solution to the difficulty connected with the victory of the soft over the hard. The solution I propose is this. The victory of the soft over the hard is different from victory in the ordinary sense. Or, as some philosophers would say, the victory of the soft over the hard is *true* victory, and it seems to be like defeat. Further, the soft which can achieve victory over the hard is truly hard,¹ and is to be distinguished from the soft in the ordinary sense. It only seems to be soft, just as 'great perfection seems to be chipped'. True victory is different from ordinary victory because it is the result of non-contention, whereas ordinary victory is the outcome of a contest. It is victory because the soft achieves preservation in the process, just as the victor in an ordinary contest achieves preservation. It is *true* victory because by means of non-contention the soft can always be preserved and it does not change to its opposite, defeat²; while the victor in an ordinary contest is sure to meet his match and be defeated one day.

III

It may be asked what the point is of 'abiding by the soft', since the worst that can happen if one develops to be hard is to decline to the soft again. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to say something about the central point of interest of ancient Chinese thought in general, and in *Lao Tzŭ* in particular.

As has often been pointed out, thinkers in ancient China were first and foremost interested in presenting a way of life. This, however, does not mean that they were interested only in how an individual should lead his own life, in other words, in ethics only. In China, as in ancient Greece, no hard and fast line was drawn between morals and politics. They were looked upon as two aspects of the same thing. The Way when applied to the life of an individual is his way of life, when applied to government it becomes the way of the state. This was admirably summed up in the memorable phrase used in *Chuang Tzŭ*, 'the way of inwardly being a sage and outwardly being a king'.³ The interest in the way of life and in the way of government was common to ancient Chinese thinkers of all schools. What is peculiar to *Lao Tzŭ* (and other works of similar tendency) is the interest in the preservation of one's life. This is not difficult to understand. The Warring Kingdoms Period⁴ was an age of great disorder, and the common man had to exercise prodigious care if he were to wish to live out his natural span. This is not simply one of

¹ 'To abide by the soft is called strong' (ch. 52).

² If true defeat is also defined in this curious sense of non-contention, then true defeat and true victory will be one and the same thing, and, again, there can be no change from true victory to true defeat.

³ 內聖外王之道, *Chuang Tzŭ*, SPTK ed., 10.26a.

⁴ I am accepting the consensus of opinion among contemporary scholars that *Lao Tzŭ* is a work of the Warring Kingdoms. (See, for instance Fêng, *ibid.*, 210; Boodé, 170.)

the lessons taught in *Lao Tzŭ*, but the principal lesson.¹ *Lao Tzŭ* is almost equally interested in the other problem of the way of government. The term *shêng-jên* 聖人 'sage' is almost invariably used for the ruler who understands the *tao*, and is often used in contrast with *min* 民, the 'common people'. There are other terms like *hou wang* 侯王 'princes' and *jên chu* 人主, the 'ruler of men'. Many chapters are concerned with *chih kuo* 治國, 'government of the state'. These show without a doubt that the way of government was another of the principal topics in *Lao Tzŭ*. Pan Ku, in his comments on Taoist works in the Bibliographical Chapter in his history of the Former Han, says, 'The Taoists and their like . . . record one by one success and failure, preservation and annihilation, disaster and good fortune, the way of antiquity and that of the present, and then come to the realization of the importance of holding on to the essential and basic, abiding by the limpid and the empty, holding one's self humble and weak. This is *the method of the ruler facing south*'.² This refers, amongst other works, to *Lao Tzŭ*, and it is clear that Pan Ku looked upon *Lao Tzŭ* as dealing with the way of government.³

The supreme object, then, of the doctrines in *Lao Tzŭ* is the preservation of life, 'the way', to use its own words, 'of long life and being able to keep one's sight for a long time' (ch. 59). In order to achieve this nothing is considered too high a price. In dealing with change *Lao Tzŭ* probably has in mind chiefly wealth and rank. The trouble with these is that if one were to possess them to the highest degree, in the decline which inevitably follows, one is liable not only to lose the wealth or rank but one's life into the bargain. 'Which is dearer to one, one's name or one's person? Which is more important to one, one's person or one's goods?' (ch. 44). Hence it is advocated that one should not attain too much wealth or too high a rank. As to the point at which

¹ In his autobiography Thomas Hobbes said that his mother gave birth to twins—himself and fear. It is sometimes said that it is because Hobbes was such a timid man that he set out, in his *Leviathan*, to devise a political system which offers security to the common man. Can it be that the author of *Lao Tzŭ* was also a timid man living in an exceptionally disorderly age, and this accounts for the preoccupation in the book with the problem of the preservation of one's life? This point has been very well put by Ch'ao Kung Wu 晁公武 in his *Chün-chai tu-shu chih* 郡齋讀書志 (preface dated 1151): 'Is it a book by some one unfortunately living in a disorderly age who was full of fear? Otherwise why does he seek so desperately for preservation? . . . Because he is afraid that the bright easily becomes dim, he holds on to the dark; because he is afraid of losing favour, he does not avoid disgrace; because he is afraid that the hard will break, he makes himself soft; because he is afraid that the straight will be blunted, he makes himself bent; because he is afraid of losing much, he dares not hoard much; because he is afraid of spilling over through being full, he prefers to stop; when he is exalted in rank he is afraid of getting into the wrong, and so withdraws; when he has accomplished his work, because he is afraid that the merit will desert him, he does not claim it. That he knows the male but abides by the female, knows the white but abides by the black, and adopts the way of weakness and humility is because he thinks, "Unless I do so I shall not escape from faults". Judging from this, is this not what is called seeking for preservation?' (Changsha, 1884 ed., 11. 1b-2a.)

² Pan Ku 班固, *Han shu* 漢書, Po-na ed., 30.16a.

³ cf. Fêng, *ibid.*, 216; Bodde 175.

⁴ I do not see any necessity of the interpretation by Dr. Waley of the phrase *chü shih* 久視 as 'fixed staring', 'a method of trance induction'. (See *The Way and its power*, 214.)

one should stop, all one is told is that one should 'know where to stop (*chih chih* 知止)', and 'know when to be content (*chih tsu* 知足)', for 'knowing when to be content one will not meet with disgrace, while knowing where to stop one will not meet with danger, and will be able to endure' (ch. 44).

To abide by the weak and yet be content presumably makes it different from simply being weak. For when weak and not contented, one naturally desires to have more, and 'there is no disaster greater than not knowing when to be content, and no fault greater than wanting to acquire' (ch. 46).

It may not be inappropriate to say here a word about the difference between the notion of holding on to the mean (*chung* 中) as found in the *Changes*¹ and that in *Lao Tzŭ* of abiding by the soft. They both aim at avoidance of reaching the extreme point, and yet holding on to the mean is not an acceptable solution in the thought system of *Lao Tzŭ*, because even though the mean may prevent development from going too far, the mean is a position far removed from the soft and the weak, and it is still liable to come into conflict with an adversary harder and stronger than itself and so suffer defeat. The supreme purpose of self-preservation will not, then, be achieved. Herein lies the difference between holding on to the mean and abiding by the soft.

Abiding by the soft through knowing where to stop and when to be content is not a difficult doctrine to understand, yet it is not always understood, and by no means easy to put into practice, because this goes against the grain of human nature, which is both acquisitive and ambitious. Hence *Lao Tzŭ* says, 'My words are very easy to understand and very easy to act on, yet none in the world can understand them or act on them'² (ch. 70).

If abiding by the soft is the way of life for the individual how is this to be applied to the ruler? He, too, must efface himself, so that he appears not to be above but below the people. 'In order to be above the people a ruler must, in his words, be below them; in order to lead the people he must, in his person, be following them' (ch. 66). That this is only a means to the end of ruling over the people is more clearly stated in another passage. 'Hence the sage by putting his person last puts it first; by considering his person as external preserves it. Is it not because he is without selfish ends that he is able to accomplish his selfish ends?' (ch. 7). The ruler achieves his true selfish end—to be ruler over the people—by appearing not to be selfish, i.e. by effacing himself.

This is not the whole of a ruler's art.³ There are the passages quoted above,³ where the way of Heaven is said to be 'like the way of the stretching of a bow', and to be without favouritism but 'always on the side of the good man'. I think that very often when *Lao Tzŭ* mentions the way of Heaven, or Heaven and Earth, there is an implicit lesson for the sage, i.e. the ruler. For instance,

¹ See Fêng, *ibid.*, 472 ff.; Bodde, 391 ff.

² In ch. 78, however, we find 'That the weak overcomes the strong and the soft overcomes the hard, *everyone in the world understands* but none is able to act on it'. One may, perhaps, say this doctrine in *Lao Tzŭ* is both easy and difficult at the same time, easy because it is such a simple doctrine, difficult because it is liable to sound absurd to the ordinary man (see ch. 41).

³ See *supra*, p. 348.

'Heaven and Earth are unfeeling. They treat the ten thousand things as straw dogs. The sage is [also] unfeeling. He treats the people as straw dogs' (ch. 5). In ch. 7 Heaven and Earth are said to be able to be lasting because they do not produce themselves, while the sage is able to accomplish his selfish ends by being selfless. In the passage where the way of Heaven is compared to the stretching of a bow, it is said to take away from those having too much in order to give to those who have not enough. This is contrasted with the way of Man, which does the reverse. Only a sage—a ruler who has the *tao*—is able to follow the example of Heaven. He, too, takes from those who have too much in order to give to those who have not enough.

As this is not done openly, it is sometimes described as *yin mou* 陰謀 'scheming',¹ for in order to engineer the fall of the ambitious, it is sometimes necessary first to encourage them. 'In order to have a thing shrink it is necessary first to have it stretched. In order to have a thing weakened it is necessary first to have it strengthened. In order to have a thing put aside it is necessary first to have it set up. In order to take away, it is necessary first to give. This is called subtle illumination. The soft and weak can overcome the hard and strong. The fish must not leave the depth; the sharp weapon of the state cannot be shown to others' (ch. 36). It is obvious that this strategem of giving the strong enough rope to hang themselves is considered to be of the utmost importance. It is a subtle truth not to be revealed to others, as it will only work if the ruler alone understands it. If it becomes generally understood, it may be difficult to put into practice. But a more important reason for keeping this dark is that, if the people do not understand this strategem, they will not see the hand of the ruler in the downfall of the strong. He will be, like Heaven, 'good at overcoming without contention' (ch. 73). If this is revealed, even if it continues to work because of the cupidity and ambition of people, the ruler will no longer appear not to contend.

The only people who will not be affected by this strategem will be those who understand contentment and so do not seek wealth or advancement. These are the 'good people'.² They have nothing to fear either from Heaven or from the ruler, who has the *tao*, as he takes only from those who have more than enough. The good are those who know where to stop and when to be content, and have, presumably, by the standards of the world, not enough rather than too much, though they are the ones who are truly rich.³

¹ For a modern author who uses this term to describe Lao Tzŭ, see, for instance, Yang Jung-kuo, *ibid.*, 284 ff.

² Duyvendak found it difficult to render the sentence 天道無親常與善人 as 'The way of Heaven shows no favouritism, but is always on the side of the good man', because this 'is in flagrant contradiction to the character of the Way which admits neither good nor evil'. (*Tao t'ê ching*, 161.) He did not seem to be aware of the fact that the word *shan* 善 is the only word for 'good' which is ever used in a non-pejorative sense in *Lao Tzŭ*. It means, in that case, good in the Taoist sense, and is quite distinct from other words meaning good in the Confucian sense. Take one example. In ch. 8 we find 'the highest good (*shang shan* 上善) is like water. Water is good at benefiting the ten thousand things without contention'.

³ *Lao Tzŭ*, ch. 33, 'One who knows when to be content is rich'.

IV

So far I have not taken into account the view that the distinction between the higher and the lower is a logical one, and that we can abolish these distinctions simply by ceasing to draw them. This view, I believe, does not fit in with the general thought system in *Lao Tzŭ*. It belongs to a more sophisticated level of thought, where it is realized that if we cease to select some objects as desirable, then desire, and the strife it causes, will disappear. But this goes contrary to the general view concerning opposites, which, as we have seen, takes for granted the existence of opposites, and it is upon this distinction between the members of a pair of opposites that the solution to the problem of life is found. We can only abide by the soft if the distinction between soft and hard is a real one, which cannot be abolished simply by our decision not to draw it in future. If the distinction between hard and soft is unreal, we cannot abide by the soft, and, more important, neither is there the need to do so, for where a problem ceases to exist, the need for a solution ceases to exist as well.

Parallel to this more sophisticated view concerning opposites is the passage in which it is said, 'I have things which I greatly fear because I have a body. By the time I have no body, what is there for me to fear?' (ch. 13).¹ This is indeed emancipation from the slavery to worldly fears. This is a point of view greatly emphasized and further developed in parts of *Chuang Tzŭ*, but in *Lao Tzŭ* it is only adumbrated. It is because of this and because it is incompatible with the basic position of *Lao Tzŭ* that I am inclined to think that this view together with the view that the distinction between opposites is a logical one and can be abolished belong to a more sophisticated level of thought not typical of *Lao Tzŭ*. Professor Fêng is very likely to be right in thinking that *Lao Tzŭ* represents a further stage of development of the view of 'valuing self' or 'valuing life' attributed to Yang Chu. Yang Chu only taught how life could be preserved by avoiding excessive indulgence, while *Lao Tzŭ* taught the further lesson of how life could be preserved by remaining meek and mild and so escaping being harmed by the world. *Chuang Tzŭ*, however, cut the Gordian knot by transcending the desire for life through looking at opposites, e.g. life and death, as essentially the same.² It is because *Lao Tzŭ* constitutes a transition from Yang Chu to *Chuang Tzŭ* that this more sophisticated view which properly belongs to *Chuang Tzŭ* not only does not fit in but actually conflicts with the general view found in the book which was still, in the main, concerned with, on the side of the individual, the preservation of life, and, on the side of the ruler, the art of government.

¹ The fact that ch. 13 contains no rhyming lines at all is an indication that it is possibly of a later date.

² Fêng, *ibid.*, 179, 215; Bodde, 142-3, 173-4. As I have criticized Professor Fêng's interpretation of a specific point in the doctrines of *Lao Tzŭ*, I should like to say that I have, in my experience, found his *Chung-kuo ché-hsueh shih* both indispensable and invaluable. It may perhaps be said that the penalty a work has to pay for being the standard work on any subject is that it will stimulate disagreement from those who have benefited much by it.

THE KYAIKMARAW INSCRIPTIONS

By H. L. SHORTO

(PLATE I)

THE two inscriptions which are the subject of this article are preserved in the vestibule of the Kyaikmaraw image shrine in the village of that name, which lies on the Ataran 11 miles south-east of Moulmein. That to the left of the entrance (Kyaikmaraw I) records a dedication of land to the shrine by the ruling queen of Pegu, Bañā Thau (Shin Sawbu), in A.D. 1455, and is thus the earliest dated Middle Mon inscription as well as the only one assignable to Bañā Thau's reign which antedates the co-regency of Dhammaceti.¹ The stone to the right of the entrance (Kyaikmaraw II), which is mutilated and much weathered, is for the most part occupied by a fragmentary replica of lines 8-20 of the first, but with a different preamble, and apparently records a second dedication. Unfortunately the preamble is the most mutilated part, and yields neither a date nor the donor's name; but orthographic peculiarities suggest that this stone may be considerably later in date than the first.

The existence of these inscriptions has been known to scholars since 1914, when they were noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma*.² They were read, but not published, by Dr. C. O. Blagden, whose MS transcription I have consulted with profit.

Stone I records the dedication to the Kyaikmaraw shrine of the revenues of Tko' Mboñ by Bañā Thau at the end of Buddhist Lent two years after her accession. Tko' Mboñ cannot at present be identified, but from a reference in the second inscription to the leading clergy of 'Ko' Mboñ' it may be conjectured that it is the tract in which Kyaikmaraw itself stands.³ The ceremony took place not at the shrine but at a gathering of the clergy at the Moh Smiñ pagoda, the modern Myatheindan at Martaban. The major portion of the text is taken up by a recital of blessings on those who uphold this benefaction, and of curses on those who seek to revoke it. It is curious that the terms of the dedication refer not to land but to the revenues therefrom, and it is possible that this was intended to avoid the enslavement of the resident population; but in view of the rarity of such dedications in the epigraphy of the Pegu kingdom—only three are known—a firm conclusion cannot be drawn.

¹ Duroiselle in *A list of inscriptions found in Burma* (Rangoon, 1921: Appendix A, No. 15) erroneously assigns the Shwe Dagon inscription to 1436, through taking the last date mentioned in the text as the date of the record; cf. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, IV, 1, § 94, p. 21. An undated inscription allegedly of Rājadhīrāj (1385-1423) was discovered by J. A. Stewart in 1913, but is reported by Blagden to be 'mostly illegible'. See Duroiselle, op. cit., Appendix A, No. 44.

² Appendix G, Nos. 8, 9; cf. also Duroiselle, op. cit., Appendix A, Nos. 16, 33.

³ *t'ko'*, modern *ko'* 'island' denotes also an area of high ground not subject to seasonal flooding.

The dimensions of the inscribed surface within the ornamental border (now largely obscured by the cement in which the stone has been set) are : height 39 inches ; breadth at top $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at bottom $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches. One line has been added at a later date immediately above the bottom border, but is no longer decipherable.

Stone II, which, as already stated, yields only a fragmentary text, mentions a son and a nephew of the ruler, who may be the donors. The preamble is followed by a recital of blessings which with slight variations repeats I. I give reasons below for considering that this inscription belongs to the later days of the dynasty, and if the linguistic argument be accepted, such ritualistic copying of an older text indeed suggests a poverty of invention which one might associate with the waning of a nation.

The inscribed surface measures $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and in breadth from 12 to 14 inches, some 6 or 7 inches being broken off at the left-hand side ; the characters are somewhat larger than those of the first stone.

The text which follows was in the case of I transcribed directly from the stone, and later checked against rubbings and against the photographs which are reproduced as Plate I. These latter are, however, in places misleading, owing to the recent picking out of the characters with white pigment, in which the restorer's zeal has sometimes outrun his discretion. The text of II is transcribed from rubbings, supplemented by Dr. Blagden's readings. The system of transcription used is that of *Epigraphia Birmanica*, except that the vowel support ၁ is represented by ' in all contexts, and not only when final. Doubtful readings are enclosed in parentheses, conjectural emendations in square brackets¹ ; italic type indicates the conjectural restoration of lacunae. The numbering of the lines is in heavy type enclosed within square brackets.

'COB' in the footnotes indicates the readings of the Blagden MS.

KYAIKMARAW I : TEXT

[1] ᳵ sa᳚karāt 817 kitu 'asut brapēn tñey [2] sok tila ᳵa᳚ ᳵa᳚ā thāw c(āw) tila cih batān (. .)² [3] ma kuiw lo(r)³ tawuiw ma tuiw lo- ma dān⁴ p᳚day tam [4] jon kyak moh smin gata sa᳚ gamlūn p᳚day thān [5] tawuiw tko' mbo᳚n ga᳚ phandā ma ktuiw dah ku[6]m lor drap rat ma ktuiw das kuim lor 'uitt dek [7] ku᳚p chu kambat ma ktuiw das p᳚day thān ga᳚ kuim lo[8]r ēy⁵ kuiw dān kyak mrah ra truh lor brāw [9] lor ma thok pān ma ga᳚ ᳵasapāt lokī lo-[10] kutuiw ma jnok kuiw das he᳚ ᳵi lokī ma ga᳚ ga᳚ [11] sathī pan ma twah bga᳚ jotikasathī menda[ka]sathī dhaneñe[12]yyasathī punnasath.⁶ kuiw das he᳚ ᳵi 'akhā das smin ma ga᳚ [13] ᳵa᳚ smin 'asoka ᳵa᳚ smin dadhiwana ᳵa᳚

¹ Emendations involving insertion and not substitution are not specifically referred to in the notes.

² ga᳚ COE, which I cannot follow.

³ low restorer.

⁴ soil. [p]adān.

⁵ ēy represents a logogram derived from the *akṣaras e, ya*, and current throughout MM.

⁶ soil. 'sats[ī].

smiñ nandiya [14] ñañ smiñ silawa¹ kuiw das heñ ñi 'akhā das dewatāw [15] ma gaḥ smiñ catumarhā[t] smiñ in smiñ yāmā smiñ dewatāw [16] tussitāpū smiñ dewatāw (nḍ)immārati smiñ dewatāw para[17]nimmittawassawati² kuim lo(r)³ kuiw das heñ ñi yassapat lo[18]kutuiw tun gaḥ tradas kyak kuim lor tradas pacce[19]kabut kuim lcr twaḥ kyak ma prey nū twaḥ gamluin kuim [20] lor³ kuiw das heñ ñi || trus lor brāw lor ma palui[21]m⁴ dān wo' gaḥ pḍay 'apāy pan ma twaḥ bgaḥ narāk pre[t] [22] surakā(t)iricchān⁵ 'asūrakāy kuiw das heñ ñi (||) nar(ā)k ma gaḥ [23] narāk dacām ma twaḥ bgaḥ sañjuw⁶ kālasu[t] sañ(gh)āta roruwa mahā[24]roruwa⁷ tāpana mahātāpana mahāwik || usadanarāk gaḥ klām [25] bā cwah dacām narāk smiñ yuim gaḥ pi klām bā cāh⁸ kuiw cin tāw [26] heñ ñi || pḍay pret ma twaḥ bgaḥ (n)i(jjh)āmatan(h)āpeta⁹ māmsapuñā 'aṭhir(ā)[27]si¹⁰ pabbata-kuta pḍay pret pan wo' kuiw dah dah heñ ñi pḍay 'asūrakāy [28] samutdadipa pabbatapāda nadi(so)ta¹¹ kanhawāṇḍa pḍay 'a[sū]rakāy pan wo' kuiw [29] dah dah heñ ñi || pḍay sat ta(r)ichāna pan ma gaḥ gu(n)dhabhakkha¹² kanna-kabhakkha bhānahā(rā) [30] cārakawāsa¹³ kuiw dah das heñ ñi || das mānuh tun ñaḥ ma uy sñi dāk ñaḥ ma [31] uy jawa pkāw ñaḥ ma caṅgaḥ ñaḥ¹⁴ ñaḥ ma sak ku jāti kuiw dah das heñ ñi || ||

TRANSLATION

(1-2) It was on Friday, the full moon day of Āsvayuja in the year 817 of the common era,¹⁵ that Her Majesty Bañā Thāw, Mistress¹⁶ of the White Elephant, (3) gave her gift and made her offering¹⁷ at the foot (4-6) of the Moh Smiñ pagoda¹⁸ in the presence of the clergy. Such wealth as accrues, such goods and jewels as accrue in Tko' Mboñ, the territory thus given, together with all . . . , (7) . . . ,¹⁹ trees, and herbs that come into being there, (8-10) I give to the Kyaikmaraw shrine.

Now those who uphold (this dedication), whether men or women, may they know great bliss in the physical worlds and beyond! In the physical worlds, (11-12) may they be born as the four rich men Jotika, Menḍaka, Dhanañjaya, and Puṇṇa.²⁰ When they are born as kings, (13-14) may they be like Asoka,

¹ Or *silawa*.² Perhaps *uocā*.³ low restorer.⁴ The *virāma* over the *m* is doubtful.⁵ Perhaps *curakā*° or *ñurakā*°.⁶ *sañjuwa* COB.⁷ -*hā*- is inserted below the end of L 23.⁸ scil. c[ə]h.⁹ *landā*° restorer.¹⁰ *rañi* COB.¹¹ *āta* COB.¹² (*bu*)*ddha*° COB.¹³ Or *cāraka*°.¹⁴ Blagden inserts (ll) here.¹⁵ 28 September 1455.¹⁶ The doubling of *tila* 'lord' by its Tai synonym *cāw*, not found in later texts, echoes the Tai origins of the Martaban-Pegu dynasty.¹⁷ *tuw* 'to give' occurs in the Mon version of the *Nārada-jātaka*: cf. Dupont, *La version mone du Nārada-jātaka* (Saigon, 1954), 193. *tauwu*, lit. *tauwu*, *tuwui*, is a nominal formation from *tuw*. [*padān* is from Pali *padāna* 'gift'.¹⁸ The Myatheindan at Martaban, on the point facing Moulmein.¹⁹ The meaning of *dak* and *kuip* is not known.²⁰ The first two and the last of these were among the five treasurers of Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, in Buddhist tradition. Dhanañjaya, son of Menḍaka, was sent by Bimbisāra to Pasenadi of Kosala in a similar capacity.

Dadhivāhana,¹ Nandiya,² and Silava.³ When they are born as devas, (15-17) may it be as the Four Regents, Indra, and the kings of the Yama devas and of the devas of Tusitapura, Nimmānaratī, and Paranimmita-vasavatti.⁴ (18-20) And as for bliss beyond the physical realm, may they be born into the states of Buddhas and Pacceka Buddhas, or as the foremost disciples of Buddhas.

But those, men or women, who corrupt (21-22) this *gātī*, may they be born into the four wretched states: in hell, as ghosts, as . . .⁵ animals, and in the shape of titans! As for hell, (23-25) may they boil in the eight hells of Sañjiva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāruruva, Tapana, Mahātāpana, and Mahāvici; in the hundred and twenty-eight Full Hells,⁶ and in the three hundred and twenty hells of King Yama. (26-27) May they be born as the four (kinds of) ghosts, consumed by thirst,⁷ (haunters of) heaps of flesh,⁸ heaps of bones,⁹ and mountain peaks.¹⁰ (28-29) May they be born in the shape of the four (kinds of) titans, (dwelling in) islands of the sea, at the foot of mountains, in rivers and torrents, and black-coloured.¹¹ (29-30) May they be born as the four (kinds of) animals, eaters of . . . , eaters of . . . ,¹² . . . ,¹³ wandering and dwelling.¹⁴ And when they are born as men, may it be as cleaners¹⁵ of privies, (31) disposers of corpses,¹⁶ sweepers,¹⁷ and all persons¹⁸ without ancestry.

KYAĪKMARAW II: TEXT¹⁹

[1] (tñ)ai [2] (tadā)
 [3] m ñik ti dhasu(i)m....
 [4] w(ā)n smiñ km(i)n smiñ.. [5] kmin
 smiñ cas mār (s)i (ga).. [6] da(k)ā sasa(ṭ)ṭ(ā).... sma(rñ)
 bhā (kya)k [7] mahāsāmi²⁰ ma tau pḍai ko' mboñ || ñhim [8]

¹ A fabulous king of Benares.

² Mentioned at *Apadāna*, I, 235, as a king of 16 *kappas* ago.

³ Another king of Benares, the Bodhisatta in the *Mahāsīlava-jātaka*.

⁴ This list enumerates the rulers of the deva-worlds in ascending order.

⁵ The meaning of *surakkā*° is not known.

⁶ Pali *ussada*°.

⁷ Pali *tanhā*°.

⁸ Pali *puṇḍā*.

⁹ Pali *apḥi*°.

¹⁰ Pali *kūta*.

¹¹ Pali *kanṣavanna*.

¹² It is tempting to take this as Pali *kaṇṣikābhakkha* 'eaters of broken rice particles'. But the Pali-Mon glossary *Akkharavidhāna* has '*kaṇṣikā*: *gandharā* plant' and '*gandhā*: a large creeper; tiger-grass' (this is clearly Sanskrit *gandra* '*Saccharum sara*; etc.'). and one might assume a parallelistic 'eaters of tiger-grass, eaters of *kaṇṣikā* plant'.

¹³ The meaning of *bhānahārā* is not known.

¹⁴ This term also is puzzling, since both *cāraka* and *vāsa* normally require an antecedent.

¹⁵ *uy*, lit. *uy*, 'to see to, to dispose of'.

¹⁶ The phrase is obscure. *uy jwa* is attested in the early text *Pum Dhamm-accēṭi*. *pkāw* 'flower' seems completely irrelevant; I am inclined to think that the stonecutter, misled by an anomalous spelling *jawa* for *jwa* 'corpse' in his copy, has supplied *jawa pkāw* (for *jaw pkāw*) 'blossoms', which makes no sense.

¹⁷ Of pagodas, thus pagoda slaves. This assumes a somewhat dubious connexion of *cangāḥ* with *janah* 'to clear away' (Kalyāṇi); it is perhaps a pseudo-archaism or hypercorrection.

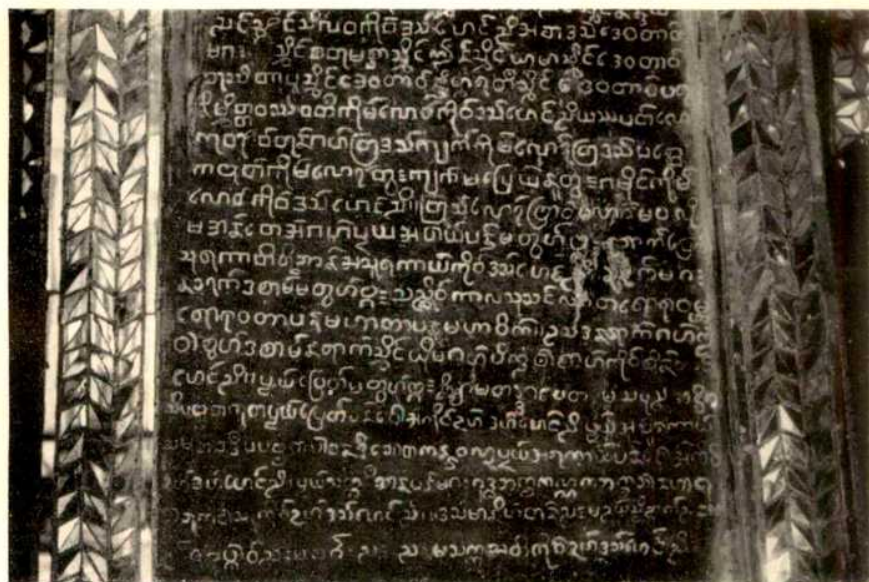
¹⁸ Taking *ñah* *ñah* together in a distributive sense.

¹⁹ The number of dots indicates the approximate number of missing letters.

²⁰ Or *sāmī*.



LINES 1-20



LINES 14-31

.....(m)r(o)h gata sañ 40 truh kui(m) [9] r || ñaḥ ma
 (th)ok pañ ma gaḥ yas[10] kuim lo(r) || yassapat lo(r) [11]
 || ma jnok heñ kuiw das [12] ma gaḥ sa(thī) pañ ma twas
 gaḥ [13] sathi || mindikasathi th(aneñe)[14] sathi kuiw
 das heñ ñi || khā [15] (ñ ma gaḥ) || ñaṃ smin 'aso(ka) [16]
(ñaṃ) smin (na)n(di)yya ñaṃ smin (s). [17](ñ) ñi ||
 'akhā da[s] dewat(au) [18](wa)tau catumarhāt || ñaṃ (s)m(i).
 [19](ñ) dewatau t(u)ssitāp(ū) ñaṃ sm(in).. [20]
(tau pa)ranimittawassawati (ku).. [21]
(ta)dah kyak kuim (lo). [22]
(kuiw) [23] k(u)i.
 da...

TRANSLATION

(1) ... (day ?) ... (3) ... slaves (and land [at Su]dhasuim ?)¹ ... (4)
 ... the king's (son ?)² the king's nephew ... (5) the king's nephew
 (Cas...[ku]mār ?) ... (6) ... supporter of the Religion monasteries
 and pagodas (7) ... (a thousand ?) of the leading clergy dwelling in Ko' Mboñ
 (8) ... before 40 of the clergy.³

LINGUISTIC NOTE

I. The language of I shows a number of archaic features as compared with the more abundant records of 20 years later. These differences mainly concern the final, or the complex of nucleus and final, and may be briefly tabulated.

-s : OM -s : MM -h.

das 'to be', 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 22, 30, 31⁴; *tradas* 'state', 18; *trus* 'man', 20. With these contrast *dah*, 5, 27, 29; *truh*, 8; *cwaḥ*, c[o]h 'tens' (OM *cwas*), 25; *twah* 'disciple' (OM *twās*), 19; *twah* 'to utter' (OM *twos* n.), 11, 21, 23, 26.

-āw : OM -āw, -ow : MM -au.

c(āw) 'lord', 2; *tāw* 'to remain', 25; *thāw*, personal name, 2; *dewatāw* 'deva', 14, 15, 16; *pkāw* 'flower', 31; *brāw* 'woman', 8, 20.

-ey : OM -ey : MM -ay.

tney 'day', 1; *prey* 'to be excellent', 19. (ēy 'I', a logogram in use throughout MM, must be excluded from this series.) With these contrast *pday* 'in', 3, 4, 7, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29.

-ok : MM -āk.⁵

thok pāñ 'to uphold', 9.

¹ A 'village of the prince of Sudasuim' is mentioned in the Kalyāṇi inscription, K 39.

² Reading kw(ā)n or kw(o)n.

³ From this point the text follows that of I, ll. 8-20.

⁴ These references are to lines of the inscription.

⁵ The word cited is a neologism; but the OM correspondent of MM -āk is -ok.

owah 'tens', 25, retains the vowel of the OM form where later MM has *woh* and, less frequently, *coh*; contrast *o[h]*, 25.

The occurrence alongside forms with *-s*, *-ey* of others with *-h*, *-ay* discountenances the assumption that these archaisms reflect the spoken language, or are other than merely orthographic. It is in any case probable that *-ey* and *-ay* both noted similar sets of phonetic elements, which may be tentatively transcribed [ɔj]; and the like is true of *-āx* and *-au*. AE for *thok*, Middle Mon *-ā-*, *-o/wo-* before velars both correspond to Old Mon *-o-*, a divergence which cannot be explained on distributional grounds, but is most readily accounted for on the hypothesis that Old Mon *-o-* noted two distinct vowel units in this context¹; in which case again the archaism is orthographic only. The text under discussion belongs to the opening stage of a revival of epigraphic and perhaps literary activity, when orthography may be expected to be variable; by the time of Dhammaceti a tradition had been established.

Other more idiosyncratic forms which call for comment are: *kyak* 'pagoda, Buddha', 4, 8, 18; *narāk*, *onarāk* 'hell', 21, (22), 23, 24, 25; *thok pān* 'to uphold', 9; *dah* 'he', 27, 29, 30, 31; *'uitt* 'all', 6; *'utiricchān* 'animal', 22; *ta(r)icchāna* id., 29; *phandā* 'wealth', 5; and *ñan* 'like', 23, 14.

kyak corresponds to Old Mon *kyāk/kyek*: Middle Mon *kyāk*, while the opposite correspondence, of *-ā-* to Old and Middle Mon *-a-* before velars, is seen in *narāk* and *thok pān*; the normal correspondences are found in *dāk* 'water', 30, *batān* 'white', 2; *sak* 'to lack', 31, *san* 'clergy', 4. *kyak*, *narāk*, *thok pān* thus represent a sporadic development in the dialect of the inscription. The case of the latter two may be compared with the occurrence in Old Mon of occasional variants in *-ān*, always corresponding to Middle Mon *-an*, and usually following *(-r)-*: *grāñ* 'to comprehend', *tin-āñ* 'door, gate', *rāñ* 'to bring', *umāñ* 'tunnel'; and these probably reflect an orthographic rather than a phonological hesitation, since variants in *-eñ* are not found. A case of the opposite variation, which apparently is phonological, may be inferred from the series Old Mon *kdān/kdeñ*, literary *gdān* 'shield'; Middle Mon *gdañ*, literary *kdañ* id.; literary *gdāñ* id.

dah is to be interpreted as a weak form, [dɛh], and not as a direct correspondent of the strong forms Old Mon *deh*, etc.: Middle Mon *deh*. As such it may be compared with *da*, which occurs in the thirteenth-century inscriptions of Lamphun.² These are also recalled by the form *'uitt*, in which the notation of the final consonant by a conjunct geminate consonant combined with *virāma* appears to represent an intermediate stage between the Lamphun use of a geminate alone and the ultimate universalization of the *virāma*.

Burmese influence accounts for the vocalism of *'utiricchān* and *ta(r)icchāna*, from Pali *tiracchāna*; compare Burmese *tə-ri'shan*, and Old Mon *tiracchān*,

¹ Three, if its occurrence in random variation with other graphemic elements is considered, e.g. *yuk/yok* 'to lift'.

² Wat Kukut I, A 11; Wat Ban Hlui, 2, 12. See *BEFEO*, xxx, 1923, 81-105.

modern *tœʳròtchan*. The same factor is probably responsible for the initial of *phanḍā*, from Pali *bhaṇḍa*.

Burmese influence working on a supposed Pali etymology is the most likely explanation of *ñāñ*. The modern equivalent of this form, *ṇṇ*, corresponds to Middle Mon *ñāñ*, which is found in the Kalyāṇī inscription alongside *ñam*,¹ the form which regularly occurs in Kyaikmaraw II. These three spellings are connected by the Mon pronunciation of Pali *-am*, *hamsā* for example (which Burmese writes *hansā*) being pronounced as if written *hānsā*.

II. We may first consider that portion of II which repeats the text of I. There are minor differences of phraseology: *kui(m)* for *lor*, 8-9; *ñāñ* inserted before *ma (th)ok pañ*, 9; *heñ* following *ma jnok*, 11, and so on. There are minor variations in the spelling of proper names. Of the archaic features discussed above, II has *das*, 11, 14; *twas* (*twah* I), 12; and *(th)ok pañ*, 9; against *(ta)dah*, 21, *truh* (*truh* I), 8; and *dewatau*, (17), (18), 19, (20). Of other idiosyncratic features, II has *kyak*, 21, but conforms to normal Middle Mon usage as regards the second element of *(th)ok pañ*, and *ñam*, 15, 16, 18, 19.

No specific archaisms occur in the preamble, with the exception of the syllable . . . *mār* in line 5, which probably forms part of a personal name ending in *-kumār*. *tau*, 7, matches *dewatau*. This same line in fact contains two particularly late forms: *pāi*, and *ko* 'island' (compare *tko*, I 5). The abbreviative substitution of *-ai* for *-(a)y* is not found elsewhere until Bayinnaung's bell inscription of 1557.² The prosiopesis of an initial plosive complex seen in *ko*³ is even later and cannot be precisely dated.

These considerations would lead one to suppose that II is considerably later than I, and that such archaisms as are found in it are due to copying from the latter and to the archaizing impulse that gave rise to that copying. An unpublished inscription from Pegu, which bears the date 1471, might seem to invalidate this conclusion. This is the record described in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1930-4, 225, giving details of the restoration by Bañā Thau and Dhammaceti of seven pagodas erected by the legendary queen Subhaddā. It contains ten instances of *-ai* and one of *-eai* against five of *-ay* and one of *-ey*, as well as three of *-ai* against nine of *-y* following other vowels; *das* occurs in the closing phrase. However, the Pegu inscription is clearly related to another from Kyauktainggan village describing the same work of restoration, and dated 1469/70; and this is in standard Middle Mon.⁴ It thus seems likely that the Pegu inscription is a late copy of a lost original, and my conclusion as to the date of Kyaikmaraw II stands.

¹ In the phrase *pa ñam* 'how i' (D 17, and once in an unpublished fragment).

² With one apparent exception, discussed in the next paragraph. The bell inscription is unpublished.

³ *gah*, 12, is probably related to *bgah* (I 11, etc.) morphologically rather than historically.

⁴ Duroiselle, op. cit., Appendix A, No. 18. These inscriptions are not, as stated in *ARASI*, oc. cit., duplicates. For the texts I have had recourse to the Blagden MS.

ASPIRATION IN TWO POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

By G. B. MILNER

IN the summer of 1951, the presence in London of an Ellice Islander, Penitala Teo, gave me an opportunity of making a sound recording in a little-known Polynesian language. The briefness of his stay, as well as other factors, did not leave time for more than a cursory analysis of his speech, but there was enough evidence to establish a *prima facie* case for recognizing aspirated as well as non-aspirated consonants.¹

The language of the Ellice Islands is known to us chiefly through Kennedy's *Handbook*.² The people of these islands can understand Samoan (though with some difficulty) and since the Bible and other religious publications are available in Samoan, the London Missionary Society pastors teach reading and writing with the help of the Samoan alphabet.³ The majority of the Ellice Islanders are now literate and moreover they appear to have little difficulty in adapting the Samoan alphabet to their own language, with a moderate degree of consistency, and sufficiently well for the purpose of private correspondence. At present the only regular output of reading matter is a Government-sponsored news-sheet entitled *Tala o Tuvalu* and written entirely in Ellice.⁴ It is prepared by a small committee, mimeographed, and circulated throughout the group. This committee, who also function as a Board of Examiners, provide the only authority for deciding on problems of orthography. The conversions of Samoan spelling apply in the main, the principal exception being that *ng* instead of *g* is used to represent the velar nasal. It is to Kennedy that credit is due for what appears to be the first allusion to the problem of aspiration. 'Each consonant', he writes, 'may be held or dwelt on in such a way as to give the succeeding vowel a slight explosive sound.'⁵

During the summer of 1957 another Ellice Islander, Founuku Vave, came to London to attend a police training course. Thanks to his help it has been possible to elucidate a problem left in abeyance for six years. The purpose of the present article is to give an account of the new evidence available and to indicate its relevance to recent work in the same field.

Founuku Vave was born on the island of Vaitupu in 1928. At the age of 16 he went to school in Fiji for three years. His speech does not appear to

¹ For a synoptical table of consonants in a number of Polynesian languages, see Samuel H. Elbert, 'Internal relationships of Polynesian languages and dialects'. *Southeastern Journal of Anthropology*, ix, 2, 1953, 154 ff.

² D. G. Kennedy, *Te ngangana a te Tuvalu. Handbook on the language of the Ellice Islands*, Suva, 1945.

³ The Society has now appointed a missionary to the Ellice Islands, one of whose first tasks will be to compile a grammar and dictionary.

⁴ For the sake of brevity the word Ellice will be used to refer to the language of the Ellice Islands.

⁵ Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 5.

differ markedly from that of my first informant, Penitala Teo who is a native of the island of Funafuti. The following information, however, applies to the speech of Founuku Vave alone.

A syllable in Ellice may be said to consist either of a consonant followed by a vowel, or of a vowel. With certain regular exceptions, some of which will be mentioned later, the main word-stress falls on the penult.

The vowel-system is made up of five separate units which can be adequately represented by the symbols *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*.¹

For the present purpose it will be sufficient to use brief conventional terms in the description of these vowels. *i* is close front, *e* is mid front, *a* is open central, *o* is mid back, and *u* is close back. In unstressed syllables the quality of the vowels *i*, *a*, and *u* is almost the same as in stressed syllables. *o* and *u* are somewhat closer in unstressed than in stressed syllables.

It seems necessary to recognize either five long vowels or two degrees of length for each vowel. In the time available it was not possible to establish whether long vowels are in parallel distribution with short vowels or whether a long vowel does not in fact consist of two identical short vowels in juxtaposition. It is worth noting that a syllable which includes a so-called long vowel is always stressed, irrespectively of its position in a word. The same problem exists in Fijian where Scott² was able to solve it successfully. In Ellice if *V* stands for a long and *v* for a short vowel, a fuller study might show that *V* is equivalent to *vv*. At any rate it is convenient for the present purpose to recognize five long vowels for which the following symbols will be used: *i:*, *e:*, *a:*, *o:*, and *u:*.³ As to their quality it is sufficient to say that each long vowel is somewhat more open than the corresponding short vowel.

The consonants can be represented by the following symbols⁴:

	<i>Labio-</i>			
	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Unaspirated plosives .	p		t	k
Aspirated plosives .	ph		th	kh
Nasals	m		n	ŋ
Lateral			l	
Voiceless fricatives .		f	s	
Voiced fricative . . .		v		

s seems to be articulated with the blade of the tongue, the tip being down. **l** is articulated laterally, but before a close front vowel there is sometimes a suggestion of a flapped consonant.

¹ The question of a consistent orthography for Ellice is not considered in the present article. A broad system of phonetic notation is therefore used except where stated otherwise.

² N. C. Scott, 'A study in the phonetics of Fijian', *BSOAS*, xii, 3-4, 1948, 737-52, especially 743-6.

³ The editorial committee of *Tala o Tuvatu* have adopted the practice of using two letters to represent long vowels, thus: *ii*, *ee*, *aa*, etc. Their example has not yet been followed by all.

⁴ With the exception of the symbols used for aspirated plosives (the function of which is discussed in the present article), the notation employed in the following table is broad.

When the first word of an utterance begins with a vowel, that vowel is regularly preceded by a glottal onset. The same feature is observed also in other positions especially when there has been a momentary pause between two words owing to hesitation or for some similar reason.

At first there seemed to be strong evidence of a phonematic difference between aspirated and unaspirated plosives. Contrasting pairs of words distinguished by the presence or absence of aspiration after a plosive were identified. The following examples represent only some of the pairs thus established even in the limited time available :

pa:	pearl-shell shank of a type of fish-hook	poko	strike
pha:	slap	phoko	deep
pili	near, close	talo	taro (a root-crop)
phili	paralysed	thalo	pray
pou	house-post	tuli	hunt
phou	(of body) smell	thuli	deaf
pelu	sword	tala	story, news
phelu	fold	thala	(of garment) take off
pala	(of canoe) rotten	tolo	kind of food
phala	affected by yaws	tholo	crawl
pusa	prepare an oven	kete	basket
phusa	(of skin) burnt	khete	swollen
tale	cough	kasa	(of boat) run aground
thale	reach up to	khasa	(of sun) be hot
kumi	ten fathom of sinnet	kalo	(of head) shake
khumi	pull (a person) down to ground	khalo	(of an animal) wild

In most cases Vave did not hesitate in accepting or rejecting aspiration. When he did hesitate the reason was discovered later.

As the investigation continued, a number of puzzling features were observed. With only a few exceptions, aspiration only occurred in initial syllables, most of which were stressed. If the syllable with an aspirated plosive was stressed, it was articulated with more energy than comparable stressed syllables. It was also curious to note that more often than not the unaspirated member of a contrasting pair was used in a nominal, but the aspirated in a verbal context. In one or two cases the meaning of the two key-words in a contrasting pair seemed too close to be accounted for by mere coincidence. Finally an analysis of aspiration after the alveolar stop provided a clue.

In the case of the other two stops Vave was consistent in his articulation and had no hesitation in either accepting or rejecting aspiration. With words beginning with an alveolar stop he was less certain. He would accept some words either with or without aspiration and he might articulate a given word

differently on separate occasions. Among the contrasting pairs which had been established was the following :

toku tino my body
ko i thino tela: who is that (person) ?

There he was quite consistent. It seemed that the problem might be solved by rephrasing the second member of the pair so as to make it possible to substitute other words in the place of **thino**. The following results were obtained :

- (a) e a i **thusi** **temei** i.e. Whose is this letter ?
 is of who letter this
- (b) e a i **thao** **temei** i.e. Whose is this spear ?
 is of who spear this
- (c) e a i **te** **puaka** **temei** i.e. Whose is this pig ?
 is of who the pig this

The occurrence of the definite article **te** in sentence (c) and not in sentences (a) and (b) was puzzling. The words **thusi**, **thao**, and **puaka** were therefore placed in a syntactical position where the definite article is not used, that is to say after a first person singular possessive. This was the result :

- (d) **taku tusi** my letter
(e) **taku tao** my spear
(f) **taku puaka** my pig

It was apparent that when the unstressed article **te** occurred before an alveolar plosive, the vowel of the article disappeared and the consonant coalesced with the next consonant in such a way as to produce aspiration and a relatively greater degree of stress. It remained to see whether this explanation also accounted for other cases of aspiration in the plosives.

It will be recalled that in Polynesian and Melanesian languages reduplication is a widespread feature and that, in addition to the full reduplication of a word-base, partial reduplication may also occur. Thus if a word-base is disyllabic and belongs to the pattern C V C V such as, say *axby*, one may find a form *axbyaxby* and possibly also a form *axaxby*. When all three forms occur it not infrequently happens that the base, or the partly-reduplicated form, or the fully-reduplicated form, belongs to a slightly different semantic field from that of the other two forms. For instance in Fijian, the word-base *levu* 'large, numerous' has a partly-reduplicated form *lelevu* which is a plural form of *levu* while the fully-reduplicated form *levulevu* has the meaning of 'fat, corpulent'. Stress in Fijian falling (as also in Ellice) on the penult, the first syllable of *lelevu* is unstressed, the first syllable of *levu* is stressed while *levulevu* has a double stress, a secondary on the first syllable and a main stress on the penult. It seemed possible that in Ellice syllables with aspirated plosives was all that remained of what in the unrecorded history of the language had once been unstressed syllables in partly-reduplicated forms. The absence of partly-reduplicated and the presence of fully-reduplicated forms in the material provided by the informant made that conjecture all the more promising. Taking a number of words with aspirated plosives the attempt

was made to see whether they could be shown to be semantically correlated with single or fully-reduplicated forms. With the limited time and material available this was only partly successful but it seems that a more detailed analysis would put this assumption beyond reasonable doubt:

paku baked, dry slices of an edible root (preserved for future use)
phaku (of food in an oven) (be) cooked, ready
pakupaku (of dead leaves) (be) dry, brittle

poa bait
phoa catch (bird, crab, etc.) with the hand
poapoa put bait into the water

pole shake
phole (be) very happy
polepole shake very much, or : repeatedly

puni (be) uncircumcised
phuni (be) shut, blocked

thaki lead
takitaki trawl (with a spoon, etc.), lead

khemo blink
kemokemo blink repeatedly

It seemed fairly certain that aspiration was only found in one member of a pair or triad of words thus associated on grounds of morphological and semantic similarity. If it could be shown that aspirated forms corresponded to partly-reduplicated forms in another language of the same family the evidence could be regarded as almost conclusive.

In the absence of documentary evidence dating from more than about a hundred years ago it would pose a complex and perhaps inconclusive problem to decide whether both Ellice and Samoan represent parallel developments of the same parent language or whether Ellice is a relatively recent offshoot of Samoan.¹ Many words, almost identical in Ellice and Samoan, have the same or nearly the same meaning in both languages, and both have the feature of full reduplication. It seemed desirable to compare aspirated forms in Ellice with forms known to be partly-reduplicated in Samoan. The following results were obtained:

<i>Ellice</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Samoan</i>	<i>English</i>
thalo	pray	tatalo	pray
khasa	(of sun) (be) hot	'a'asa ²	(of sun) (be) hot

¹ The people of Vaitupu trace their origins to Samoa, with whom they share some of their culture-heroes. See D. G. Kennedy, *The culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands*, New Plymouth, 1931, 153-235.

² An inverted comma is used in Samoan to represent the glottal stop.

<i>Ellice</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Samoan</i>	<i>English</i>
thala	(of garment) take off	<i>tatala</i>	(of garment) take off
tholo	crawl	<i>totolo</i>	crawl
thoni	buy	<i>totogi</i> ¹	donate, pay
thuli	(be) deaf	<i>tutuli</i>	(be) deaf
phala	(be) affected by yaws	<i>papala</i>	have sores
pho:	massage	<i>fofō</i> ²	massage, treat medically
phula	(of eyes) (be) open	<i>pupula</i>	(be) able to see
phili	(be) paralysed	<i>pipili</i>	(be) lame, unable to walk
pheka	have a bad odour	<i>pepe'a</i> ³	smell like a bat

Not a single occurrence of aspiration after a plosive in an unstressed syllable was recorded (except when it could be shown on syntactical grounds that a definite article would have been used had the initial consonant of a word not been alveolar).⁴ In one case only aspiration was found to occur in the medial and stressed syllable of a word, namely in **uthanu** (sponge-like growth in a germinating coco-nut). Within the limits of the time available it was impossible to account for the presence of aspiration in that word. There was also no opportunity of making a study of the partly-reduplicated forms of bases beginning with a non-plosive consonant.

Aspiration in Ellice and the explanation now put forward to account for its development, have direct relevance to discoveries made a few years ago concerning the language of Kapingamarangi.⁵

In 1948 Professor Samuel H. Elbert of the University of Hawaii submitted his final report on his contribution to the CIMA project.⁶ In his grammar of the language of Kapingamarangi,⁷ he recognizes in addition to the three unaspirated stops *p*, *t*, and *k* a 'voiceless spirant' *h*. The latter has three allophones occurring:

- (i) after a pause and after a vowel;
- (ii) after *p*, *t*, and *k* when it produces aspiration and
- (iii) after the consonants *r*, *m*, *n*, and *ng* [*ŋ*] when it produces simultaneous voicelessness.⁸

¹ The letter *g* represents the velar nasal in Samoan orthography.

² A macron is used in Samoan (though not consistently) to indicate length.

³ The Samoan word for a bat is *pe'a*. Bats being notorious for their evil smell, *pepe'a* has the meaning of malodorous. Curiously Vave does not know of a word **paka** in Ellice (on the assumption that **pheka** is a partly-reduplicated form) and according to him there are no bats on Vaitupu.

⁴ Thus **tillma** is the word for a shirt. Preceded by the common article it is realized as **thillma** (stressed on the penult).

⁵ Kapingamarangi is isolated between the principal island-groups of Melanesia and Micronesia, but it is inhabited by Polynesians.

⁶ Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.

⁷ Samuel H. Elbert, *Grammar and comparative study of the language of Kapingamarangi, texts and word lists*, Washington, National Research Council (Pacific Science Board), 1950.

⁸ Elbert, *op. cit.*, 5 and 8.

It seems clear that Elbert regards aspiration as a phonemic feature in Kapingamarangi¹ even when it occurs after a consonant.

The problem now arises of deciding whether the factors which have contributed to the development of aspirated plosives in Ellice may not also have operated in the development of Kapingamarangi. The materials collected by Elbert suggest that in that language also aspiration may have developed in the process of the disappearance of an unstressed pretonic vowel between two identical consonants. Evidence to support this view is not conclusive but sufficient to establish a fairly strong case. For instance in Kapingamarangi also the definite article coalesces with the following consonant (as Elbert has noted) in such a way as to produce aspiration: 'the singular particle *ti* contracts with nouns beginning with . . . *t* to form *th*'.² There is, moreover, a number of words where the singular is distinguished from the plural respectively by the absence or presence of aspiration³:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
<i>kira</i>	<i>khira</i>	show
<i>ngara</i>	<i>nghara</i>	forget
<i>para</i>	<i>phara</i>	be ripe ⁴
<i>mata</i>	<i>mhata</i>	die ⁵

In the word list, some words are given both in aspirated and unaspirated form. Of these, some are aspirated when they are in 'single' form and unaspirated when they are reduplicated. Among those are *thika* and *tikatika*,⁶ *khati* and *katikati*,⁷ *rhaku* and *rakuraku*.⁸ Others are given in both forms, the aspirated form having a slightly different connotation from the unaspirated. *Moe*, for instance, is given as 'lie down' and *mhoe* as 'intercourse'.⁹ The contrast between *khape* 'extract as a tooth or splinter' and *kape* 'chisel out, learn'¹⁰ can be correlated with the following pair in Ellice: *khape* (remove a speck of dirt, etc., from the eye or from a dish) and *kape* (dismiss someone from his post). The Kapingamarangi-English word list also gives¹¹ the forms *khumi* 'grasp, hold, take' and a reduplicated form *kumikumi*. The former is perhaps almost the same as the partly-reduplicated word *khumi* in Ellice (pull a person down to the ground).

Elbert does recognize two types of reduplication which he terms regular and irregular. The regular method consists in the 'repetition of a root'¹² and the irregular method in the 'repetition of part of the root'. The second method embraces two features, namely the 'repetition of part of the root' (achieved

¹ For the sake of brevity the language of Kapingamarangi will be referred to as Kapingamarangi.

² *ibid.*, 229.

³ Partly-reduplicated forms are frequently used in Samoan verbal forms set in the plural. See for example Spencer Churchward, *A new Samoan grammar*, Melbourne, 1926, 65-9.

⁴ Elbert, *Grammar*, 25.

⁵ *ibid.*, 191.

⁶ *ibid.*, 231.

⁷ *ibid.*, 181.

⁸ *ibid.*, 215.

⁹ *ibid.*, 194.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 177.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 181.

¹² *ibid.*, 25.

by methods which seem to give grounds for distinguishing at least two separate processes) and 'the repetition of part of the root and change of phoneme'. The words regular and irregular are somewhat inappropriate since they seem to reflect what is perhaps a confusion between the (possibly normal) reduplication of trisyllabic 'roots' (as for example in *warivariki* from *wariki* which he regards as 'irregular') and what appears to be a feature of partial reduplication as in Ellice (which Elbert does not recognize as such but includes under the term 'irregular'). When he refers to the 'repetition of part of the root and change of phoneme' he is perhaps aware of a connexion between aspiration and reduplication. The problem is obscured, however, by the introduction of the term phoneme and a comparison with Ellice does tend to suggest that he may not have considered whether in addition to full reduplication there also existed in Kapingamarangi a morphologically distinct feature of partial reduplication.

There is therefore a strong possibility that aspiration of the plosives in Kapingamarangi may be due to the same causes and have the same characteristics as aspiration in Ellice. If a further study of this problem should provide conclusive evidence in support of this view, it is likely that the great majority of instances of aspiration after consonants given in Elbert's word list will be accounted for.

Moreover the material already available for Samoan, Ellice, and Kapingamarangi shows that allowing for certain sound correspondences there is a great deal of lexical ground common to all three languages. Bearing in mind the traditions¹ of direct or indirect contact between Samoa, the general region of the Ellice Islands, and Kapingamarangi it would have been surprising if such were not the case.

If aspiration in the plosives is in fact not an aberrant feature, one of the main grounds for regarding Kapingamarangi as an entirely distinct Polynesian language² must also disappear. Lexically if not morphologically, it seems in point of fact to be closely related to both Ellice and Samoan. The field-work recently undertaken by Elbert in some of the other western outliers of Polynesia will undoubtedly help to check the hypothesis put forward in the present article.

¹ There are traditions recorded by ethnographers concerning (a) a settlement of Nukuoro (in the relative neighbourhood of Kapingamarangi) from Nukufetau in the Ellice Islands—see J. Kubary, 'Beitrag z. Kenntniss d. Nukuoro- oder Monteverde-Inseln (Karolinen)', *Mith. d. Geogr. Ges. in Hamburg*, xvi, 1900, 71–138; (b) a settlement of Nukuoro from Samoa via Nukufetau and Kapingamarangi—see Anneliese Eilers, *Inseln um Ponape* (Ergebnisse d. Sudsee-Expedition 1908–1910, viii), Hamburg, 1934; (c) a settlement of Kapingamarangi from Tamana in the Southern Gilberts (*ibid.*).

² Elbert, *Internal relationships*, 169.

THE NOUN IN BILIN

By F. R. PALMER

THIS study of the nominal forms of Bilin follows the theoretical approach and expository framework of a previous paper that dealt with the verbal forms of the language,¹ but the linguistic statement is both phonologically and morphologically of a very different type.

The forms associated with the scatter of the noun are far less numerous than those of the verb; the maximum number theoretically obtainable from the analysis presented here is 84. Some of the forms could be regarded as composed of three elements (and in some cases four), but for a general statement it is more appropriate to treat Bilin as inflected rather than as agglutinative. For there are again phonetic features that preclude a purely segmental analysis; these include pitch pattern, but not vowel harmony, and two new features, one of reduplication, and the other involving alternating types of consonantal articulation.

In the analysis of the verb it was possible to set up a limited number of verb classes, each characterized in terms of two prosodic features; this would simplify the lexical statement, since the morphological scatter can largely be predicted from verb class. A similar statement for the noun is impossible; the morphological types are extremely varied, and, although it is possible to make some broad classification, more detailed statement would be necessary for the full lexical identification.

The paper is divided into five main parts. § 1 is an outline statement of the grammatical categories. § 2 deals with the details of the phonology, and § 3 and § 4 with the details of the morphology associated with case and number-cum-gender respectively. § 5 is in the nature of an appendix; it is concerned with the morphology of the adjective and with forms of the nominal scatter that are to be treated, on both morphological and syntactical grounds, as adjectival.

1. *Grammatical outline.* The forms may be arranged in terms of two grammatical categories—case and number-cum-gender.²

11. *Case.* A system of seven terms is required for case. These are to be indicated by the letters (a) to (g).³

¹ 'The verb in Bilin', *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 131-39 (referred to here as *Verb*). Details of the theoretical approach, the exposition, and the transcription of the Bilin forms are not repeated here. An earlier work on Bilin is that of Leo Reinisch, *Die Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1882.

² It must again be stressed that names and translations are used for identification only; the analysis does not employ any notional criteria that might appear to be implied by them.

³ Possible names for the cases would be—nominative, accusative, comitative, dative, genitive, directive, and ablative. For 'comitative' and 'directive' see L. Hjelmslev, *La catégorie des cas* (*Acta Jutlandica*, vii, 1), Aarhus, 1935.

e.g. (a)	gerwa	subject
(b)	gerwés	object
(c)	gerwedí	with
(d)	gerwed	to
(e)	gerwi	of
(f)	gerwil	towards
(g)	gerwiléd	from

There are many forms relatable to the case (e) form, that are best treated as adjectival; these are stated in § 54.¹

12. *Number-cum-gender*. A system of three terms—masculine, feminine, and plural—is required.²

e.g. gedəŋ ³	masculine	dog
gedəŋí	feminine	bitch
geŋən	plural	dogs

In many of the noun scatters there are not both masculine and feminine forms; for these a system of two terms only, singular and plural, would appear to be sufficient.

e.g. gerwa	singular	man
gerəw	plural	men
ʔex ^w ina	singular	woman
ʔək ^w in	plural	women

But the three-term system is essential not only for the number-cum-gender morphology of such forms as gedəŋ, gedəŋí, but also for analysis in terms of case, as well as for the syntactical statement, notably the concord of adjectives. But it must be added that the masculine/feminine distinction does not always indicate a sex relationship.

e.g. səkmá	masculine	barley
səkmá	feminine	grain of barley
g ^w ədég ^w	masculine	belly
g ^w ədég ^w i	feminine	self

2. *Phonology*. The phonological analysis is in three parts: § 21 deals with phonematic structure, § 22 with prosodies and features that are prima facie prosodic, and § 23 with phonematic units.

21. *Phonematic structure*. The word is divisible in two ways. First, it is divisible into syllables, and secondly into stem and ending. This latter division is justified by the morphological statement, but it is also necessary to the phonology, for the treatment of the syllabic element ə (§ 213), the prominence patterns (§ 221), and the feature of consonant alternation (§ 222). Division

¹ Hence the difference between the system here and that suggested in *Verb*, Appendix.

² *Verb*, § 13.

³ Except where stated, the forms quoted are the case (a) (nominative) forms.

of some words into three elements, stem, infix, and ending is possible, but for most purposes it is useful to regard the infix as part of the stem.¹

211. The syllable structure is statable in terms of syllable types CV and CVC. Various combinations are possible, but words of a single syllable are of the type CVC only. Syllable division is indicated by a bar.

e.g. kus	shoulder	CVC
deréb	road	CV/CVC
kelembúra	drum	CV/CVC/CV/CV

212. Division into stem and ending cuts across syllable division; it is indicated by a hyphen.

e.g. bira	ox (a)	CVC-V
birás	ox (b)	CVC-VC

Where the division into stem and infix is made,² this too is indicated by a hyphen.

e.g. meráwti	snakes	CVCVC-C-V
---------------------	--------	-----------

But, as already stated, this division is to be regarded as within the stem; the form quoted could be divided simply into stem and ending—CVCVCC-V.

The syllable that extends across the stem-ending division will be referred to as the 'junction syllable' and the syllable preceding it, as the 'stem-final syllable' (stem, as always, being interpreted to include any infix, unless otherwise stated).

213. There is, between morphologically related forms, the alternation of half close central vowel and absence of vowel, this alternation being statable in terms of the syllabic structure. This justifies the recognition of the phonematic element ə, with exponents half close central vowel and nil.³ But the detailed statement of this feature must be made within strictly defined phonological and morphological limits.

2131. ə is a term in the V system of the junction syllable. Its alternative exponents are illustrated by:

gedəŋ	dog (a)	CVCVC-V
gedəŋéd	dog (d)	CVCVC-VC

The exponent of ə is half close central vowel *only* where the absence of V (in this case, ə) would imply structures not divisible into syllables of the types CV and CVC; otherwise it is nil. Thus in **gedəŋéd** it is half close central vowel, since the absence of V would imply the structure CVCVCC, which cannot be divided into CV and CVC syllables; in **gedəŋ** it is nil, since the absence of V (word final) implies the syllable structure CV/CVC. *gedəŋə and *gedəŋd are both, by this rule, impossible forms.

¹ cf. *Verb*, § 21, where the infix is part of the ending. But infix as interpreted for the noun corresponds rather to the additional phonematic elements of the themes (*Verb*, § 5) than to the infix of the verb.

² cf. § 2133 and § 54.

³ *Verb*, § 213.

2132. *ə* is a term in the V system of the stem-final syllable. Its alternative exponents are illustrated by :

gerwa	man	CVCVC-V
gerew	men	CVCVC-V (final V = <i>ə</i>)

The exponent of *ə* is again half close central vowel only where the absence of V would imply structures not divisible into CV and CVC syllables, subject to two restrictions. First, it is subject to the statement in § 2131, that, where the exponent of *ə* in the junction syllable is nil, this is to be interpreted structurally as the absence of V; thus in **gerew**, the exponent of *ə* in the stem-final syllable is half close central vowel since the absence of V in both the stem-final syllable and the junction syllable would imply the structure CVCC.¹ The second restriction is that the exponent of *ə* is the same for all forms of any one case paradigm; if the half close central vowel exponent is required for any one member, it is the exponent of *ə* in the stem-final syllable of all members of that paradigm. Thus, in contrast with the singular, case (a) form, **gerwa**, there is, in the paradigm of which **gerew** is the case (a) form, the following :

gerəwa	man (e)	CVCVC-V
---------------	---------	---------

2133. The element *ə* with its alternative exponents is also needed for the integration of comparable forms with and without an infix. The syllable for which *ə* is required is the final syllable of the stem, where stem *excludes* the infix.

e.g. qʷəməf	cheek	CVCVC-V
qʷəmʃəf	cheeks	CVCVC-VC-V
kəbər	proud (masc.)	CVCVC-V
kəbran	proud (plur.)	CVCVC-VC-V ²

22. *Prosodies*. Five features are treated in this section—pitch pattern, consonant alternation, reduplication, word-final and -non-final vowels, and denti-alveolar cluster. In fact, a prosodic system will be established only for the first of these, though all are ‘prosodic’ in the sense that they are, to some degree, characteristic of pieces larger than the single phonematic units.

221. *Pitch pattern*. Pitch pattern is to be handled in terms of a system of prominence patterns, each statable for all the forms of a case paradigm. A system of three terms is required.

(i) The stem-final syllable is prominent; or, where this syllable is unvowelled,³ the preceding syllable is prominent.

¹ The statements in these two sections would not, however, exclude the possibility of ***gerwə**, which is, in fact, not attested. This form may be excluded either by stating that the exponent of *ə* in word final position is nil only, or by stating that where *ə* is the term in the V system of the junction syllable, the exponent of *ə* in the stem-final syllable is always half close central vowel.

² It would be possible to set up *ə* as a term in the V system of every syllable and make the syllable statement in terms of CV syllables only. Cf. “‘Openness’ in Tigre: a problem in prosodic statement”, *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 561–77. But the position in Bilin is more complex than in Tigre.

³ cf. *Verb*, § 221.

(ii) The junction syllable is prominent.

(iii) The prominence varies according to the ending ; either the word-final syllable is prominent, or the word has no prominent syllable.

These are illustrated by the table below. The stem in all the examples is CVCVC-. The second column under (i) illustrates the forms in which the stem-final syllable is unvowelled.

	(i)		(ii)	(iii)
(a)	fiwána	fɪnfi	məqaqá	gəməna
(b)	fiwánes	fɪnfəs	məqaqəs	gəmənés
(c)	fiwánədi	fɪnfədi	məqaqədi	gəmənédi
(d)	fiwánəd	fɪnfəd	məqaqəd	gəmənéd
(e)	fiwáni	fɪnfi	məqaqi	gəməni
(f)	fiwánil	fɪnfəl	məqaql	gəmənil
(g)	fiwániləd	fɪnfələd	məqaqləd	gəməniləd
	('beggars ')	('flies ')	('shepherd ')	('lion ')

222. *Consonantal alternation.* The singular (masculine and feminine) and plural forms of a single scatter often differ in either the final or the penultimate consonant of the stem (stem in this case excluding infix), or in both consonants. For some examples it would be possible to treat the differences in terms of a two term prosodic system of voice and voicelessness.

e.g. *kebar* *kəfat* milking pail

But even where there is the voice-voicelessness contrast, other features are involved, and in many cases there is no difference in terms of voicing.

e.g. *ʔəxər* *ʔəkəl* father

For this reason the simplest statement is to list the types of alternating articulations. The details are given in the section on the morphology of number-cum-gender (§ 42), under each noun-class.

223. *Reduplication.* Reduplication is a feature of the plural forms of one class of nouns (§ 424).

e.g. *ʔəl* *ʔələl* eye
ʔəd *ʔəsəs* door
səg *səgək* mountain top

The simplest statement is to treat these plural forms as having an infix of the structure VC, the exponent of the V being a half close central vowel, and that of the C related to the preceding consonant, and to the stem-final consonant of the singular form, in three possible ways (as illustrated by the examples above):

either all three consonants are identical,

or the reduplicated consonants of the plural form are identical, but of a type that alternates with the consonant of the singular form,

or the first of the reduplicated consonants of the plural form is identical with the consonant of the singular form, and the second of a type that alternates with it.

224. *Final and non-final vowels*: In the junction syllable there is the alternation of half close central vowel with close front vowel and of half open central vowel with open front vowel; the central vowels appear in non-final position, and the front vowels finally.

e.g. wanni	owners (<i>e</i>)
wannel	owners (<i>f</i>)
gerwa	man (<i>a</i>)
gerwäs	man (<i>b</i>)

This feature can be handled by setting up a two-term prosodic system of centrality and frontness, centrality being characteristic of non-final position and frontness of final position. But it must be noted that in other forms close front vowels are to be found both finally and non-finally.

e.g. q^weri	boys (<i>e</i>)
q^weril	boys (<i>f</i>)

For these possibilities three terms in the V system are required. The simplest notation is *i/ə*, *a/ə*, and *i*.

225. *Denti-alveolar cluster*. It is a feature of consonant cluster in Bilin that [n], [l], and [r] are not followed by [r]. In those cases of the morphology where such a sequence would be expected from analogy with other forms the second consonant of the cluster is always [d].¹ Thus corresponding to the adjectival feminine form **gedənri** (§ 54) are the following:

kexindi	(kəxin	clever)
gerdi	(gər	calf)
ʕeldi	(ʕəl	eye)

If we use the symbol *r* for this element (an element of the stem or the ending), it must be added that it has two exponents—voiced alveolar trill and voiced dental stop.

23. *Phonematic units*.

231. For the elements of the stem, the systems required are:

C initial—a system of 25 terms—*b*, *f*, *m*, *t*, *d*, *ʈ*, *n*, *s*, *ʃ*, *c*, *j*, *k*, *g*, *q*, *k^w*, *g^w*, *q^w*, *r*, *l*, *w*, *y*, *ʔ*, *h*, *ʕ*, *h^h*.²

C medial—a system of 29 terms—the 25 stated above plus *x*, *ɲ*, *x^w*, and *ɲ^w*.

V a system of seven terms—*i*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, *ə*, *u*, *o* (*ə* has alternative exponents, half close central vowel or *nil*, in the stem-final syllable only).

232. The elements of the ending are:

C—*d*, *s*, *t*, *l*, *r* (*r* has alternative exponents, [*r*] and [*d*]).

V junction syllable—*a/ə*, *i/ə*, *i*, *e*, *u*, *o* (cf. § 224);

other syllables non-final—*ə* only

final —*i* only

¹ cf. *Verb*, § 41.

² *Verb*, § 231, is defective in not distinguishing initial and medial systems, which are identical with those stated here for the noun.

233. The elements of the infix are partly identical with those of the stem and ending.

For reduplicated forms the C system is that of the stem medial C; the only V element is ə.

For other noun classes the elements are, C—t, V—ə. For one class of adjectives (§ 52) the elements are, C—n, V—a; for another class (§ 54) the C elements are xʷ, r (two exponents), and w, and the V elements those of the junction syllable.

3. *Morphology of case.* Within each scatter a different case paradigm is to be stated for each set of forms differentiated in terms of number-cum-gender. The total number of formally different paradigms that were noted is 10; these cannot be precisely classified in terms of number-cum-gender, but fall into two main morphological types; these are stated in § 31 and § 32. Wherever possible examples of prominence pattern (iii) will be given, since the prominence of forms of this pattern, and this pattern alone, are statable with reference to their endings.

31. Four of the paradigms are exemplified by the following:

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
(a)	gedəŋ	gerwa	gerəw	wanni
(b)	gedəŋsɪ	gerwɛs	gerəwsɪ	wannés
(c)	gedəŋdɪ	gerwɛdɪ	gerəwdɪ	wannədɪ
(d)	gedəŋéd	gerwɛd	gerəwéd	wannéd
(e)	gedəŋ	gerwi	gerəwa	wanni
(f)	gedəŋlɪ	gerwil	gerəwel	wannəl
(g)	gedəŋléd	gerwiléd	gerəweléd	wannéléd
	(‘ dog ’)	(‘ man ’)	(‘ men ’)	(‘ owners ’)

These four paradigms may be characterized by the V term of the junction syllables. For *I* the term is ə with its alternative exponents; for *II* and *III* two terms must be stated, one for cases (a) to (d), the other for (e) to (g):

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
(a)–(d)	ə	a/ɛ	ə	i/ə
(f)–(g)	ə	i	a/ɛ	i/ə

For forms of prominence pattern (iii), where the term is ə (paradigm *I* and (a) to (d) of *III*) the word-final syllable is prominent, except in the case forms (a) and (e), where there is no prominent syllable. In the other paradigms the word-final syllables of case forms (b), (c), and (g) alone are prominent; in the other forms there is no prominent syllable. A further feature that differentiates the forms with ə from the others is the word-final close front vowel of forms (b) and (f).¹

¹ This final vowel may be regarded as a structural feature similar to, and in this case, an alternative of, the half close central vowel exponent of ə. In fact, for the case (f) form of paradigm *I* a variant is gedəŋɪl. It is interesting that in the Semitic languages Tigre and Tigrinya, with which Bəln has much ‘phonological affinity’, the syllabic feature is of the one type in Tigre, and of the other in Tigrinya, e.g. Tigre *fetel*, Tigrinya *fetli*, ‘thread’.

A further paradigm is restricted to a lexically defined class of nouns—those indicating family relationships.¹ This paradigm may be treated as a variant of *I*; it differs only in the (*e*) form which has an ending -əd.

e.g. (<i>a</i>)	dan	brother
(<i>e</i>)	danəd	

Of these paradigms *I* and *II* are always masculine, *III* is always plural, and *IV* is either masculine or plural.

32. Three more paradigms are exemplified by :

	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>
(<i>a</i>)	ʔəddám	gəna	təni
(<i>b</i>)	ʔəddám̥ti	gənét	tənít
(<i>c</i>)	ʔəddám̥di	gənədí	tənídí
(<i>d</i>)	ʔəddám̥si	gənəsí	tənísí
(<i>e</i>)	ʔəddámér ²	gənér	tənír
(<i>f</i>)	ʔəddám̥təl	gənətəl	tənítəl
(<i>g</i>)	ʔəddám̥tələd	gənətələd	tənítələd
	(‘ person ’)	(‘ mother ’)	(‘ grandmother ’)

It is clear that these paradigms too may be characterized by the *V* term of the junction syllable; this term remains the same throughout the paradigm :

<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>
ə	a/ɐ	i

Morphologically these paradigms belong to a class that is different from that of *I* to *IV*. Three further paradigms differing from *V* to *VII* only in the *V* term of the junction syllable may be added; a statement of the full paradigm is unnecessary—the case (*a*) form is sufficient :

	<i>term</i>	e.g.	
<i>VIII</i>	e	degge	village
<i>IX</i>	u	ʔərəmú	weeds
<i>X</i>	o	həm̥metó	tripe

For forms of prominence pattern (iii) (noted only for paradigms *VI*, *VII*, and *VIII*), the word-final syllable is prominent except for case form (*a*), in which there is no prominent syllable, and case form (*g*), in which the penultimate syllable is prominent. A feature that differentiates *V* from the others is the final close front vowel of the case (*b*) form.³

Of these paradigms *VI* and *VII* are frequent with feminine nouns. The remainder and rarely *VII* are either masculine or plural, but are all either loan words (e.g. **degge**), proper names (e.g. **sələmún** ‘Solomon’) or words which have no corresponding masculine or plural forms (e.g. **ʔəddám**, **ʔərəmú**, **həm̥metó**, and the forms of § 429).

¹ And the adjectives of §§ 53 and 54.

² Prominence as stated even for prominence pattern (i) forms.

³ And also the case (*e*) form where the stem-final C is r, l, or n (cf. § 225) e.g. **sələmúndi** (**sələmún** ‘Solomon’).

4. *Morphology of number-cum-gender.* The patterns of relationship between the masculine and feminine forms and those between these and the plural forms are largely unconnected. It is simplest, therefore, to deal first with the masculine-feminine morphological relations (§ 41), and secondly with the singular-plural morphology (§ 42). This second section will, in fact, deal almost entirely with the masculine-plural relations both because feminine forms are comparatively rare, and because the feminine-plural relations can almost entirely be deduced from the remainder of the analysis; mention of feminine forms will be made, both in the formal statement, and in the examples, only where they exhibit features not illustrated by the attested masculine forms.

In both sections the statement is in terms of the relative stem-structures, case paradigms, prominence patterns, and consonant alternation (for the case paradigms the V term of the junction syllable, or for paradigms *II* and *III*, the two V terms, will be indicated).

41. *Masculine-feminine.* The stem structure of all pairs of related forms is identical. In terms of case paradigms there are two possibilities:

	masc. <i>I</i> (ə)		fem. <i>VII</i> (i)	
	masc. <i>II</i> (a/ə: i)		fem. <i>VI</i> (a/ə)	
e.g.	gedəŋ	gedəŋi	dog/bitch	
	jemá	jemá	wife's brother/sister	

In terms of prominence pattern, two possibilities were noted for the former type, and three possibilities for the latter:

iii	ii	qaf	qafi	rind/piece of rind
iii	iii	ger	geri	calf (male/female)
i	i	fiwána	fiwána	beggar (man/woman)
ii	ii	səkmá	səkmá	wheat/grain of wheat
iii	iii	dəxna	dəxna	old man/woman

The consonantal features of the masculine-feminine pairs are identical, with two exceptions, in which there is consonant alternation, and the consonants of the feminine are identical with those of the plural¹:

d/f	dan	ʃani	brother/sister
x ^w /q ^w	ʔəx ^w ra	ʔeq ^w ra	son/daughter

42. *Singular-plural.* Seven classes may be established, the classification being based upon the relative stem structures, and, for those forms in which these structures are identical, upon the case paradigms as well (Classes A, B, and C). The features of prominence pattern and consonant alternation are various, even for a single class, and are treated in sub-sections under each class heading.

421. *Class A.* Stem structure identical; case paradigms, masculine—*I* (ə), plural—*III* (ə: a/ə).

¹ §§ 421 and 422; plural forms ʃán and ʔeq^wér.

e.g.	faber	fafet	leather rope
	dan	fán	brother
<i>Prominence</i>			
i i	femár	femát	tail
iii iii	ʔeban	ʔefan	bladder
iii i	neh̄ar	neh̄át	chest
<i>Consonant alternation</i> ¹			
<i>Penultimate</i>			
b/f	kebar	kəfat	milking pail
d/s	gʷədəgʷ	gʷəsəkʷ	belly
d/ʃ	kiden̄	kifón̄	field
x/k	lɛxən	ləkén	ulcer
<i>Final</i>			
b/f	keləb	keléf	fence
d/s	ʃawud	ʃawés	fool
r/t	maʃer	mafet	sickle
r/l	ʔexer	ʔəkəl	father
gʷ/kʷ	gʷədəgʷ	gʷəsəkʷ	belly

422. *Class B.* Stem structure identical²; case paradigms, masculine—*II* (a/ɐ: i), plural—*III* (ə: a/ɐ).

e.g.	ʃəʔbá	ʃəʔəb	cotton
	ruda	rud	rice
<i>Prominence</i>			
i i	bəkʷána	bəkʷán	cloud
ii i	fədəná	fədén	seed
ii iii	kəbá	kəb	bead
iii iii	gʷədəna	gʷədən	plough
iii i	dəxna	dəkén	old man
<i>Consonant alternation</i>			
<i>Penultimate</i>			
b/f	gebéna	gəfén	river bank
j/ʃ	gənjiná	gənʃín	slave
g/k	dərguma	dərkum	sycamore
x/k	bəxlá	bəkól	mule
(fem.) xʷ/kʷ	ʔexʷina	ʔəkʷín	woman
x/q	laxla	laqəl	bee
xʷ/qʷ	ʔexʷra	ʔəqʷér	brother
w/kʷ	tawina	takʷín	clothes

¹ A feature of *all* nouns of this class (and this class only).

² The phonological differences between the examples quoted are, of course, accounted for in terms of different case paradigms and the alternative exponents of ə.

Final

b/f	wərebá	wəréf	river
d/t	gəluda	gəlut	big knife
d/s	mada	mas	friend
r/t	jəggira	jəggit	baboon
r/l	bira	bil	ox
l/t	ʔələla	ʔələt	heifer
x/k	ləxa	lək	fire
x/q	gaxá	gáq	cave
x ^w /q ^w	tix ^w á	tíq ^w	light

423. *Class C.* Stem structure identical; case paradigms, masculine—*II* (a/ə: i), plural—*IV* (i/ə).

e.g.	qanfa	qanfi	straw
	ləxənjá	ləxénji	weevil

Prominence

ii	i	jinjá	jinji	fly
ii	iii	wəndá	wəndi	relation
iii	iii	jəʔənta	jəʔənti ¹	drunkard

*Consonant alternation**Final only*

b/f	bambá	bámfi	fig tree
g ^w /k ^w	ʔəng ^w á	ʔənk ^w i	palm leaf

424. *Class D.* Plural stem reduplicated; case paradigms, masculine—*I* (ə), *II* (a/ə: i), or *IV* (i/ə), plural—*III* (ə: a/ə).

e.g.	kəs	kəsəs	shoulder
	kərmá	kərmóm	neck
	ʔərk ^w i	ʔərk ^w ək ^w	tooth

Prominence

i	i ²	ʃəl	ʃələl	boundary
ii	i	kanfi	kanfóf	wing
iii	iii	gəʃ	gəʃəʃ	face
iii	i	ʔəb	ʔətəf	mouth

*Consonant alternation**Medial* (i.e. in the singular form)

x/q	bəxər	bəqələl	eldest son
-----	-------	---------	------------

Final: both reduplicated consonants

b/f	gib	gífóf	shield
d/s	kad	kasəs	stomach
j/ʃ	manji	manjóʃ	grindstone

¹ A very common type of verbal 'formation'—jəʔna 'to be drunk'.

² The prominence pattern of the two forms is identical since the infix is defined as part of the stem, cf. § 21.

r/l	tər	tələl	breast bone
g/k	dəngá	dənkók	vein
x/k	gix	gikək	horn
x/q	gaxá	gaqéq ¹	cave

Final: last reduplicated consonant only

d/t	sarda	sardet	knife
g/k	ʔəg	ʔəgek	maternal uncle
(fem.) g ^w /k ^w	ʔəng ^w i	ʔəng ^w ək ^w	teat ²

425. *Class E.* Plural stem structure with infix -t-; case paradigms, masculine—I (ə) or II (a/ʔ : i), plural—IV (i/ə).

e.g.	ləpən	ləpənti	house
	səbərə	səberti	python

Prominence

i	i	ʔərərən	ʔərərənti	husband's brother
ii	i	mərawá	məráwti	snake
iii	iii	kənjəla	kənjəlti	oven

Consonant alternation: final only

x ^w /q ^w	nəx ^w ax ^w	.nəx ^w aq ^w ti	husband's father
--------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	------------------

426. *Class F.* Plural stem structure with infix -tət-; case paradigms, singular—I (ə) or II (a/ʔ : i), plural—III (ə : a/ʔ).

e.g.	nan	nantət	hand
	dula	dultət	club

Prominence patterns are of one type only for both masculine and plural forms—(iii) (no prominent syllable). There are no features of consonant alternation.

427. *Class G.* Plurals of the pattern of Tigre. These are of a great variety, but may be divided into three main groups, those following the 'broken plural' pattern, those following the 'suffixed plural' pattern, and those following the pattern of the singulative-collective morphological relation. Most of the case (a) forms are identical with the Tigre form; the possibilities of case paradigm are, singular—I (ə), II (a/ʔ : i), or (one example) VIII (e), plural—III (ə : a/ʔ) or IV (i/ə).

e.g. *Broken plurals*

dəhəb	ʔədhub	gold
həbət	həbuʔ	small flask
gor	ʔəgwar	neighbour
kis	ʔəkya	bag
kətab	ʔəkətbət	book
nəwid	nəwayəd	lamb

¹ Or gáq (Class B).

² As the translations show, most of the words of this class refer to parts of the body.

	hojeb	hewujjeb	eyebrow
	nebra	neberrit	food
	degge	degveggit	village
	mendeq	menadeq	wall
	k ^w erbaj	k ^w erebbej	whip
	hebsat	hebessi	corn sack
<i>Suffixed plurals</i>			
	fas	fasat	axe
	resa	resatat	corpse
<i>Singulative-collective</i>			
	demqet	demaq	skull
	wareqet	weraq	paper
	kedmet	kedem	work

A number of forms follow the Tigre patterns, but have a singular form that is typical of Bilin.

e.g. (the Tigre form is in the first column)

(se?li)	se?lirá	se?litat	picture
(?agdo)	?agdorá	?agdotat	stone hut
(feres)	ferdá	?efrus	horse
(telem)	telmá	?etlám	furrow

Prominence. Most of the forms are of prominence pattern (iii) (no prominent syllable). There are exceptions, notably, but not exclusively, the forms of the type mentioned immediately above.

i	i	cegém	?eogúm	danger
i	iii	kór	?ekwar	saddle
ii	i	telmá	?etlám	furrow
ii	iii	ferdá	?efrus	horse
iii	i	sér	?eshúl	root

Consonant alternation. This is not a feature of Tigre, but is found in some words of this class.

Final

b/f	herbet	heruf	curtain of bark
d/s	ferdá	?efrus	horse
r/t	kenfur	keneffut	lip
g/k	hegget	hegek ¹	tobacco box
x/k	?enfej	?enfejjek	spear

Penultimate

b/f	qember	qenaffet	milking pail
-----	--------	----------	--------------

A further example which falls into both sections is :

r/l	sér	?eshúl	seed
-----	-----	--------	------

¹ But this could be treated in terms of a prosodic feature of cluster ('assimilation'), in the singular (Tigre singulative) form.

428. There are several masculine-plural pairs whose morphological relation is unique.

e.g.	səmmir	səlum	blanket
	nəgus	nəggestat	king
	ʔərəmína	ʔərəm	heathen
	ʕayəg	ʕaygut	lake

429. There are many forms with no corresponding masculine or plural form. Their case paradigms are various, and include *V* (ə), *VII* (i), *VIII* (e), *IX* (u), and *X* (o).

e.g. masculine	qir	(I)	night
	beta	(II)	dust
	gʷangʷi	(IV)	thunder
	kiseri	(VII)	luck
	ʔəddám	(V)	person
	hece	(VIII)	engagement
	ʔəramú	(IX)	weeds
	hebó	(X)	funeral dance
plural	səlex	(III)	beer
	jəhari	(VII)	incisors
	ʕaqʷ	(V)	water
	ʔəmú	(IX)	gall
	həmmətó	(X)	tripe

5. *Morphology of the adjective.* The case paradigms of the adjective do not differ from those of the noun, though only *I* and *II* for masculine forms, *III* for plural forms, and *VI* and *VII* for feminine forms are required. The morphology of number-cum-gender is stated in four sections.

51. Many adjectives follow the pattern of the noun.

e.g. (with noun class stated in left-hand column)

(A)	kəxin	kəxini	kəkin	clever
(B)	meqʷla	meqʷla	meqʷəl	bad
(D)	bəher	bəheri	bəhələl	big
(G)	bəkit	bəkiti	bəkayət	kind

Many scatters, e.g. those of ʕawəd and dəxna (§§ 421 and 422) belong syntactically to the classes both of noun and of adjective.

52. A common type of adjective has a plural stem structure with an infix -an-, the case paradigms being, masculine—*I* (ə), feminine—*VII* (i), plural—*III* (ə: a/ʊ).

e.g.	kaber	kabri	kabran	proud
	ʔəmun	ʔəmuni	ʔəmunan	faithful
	cəkkan	cəkkaní	cəkkanan	cruel

The prominence is always, masculine and plural—(iii), feminine—(ii).

53. A third class of forms that are to be regarded as adjectival are of the type of the verbal forms *gebux^w*, *gebruri*, *gebuw¹*.

e.g. *sexantéx^w* *sexantréri* *sexantéw* merciful

The case paradigms of these are, masculine and plural—*I* (ə), but of the variant type stated for *dan* (case (e) form with ending -əd), feminine *VII* (i).

These forms differ from those already considered in two respects, first in that there is a complete person-with-number-cum-gender paradigm, not merely the three member paradigm of masculine, feminine, and plural (with a case paradigm for each member), and secondly in that there are other forms used when used *before* a noun, though these have no case paradigm.

e.g. *sexantá* *sexantrá* *sexantá* merciful

54. A final class of adjectival forms is provided by forms which, though closely related to the scatter of the noun, are to be treated as adjectival, both because of their syntactical function, and because they may be arranged in complete masculine, feminine, and plural case paradigms. The case (e) forms of the noun are used only when preceding the noun on which they depend syntactically; these adjectival forms are used with the same ('genitival') function as the case (e) forms, but following the noun, and agreeing with it in number-cum-gender and case. Related to the nouns *gedəŋ* 'dog', *gerwa* 'man', *gerəw* 'men', and *gəna* 'mother' are the following (each only the case (a) form of a complete paradigm):

<i>gedəŋéx^w</i>	<i>gedəŋrí</i>	<i>gedəŋéw</i>
<i>gerwix^w</i>	<i>gerwiri</i>	<i>gerwiw</i>
<i>gerəwux^w</i>	<i>gerəwəri</i>	<i>gerəwəw</i>
<i>gənéréx^w</i>	<i>gənérəri</i>	<i>gənéréw</i>

The case paradigms of these forms may be stated quite independently of the noun; they are identical with those of § 53, masculine and plural—*I* (ə) (but of the type stated for *dan*), feminine—*VI* (i).

The stem of these independently stated paradigms may, however, be closely related to the case (e) form of the noun; it is identical with the complete case (e) form *plus* the additional elements -x^w-, -r-, and -w- (masculine, feminine, and plural), subject to the feature of final and non-final vowel alternation (§ 224) and to the postulation of ə as the final element of the case (e) forms whose final articulation is consonantal. The case (e) forms of the nouns quoted are *gedəŋ*, *gerwi*, *gerəwa*, and *gənér*.

For the statement of prominence some of these forms are most simply treated within the morphology of the noun; that is to say, that for the purpose of this statement the junction syllable (by reference to which prominence is stated) is to be defined in terms of the stem of the noun, thus excluding the infixes of the adjectival forms.² Within this framework, where the noun is of

¹ cf. *Verb*, Appendix and n. 2 on p. 391 below.

² cf. § 2133, and *Verb*, § 5.

pattern (i) or (ii), it may be stated that the adjectival forms are of the same pattern.

e.g. (i)	<i>noun</i>	<i>fiwána</i>	'beggar'	(CVCVC-V)
	<i>fiwánix^w</i>	<i>fiwániri</i>	<i>fiwániw</i>	(CVCVC-VC-V)
(ii)	<i>noun</i>	<i>beliná</i>	'Bilin'	(CVCVC-V)
	<i>belínix^w</i>	<i>belíniri</i>	<i>belíniw</i>	(CVCVC-VC-V)

If the junction syllable is defined in the more usual way (such that stem includes the infix), then for nouns of pattern (ii), the adjectival forms are of pattern (i), and for nouns of pattern (i) the adjectival forms are of a new pattern—the syllable preceding the stem final syllable is prominent.¹

For nouns of prominence pattern (iii) the noun-adjective relationship is more complex. For nouns of case paradigms *II*, *III*, and *IV* the adjectival forms are also of pattern (iii) (*gerwa*—*gerwix^w* etc., *gerəw*—*gerəwux^w* etc.). For nouns of the other paradigms the adjectival forms are, masculine and plural—(i), feminine—(ii) (*gedəŋ*—*gedəŋéx^w* etc., *gəna*—*gənaŋéx^w* etc.).

While many of the forms of this type may be translated by 'of . . .' or the possessive '-s' in English, there are many others that would be translated by an adjective.

e.g. <i>noun</i>	<i>lebbəka</i>		<i>leffək</i>	'heart'
<i>adj.</i>	<i>lebbəkix^w</i>	<i>lebbəkiri</i>	<i>lebbəkiw</i>	'wise'
			(OR <i>leffəkəw</i>)	

There are some adjectives of this kind, to which there is no corresponding noun.

e.g.	<i>gərix^w</i>	<i>gəriŋi</i>	<i>gəriw</i>	much
	(preceding noun <i>gəri</i>)			

These genitival-adjectival forms are to be stated for many adjectives as well as for the nouns; they would be used in the sequence noun-genitive-adjective; there is thus double concord.² But such forms are rare; more commonly the genitive and its adjective precede the noun, and are not in concord with it.

¹ One plural noun form requiring this prominence pattern was recorded—*sux^wənən* (masc. *sux^wəna* 'hoof', class D).

² This accounts for the forms stated in *Verb*, Appendix, to which there appear to be no corresponding forms in the statement of case here (cf. § 11). *gəbux^wdəx^w*, *gəbux^wdəri*, and *gəbux^wdəw* are the case (a) forms of the masculine, feminine, and plural paradigms respectively of the genitival-adjectival forms; *gəbux^wdəx^wəd* and *gəbux^wdəwəd* are morphologically the case (d) forms of the masculine and plural paradigms.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN MUSLIM SPAIN

Israel Friedlaender pointed out long ago that the work of Ibn Ḥazm, *al-fiṣal fi 'l-nihal*, was not a book but a collection of pamphlets; not all these collections were identical. Asin Palacios published a Spanish translation of the printed text with many careful notes and Di Matteo discussed the criticisms of Jews and Christians by Ibn Ḥazm but neither knew the British Museum manuscript Or. 842 which differs from the print by omissions and additions. Some paragraphs on Muslim sects, absent from the print, were published in *BSOAS*, xii, 1, 1947, 1 ff. (This passage is in Or. 843 which is by the same hand as Or. 842.) Another addition (f. 2a) states that the Samaritan Pentateuch gives the years from the fall of Adam to the flood as 1307, the Hebrew which is accepted by both the Rabbanites and Karaïtes as 1650 (presumably the final 6 was lost by a scribal error), and the Greek as 2242. It adds that another sect of the Jews made the period 667 years and 8 months less 8 days. (A thousand has probably dropped out.)

Ibn Ḥazm probably knew Saadya's version of the Pentateuch though he may have quoted from memory. Both render Asshur by 'Mosul' and Gerar is *al-khalūs* in Saadya and *al-khlš* in Ibn Ḥazm. Gen. ii, 10 f. (p. 118) is close to Saadya; Gen. iv, 20 (p. 121) is a paraphrase in the same words as those used by Saadya; Gen. xviii, 1-8 (p. 130) shows a general likeness but so many details differ that the passage is not decisive.¹

Saadya

Ibn Ḥazm

وتجلى له الله في مرج ممرا وهو جالس في باب الخباء عند حما النهار ورفع عينيه فنظر فاذا بثلاثة نفر وقوف امامه فلما رآهم حاضر تلقاهم من باب الخباء وسجد الى الارض وقال برغبة يا ولي الله ان وجدت. حظاً عندك فلا تجز عن عبدك يقدم لكم قليل من ماء واغسلوا ارجلكم واستندوا تحت الشجرة واقدم كسرة من خبز واسندوا قلوبكم بعد ذلك تمضون فانكم على ذلك عبرتم عن عبدكم قالوا كذلك اصنع كما قلت فسرع ابراهيم الى الخباء الى سارة	وتجلى الله لابراهيم عند بلوطات ممرا وهو جالس عند باب الخباء عند حمى النهار ورفع عينيه ونظر فاذا بثلاثة نفر وقوف امامه وركض لاستقبالهم عند باب الخباء وسجد على الارض وقال ياسيدى ان كنت قد وجدت نعمة في عينك فلا تتجاوز عبدك ليؤخذ قليل من ماء واغسلوا ارجلكم واستندوا تحت الشجرة واقدم لكم كسرة من الخبز تشتد بها قلوبكم وبعد ذلك تمضون فمن اجل ذلك مررت على عبدكم فقالوا اصنع كما قلت فاسرع ابراهيم الى
---	---

¹ Vol. i, Cairo, A.H. 1317. This seems to follow the Leiden MS dated A.H. 722. The London MS was written in A.H. 734.

Saadya

Ibn Ḥazm

الخباء الى سارة وقال لها اصنعي ثلاث فقال اسرعى بثلاث اصوع من دقيق
 صيعان من دقيق سميد اعجنيه خبز ملة السميد اعجنيه واصنعيه مليلا والى البقر
 وحضر ابراهيم الى البقر واخذ عجلا رخصا حاضر ابراهيم فاخذ عجلا من البقر رخصا
 سميئا ودفعه للغلام واستعجل باصلاحه وطيبا ودفعه الى الغلام واستعجله باصلاحه
 واخذ سميئا ولينا والعجل الذى صنعوه ثم اخذ سميئا ولينا والعجل الذى اصلحه
 وقدم بين ايديهم وهو واقف عليهم تحت وجعل بين ايديهم وهو واقف امامهم تحت
 الشجرة وقال كلوا الشجر فأكلوا

There are differences. Esau appears in the MS as عيساو, in the print as العيسو, in Saadya as عسو, and in the Samaritan as العيسو.

In Gen. vi, 1 ff. Ibn Ḥazm translates 'sons of God' while Saadya has 'sons of the nobles and daughters of commoners'; Exod. xxxii, 25, Ibn Ḥazm has 'they bared their buttocks to dance' and Saadya 'they were uncovered'; Exod. ix, 9, Ibn Ḥazm uses a noun 'boils' while Saadya has a verb from the same root.

Ibn Ḥazm gives complete versions of Gen. xxxviii and Deut. xxxii, 1-43 but these have no connexion either with Saadya or with the Samaritan Arabic version. Gen. v. 3 reads 'she ceased from child-bearing' and Deut. v. 11 'on his shoulders' following the Vulgate against the Hebrew. It is odd that in a polemic directed mainly against Jews Ibn Ḥazm should have used a translation from the Latin. Deut. xxxii, 25, 41, have 'spear' where Saadya has 'sword', but the paraphrases of Ps. lxxviii, 65 (it is numbered lxxvii as in the Vulgate) and of Prov. viii, 22, have nothing in common with Saadya or the Vulgate. Some revision of Ibn Ḥazm's work has taken place; the MS has the 'field of Mamre' where the print has the 'evergreen oaks of Mamre' and in Gen. xxxviii the MS has *arabūn*, a loan word meaning 'pledge', and the print has the genuine Arabic *rahm*. The MS always has *Ghād* and the print *Jād* for Gad. *Al-sayyid* for God is peculiar. Twice Ibn Ḥazm has *harīsh* which may mean 'rhinoceros' though he explains it in one place as 'unicorn'; Saadya in one place transliterates *r'm* and in the other has *karkadān* 'rhinoceros'. The Vulgate has 'rhinoceros'.

The purpose of quoting Gen. xxxviii was to show the disgusting habits of those times and to show that the Pentateuch was 'all lies'. Judah married after Joseph, aged 17, had been sold into Egypt, yet when he was 39 and Jacob went to Egypt, Judah had had three sons, one much younger than the other two, and Judah's son by Tamar, who had tired of waiting for Shelah, had grown up sons. Which is absurd. Ibn Ḥazm lived up to his theories as a *Zāhiri*, a literalist. One example: if Methuselah lived to be 969 years old, he must have died in the ark; but he was not in the ark so he must have been drowned

in the flood and therefore was only 968 and a fraction. More lies! Metaphorical expressions like 'the strength of the wild ox is His' are taken literally and therefore are *tashbīh*. Ibn Ḥazm knew of orthodox Jews, Karaïtes, 'Isāwīs who believe that Muḥammad is a prophet for Muslims, the Samaritans who cannot leave Palestine, and the Saducees (!) who are a sect in Yemen. He is familiar with Jewish legends; an eagle carried the daughter of Dina (Gen. xxxiv) to Egypt where she became the wife of Joseph; lurid details are given to show the monstrous strength of Phinehas (Num. xxv); Jeremiah hid the ark, the tabernacle and, say some, the sacred fire. Joseph's brothers laid a curse on anyone who told Jacob that Joseph was alive so neither an angel nor God could tell him.

Sometimes he goes beyond his Jewish sources. Pharoah's beard was 700 cubits long. Baal Zephon was a talisman which stopped Israel from entering Syria. Qetura was daughter of the king of Rabadh which was near 'Ammān. The cherubim over the ark were images of God and Moses. Ehud, the son of Kārafīl (MS) or Qārāqīl (print), ruled Israel for 80 or 55 years. Manasseh was put into a brazen bull to be burnt but was saved.

After the destruction of Jerusalem a man named Ismā'il heard God moaning like a dove, weeping and saying: 'Woe to him who ruined his house, shook his support, destroyed his palace and the place of his Shekinah. Woe to me that I have ruined my house; woe to me that I have scattered my sons and daughters. My people is overthrown (and will stay so) till I build my house and bring back to it my sons and daughters'. This filthy foul one, the son of foul ones, Ismā'il said: 'God took hold of my clothes and said to me: "My son Ismā'il did you hear what I said?" "No, Lord." He said to me: "Ismā'il, my son, bless Me"'. The stinking carcass said: 'I blessed Him and went away'.

On the eve of the day of Atonement, Metatron stands tearing his hair and weeping slowly and saying: 'Woe is me, I have ruined my house and made my sons and daughters orphans; my people is overthrown, I shall not raise it up till I build my house and bring back to it my sons and daughters' (p. 222 f.).

The Jewish original is: Rabbi Jose went into a ruin in Jerusalem to pray and afterwards Elijah asked him what he had heard. He had heard a divine voice (*bath qōl*) cooing like a dove, crying: 'Woe to the sons for whose sins I ruined my house, burnt my temple and banished them among the nations'. . . . God shakes his head, saying: 'Blessed be the king whom they praise in his house. What of the father who banished his sons? Woe to the sons who are exiled from their father's table' (*Berakot* 3, 1).

The lesser Lord to whom they dedicate the days October 1-10 is Sandalphon, the servant of the crown on God's head. (Cf. *Lam. Rabba*, Introduction, 24.) Sandalphon is the brother of Metatron.

The subject of the Song of Songs is alchemy expounded in figures.

Ibn Ḥazm does make mistakes. He says that *Shiur Qomah* is part of the Talmud and the base of Jewish law. The print makes the king of Canaan

(Judges iv, 2) Mirāsh and a king of Jebus is called Dhū Sirāq. The description of God as an aged man is taken from Daniel, not from Isaiah. That Isaiah's father was killed is a mistake which arose in Christian circles because two different names coalesced in Greek into one, Amos. السدوث the husband of Deborah is clearly a scribal error for البيدوث Lapidoth.

A. S. TRITTON

UŞAS AND MATER MATUTA

‘Réfléchissons . . .’

While preparing a review of *Déeses latines et mythes védiques*, by Georges Dumézil (Collection Latomus, Vol. xxv, Bruxelles, 1956), I had occasion to express disagreement on some points from the book in the course of a talk broadcast by the Third Programme of the BBC. Rather surprisingly, Professor Dumézil has since published a detailed written reply to these few remarks.¹ The present note therefore replaces the intended review. While admiring the facility which has transcribed so precisely long passages of the spoken word—for the talk was not published, and these ephemeral observations were therefore not available in writing—I confess I feel uncomfortably jostled by this precipitate defence against an attack which, for all practical purposes, had not yet been launched.

I have indeed no heart for controversy for its own sake, and for the sake of peace I would gladly let things rest. I could rest content with the knowledge that the reader of the *Examen* would clearly realize how fundamentally insecure Professor Dumézil feels his own position to be, since he must hasten to defend it so vigorously against a criticism as trifling as mine must appear to be. But there are more important matters involved than might appear to the casual reader, and accordingly a brief reply to the debate seems to be desirable.

First, I owe to Professor Dumézil an apology and an explanation: an apology for attributing to him a view he no longer holds, and for drawing a corollary as to Indo-European class-structure which he describes as a ‘sottise’. As for the latter, I can only plead that the corollary was in effect drawn for me by an earlier speaker in the broadcast series, who appeared to consider that precisely this proposition was one of the most important contributions made by Professor Dumézil to Indo-European studies. The explanation is to the same effect. ‘Rien ni personne ne l’obligeait à utiliser ce cadre (i.e. the broadcast talk) pour cette attaque’ (*Examen*, p. 24). But again, since an earlier speaker had spoken of Professor Dumézil’s theories as if they were established doctrine, I did indeed feel obliged to indicate to the listener that these theories were not all and universally accepted by everyone. To say this

¹ ‘Religion indo-européenne: examen de quelques critiques récentes’, *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, CLII, 1, 1957, 8–24.

is in no way to disparage the value of the immense quantity of detailed information which Professor Dumézil has over the years compiled for us from the most diverse fields.

For the rest, I am reasonably unrepentant. But it would be tedious for the reader, and indeed presumptuous on my part, if I—*udbāhur iva vāmanaḥ*—were to attempt to deal controversially with the whole possible range of argument. On the nature of Mitra and Varuṇa in the Rigveda, Paul Thieme has recently rendered further comment from me superfluous.¹ I restrict myself therefore in this note to the question of Mater Matuta, which shows clearly enough the type of difficulty frequently raised, not by the facts, but by the 'hypothèses légères' erected as a superstructure to correlate and explain the facts.

A summary of the argument of this chapter of the book is repeated in the *Examen*, pp. 18–19: 'Nous savons qu'à la fête de la déesse Mater Matuta, l'Aurore romaine . . . , deux scènes singulières étaient figurées, jouées: 1° les matrones prenaient dans leurs bras, "honoraient" et recommandaient à la déesse non leurs propres enfants, mais ceux de leurs sœurs; 2° elles faisaient aussi entrer dans le sanctuaire une femme esclave qu'elles expulsaient ensuite violemment. Inintelligibles à Rome parce que nous ne savons plus rien de la mythologie qui les avait d'abord produits et soutenus, ces rites s'éclaircissent immédiatement par deux des traits de la mythologie de la déesse védique homologue, Uṣas, l'Aurore: 1° l'Aurore est, dans le *Rg Veda*, la déesse sœur par excellence (et ce n'est pas là un mot vague: j'ai donné les statistiques), et notamment la sœur de la Nuit; l'une des conceptions des rapports Soleil-Aurore est que le Soleil est soit, par une physiologie qui nous paraît monstrueuse mais qui ne gênait pas les Indiens, à la fois le fils des deux sœurs Nuit et Aurore (c'est le cas le plus fréquent), soit le fils de la seule Nuit; dans les deux cas, l'Aurore recueille, allaite, lèche "le veau commun" ou "le veau de l'autre"; 2° pour exprimer que l'action de l'Aurore, si nécessaire soit-elle, doit être brève et que, si elle se prolongeait, elle ne serait plus bénéfique, mais maléfique, les chantes védiques connaissaient un mythe, que Bergaigne a très bien compris, où Indra faisait fuir l'Aurore attardée et lui cassait son chariot. Ces deux mythes expliquent les deux rites romains et suggèrent que, au temps où elle avait une mythologie, Rome contait de sa déesse Aurore deux histoires très voisines, traduites en gestes efficaces à la fête de cette déesse.'

To this I had remarked that the Rigveda showed us also other relationships; that Dawn, for example, can appear as the mother of the sun. And, 'il n'est pas exact que' the immediate context always mentions her sister Night 'en déclarant formellement ou en suggérant que cette Nuit est aussi la mère du même enfant': for example, 3.61.4 *svār jānantī* contains no hint of

¹ Paul Thieme: 'Mitra and Aryaman', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xli, 1957, 6–9. There are, however, other points in this book on which for the present I reserve judgment.

co-maternity, and Night is not mentioned in the hymn. Professor Dumézil quotes a similar passage, 7.78.3 *ājījanant sūryam yajñam agnīm* (*Examen*, p. 22), and, reasonably enough, comments, ' *ājījanan* n'est pas à comprendre, avec sa valeur physiologique originelle, "elles ont enfanté", mais simplement "elles ont produit"'. . . . Ou bien voudra-t-on inventer, à partir de ce texte unique, un mythe de l'Aurore, "mère", aussi, du Sacrifice ? But this is precisely the point I wished to make. Whether dawn appears as mother of the sun, or as his wife or beloved, or as his daughter (2.23.2 *usrā iva sūryo jyōtiṣā mahó vīśveṣām ij janitā brāhmaṇām asi* 'Wie die grosse Sonne durch ihr Licht die Morgenröte, so erzeugst du alle Segensworte', Geldner), or as the sister of Night, or possibly the daughter of Night (3.55.12 *mātā ca yātra duhitā ca dhenū*), or the daughter of darkness (1.123.9 *śukrā kṛṣṇād ajanīṣṭa*), or the daughter of the sky (*divó duhitā*), or even the sister of the sun (since 10.36.1 gives us *divás putráya sūryāya*)—all these, as I said, are perfectly natural poetic relationships, figurative expressions. In Professor Dumézil's words, 'Ce n'est que la description poétique'. And who is to say, out of all this motley assemblage (a word, it would seem, which does not translate the French word 'assemblage'), that this and that reflect myths, while the others do not? Can it be that 'tel est notre bon plaisir'?

We are left then on the Vedic side with the myth (if indeed it is more than a theological riddle) of the two cows who are mothers-in-common of a single calf (if indeed *samāno vatsah* means anything more than merely the 'same calf'). There is no need to doubt that the Night, the Dawn, and the Sun are meant. But the myth of co-maternity would surely embarrass rather than help the explanation of the Roman rite, since in this case the Roman matrons might equally well have represented the solar deity at the rite by means of their own children. It is of course easy to postulate all sorts of alterations and rationalizations over the centuries. But it still seems to me that the R̥gveda can in no way 'explain' the Roman rite unless it can show clear evidence of a myth where the sun-god is indeed 'the child of Night, and also, not of Dawn'. Otherwise our selection of the evidence remains arbitrary.

I do not in any sense maintain that Professor Dumézil's construction is impossible. Things may perhaps have happened so. I merely contend that the foundation of evidence is too slender to bear the weight of proving that they did. The problem, however, I am told, is not to reconstruct the total Indo-European mythology of Dawn: 'Je suis parti des faits romains et je n'ai voulu expliquer qu'eux'. But is there then any explanation at all on these terms?

The second part of the Roman rite—the driving out of the slave woman—is explained by the hypothesis that Dawn may be maleficent if she lingers too long. In support is quoted the myth of Indra breaking the cart of Uṣas, who fled leaving the cart behind on the banks of the river Vipāś. The explanation of Dawn as maleficent was originally given by Bergaigne, who quoted also 5.79.9. 'Brille, fille du ciel, ne laisse pas traîner ton œuvre en longueur'

(*vy ūchā duhitar divo mā cirām tanuthā āpah*). But this passage could quite well mean 'do not delay your coming'. Sāyaṇa understands it as 'do not prolong *our* sacrificial rite'; and Renou comments on it (*Études védiques et Pāṇinéennes*, III, 31); 'sorte de dépréciation à U. de peur qu'elle ne tarde à revenir, qu'elle s'attarde, ce qui n'entraîne pas qu'elle soit ici traitée en ennemie'.

The myth of the breaking of the cart remains obscure. The four mentions of it in the Rīgveda offer no certain explanation. But no hint appears that Uṣas was lingering too long. If, as some have suggested, certain exploits of mortal heroes of the past have become incorporated in the mythology of Indra (and such a suggestion does not of course rationalize the god out of existence), it might be that here also some earthly battle has been translated into myth. The geographical location, on the river Vipās, is reasonably precise, and it is noteworthy that in this context Uṣas has a wagon (*anas*), while in heavenly contexts she has a chariot (*ratha*). (Dumézil has in fact seen this, since he silently emends Bergaigne's 'le char de l'aurore' into 'son chariot' in his own version.) It sounds in fact quite like an ambush of a nomadic wagon-train at the river-crossing. I do not offer this as a certain explanation. I merely say that it is a possible one, and that Bergaigne's theory is unproved, and, to me at least, improbable.

And as for the driving away of the slave-woman from the Roman rite: if we are to seek a parallel in the Rīgveda, we might interpret it as simply the Dawn driving away the darkness: 1.92.11 *āpa svāsāram sanutār yuyoti*; 1.92.5 *bād hate kṛṣṇām ābhvam*; 5.80.5 *āpa dvēso bādhamānā tānāmsi*; 6.65.2 *vī tā bād hante tāma ūrmyāyāḥ*. Once more, I do not say that this is in fact the explanation, but merely that it would be a possible one, if we are agreed that Mater Matuta and Uṣas can legitimately be compared.

Professor Dumézil reproaches me for lack of method. On this score we are indeed pot and kettle, since it is, fundamentally, his own type of method which I was criticizing. In details, as I have tried to show, all sorts of possibilities present themselves; and method consists in selecting from among them those which appear coherent with the whole philosophical background, implicit if not explicit, of the author. It is only natural that writers of different temperaments should disagree. In the wider issues of Indo-European religion, I find Professor Dumézil's books delightful to read, stimulating, and provocative; but much of the theoretical superstructure seems to me to depend too much on highly abstract conceptions and constructs which I cannot myself see in the data or arising from them. Until the theoretical foundations are adequately laid, I shall probably continue to be unconvinced. G. Redard, in an enthusiastic acceptance of Dumézil's theories, in *Kratylos*, 1956, 144, says, 'Sur le fond, toutefois, pas d'amendement possible: la tripartition indo-européenne est aujourd'hui un fait qu'il serait vain de nier'. On the contrary, the 'trois fonctions' are in no normal philosophical sense of the word a 'fact', but merely a conceptual framework of modern scholars. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with that: but this particular framework is extremely

elastic, and the more capable it is of stretching to accommodate the facts, the less useful it becomes in 'explaining' them.

I have, however, no wish to pick a quarrel with Professor Dumézil, nor to annoy him by yapping at his heels. He is at perfect liberty to enjoy his hypotheses; while I and others reserve the right to dissent.

*' Prince, jugez, pour tous nous accorder.
Quant est de moy, mais qu'a nul ne desplaise,
Petit enfant, j'ay oÿ recorder
Il n'est tresor que de vivre a son aise.'*

J. BROUGH

REVIEWS

SABATINO MOSCATI: *I predecessori d'Israele: studi sulle più antiche genti semitiche in Siria e Palestina*. (Università di Roma. Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale, Vol. iv.) 141 pp., 5 plates. Roma: Dott. Giovanni Bardi Editore, 1956. L. 3000.

In this small volume Professor Moscati throws into relief three questions, the answers to which are of immediate importance to students of the ancient history of the Middle East: what grounds are there for postulating a Semitic occupation of Syria in the third millennium, who were the Canaanites, and who were the Amorites? The problems have been studied by previous scholars, notably by Maisler in 1930. But the evidence of the archaeological discoveries of the last three decades—especially those of Ugarit, Mari, and Alalakh—enable Professor Moscati to set the problems in new perspective.

The material is examined with exemplary care and fairness. The author rejects—and rightly—those theories of a single Semitic racial type in Syria that were based on the study of Egyptian tomb-reliefs of the third millennium; these theories cannot survive critical analysis on grounds of anthropology and artistic stylization. The toponymy of Syria at the beginning of the second millennium suggests, on the other hand, that the population was already in part Semitic, but it gives no indication how or when these Semites arrived. Here, it should be added, Professor Moscati is at variance with Dussaud, who maintains in his *Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* that Canaanites were present in Syria already at the end of the fourth millennium. Dussaud has little to offer in support of his view beyond the testimony of Herodotus; and many will prefer the more cautious conclusions of Professor Moscati.

In his discussion of the Canaanites Professor Moscati accepts Speiser's suggestion that the name Canaan is to be connected with the adjective *kinahhu* 'reddish-purple' of the Nuzi texts. This, taken with the evidence of varied texts from Tell al-Amarna and Ugarit, of Egyptian reliefs and papyri, and of the Bible, leads him to identify Canaan and the Canaanites with the area and the people known in later times as Phoenicia and the Phoenicians. The equation is already accepted by Dussaud.

The name Amurru is used, in the first place, of the population of a geographical area lying,

according to Sumero-Akkadian records, to the west of Mesopotamia. It was this people who founded new dynasties in Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium. In the latter half of the same millennium the term Amurru was applied to a limited region of Syria and the state which had been established there. The population of this state are referred to in the Old Testament as an ethnic unit, one of the peoples that occupied the region of Syria before the Israelite invasion. It is an eloquent indication of the paucity of our knowledge of the early history of this area that Dussaud, like Dhorme, can identify Canaanites and Amorites as a single ethnic unit—without, however, defining the term exactly. Professor Moscati maintains, with greater precision, that neither the name Canaanite nor the name Amorite has in itself any linguistic or ethnic content; we must talk rather of north-west Semitic languages and north-west Semitic peoples at that early period, although they were in fact subdivided into smaller units. This is an attractive concept, which commends itself to the present reviewer.

In his treatment of the Biblical material on the Amorites the writer has treated his readers in somewhat cavalier fashion. He is, of course, right in refusing to cite this material as a primary source. Nevertheless, it would have been of advantage to the reader to be presented with at least the list of relevant Biblical passages, rather than merely the conclusions of Bohl and Maisler. In their present context Professor Moscati's passing allusions to the sources J and E are rendered meaningless.

This, however, is a minor criticism. Professor Moscati's work is a model of lucid presentation, whose succinct analyses will be of the greatest value. It is to be regretted that no map is attached.

J. B. SEGAL

Sifra or Torat kohanim according to Codex Assemani LXVI. [With a Hebrew introduction by Louis Finkelstein.] [v], 77, ii, [vii] pp., 469 facsimils. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 5717/1956. (Obtainable from Bloch Publishing Co., Inc., New York. \$7.)

Professor Finkelstein is preparing a critical edition of the Sifra—the 'halakhic midrash' on Leviticus—utilizing the six extant MSS, the earliest editions, some Geniza fragments, as well as quotations in other midrashic works.

This edition will be based on the MS reproduced in the volume under review.

A few of the facsimile pages are printed in half-tone but all the rest are reproduced by one of the modern processes, the parchment of the original not being shown and the lettering appearing direct on the white background. As the MS is, on the whole, well preserved, the reproduction is nearly always very clear, and illegible patches are rare.

Our codex has the distinction of being 'the most ancient manuscript of a Rabbinic text which has been preserved in such nearly complete form', . . . 'aside from fragments deriving from the Cairo Genizah'. Another striking fact is that it is provided throughout with vocalization, while normally only Biblical and liturgical MSS are vocalized. Moreover, this vocalization is supralinear. The editor points out an interesting feature revealed by the vocalization: 'The pronunciation indicated by the vowels sometimes varies markedly from that current in usual texts, and suggests a Mishnaic Hebrew grammar different from that usually supposed'.

In other words: the phonology in this codex differs appreciably from that with which we are familiar.¹ A systematic study of it should teach us much about the pronunciation of non-Biblical Hebrew at the time and place of the scribe. Incidentally, the same holds good for Hebrew liturgical MSS of all times and regions, and for the vocalized words that are often to be met with in unvocalized texts. All such material calls for assembly and systematic examination, since the history of the Hebrew language did not stop with the last Biblical book or the Mishna. Later changes are not just corruptions—a truism, which has still not yet penetrated everywhere.²

¹ Here are a few examples, in transliteration (not transcription): *a* stands for *qames*, *a* for *patah/segol*, a dot between letters for *shewa*.

man-hag, *maqbeh*, *maq-daš*, *maškab*, *mašwak*, *mašwat* (but *minhah*); *b-huwtmow*, 'wrlatow, *quw-ban*, *quw-b-norot našim*, *quw-šeyham*, *suw'am*; *n'am-ruw* (i.e. *ne' em-rá*), 'gybah, *na'-bowd*, *la'-bowr*, *n'-arah*, *ni'-lmah* (*ni'-mah* ?), *m'asah*, *b-ša'at*; *tih-ja'* (i.e. *tehejá*), *kšyphla'*, *h-mišim*, *lamahnah*; *kiš huw'*, *šah rey* (i.e. *šehäre*), *š-hay*, *š-han* (i.e. *šehen*), *šay-ha'* (i.e. *šeyy-hé*), *šat-hq'* (i.e. *šet-hé*), *m-nayim*; *šag-gatow*; *hiyd-yowt* (i.e. *hdyot*), *piyruwš*; 'kyl parat, *tarpowt* (name); *hawwalad*; *tašluwney kapeyi* (also *kapel*); *ydeyham*; *šaniytama'*; *hey'ak*; *nknas-t*, *m-galasat*.

² Practically no research has been undertaken in this field. Even when some medieval Hebrew is examined, it is done with an eye to arriving at conclusions concerning the old language. That, however, should be only half the task. (In a paper at the eighteenth Orientalist Congress, Leiden, 1931, the present writer sought to draw attention to this matter.)

The geographical provenance of our MS presents no problem¹: the system of vocalization is that of Babylonia. The situation is, however, different in regard to the question of time: a number of dates have been advanced, ranging over a span of five centuries: Cassuto-Freimann: seventh century; Porath: eighth-ninth century; Finkelstein: ninth-tenth century; Lutzki: tenth century; Tisserant: twelfth century. Apart from Lutzki (who, in an appendix to the introduction, presents a palaeographical discussion of the MS), none of these scholars have given the grounds on which their dating was based.

To the present writer the script appears to be clearly of an early period, say the eighth-ninth century.²

Professor Finkelstein deserves our thanks not only for having made this remarkable MS easily accessible but also for his introduction. Here he discusses with great learning the value of the vocalization and of the readings in this MS towards an improved understanding and interpretation of the Siphra: the text is free from erroneous emendations by copyists who have failed to understand the original, or have been misled by forms representing Galilean pronunciation. He gives many detailed examples to show 'how often readings from this manuscript clarify passages which have puzzled commentators for centuries . . . and how often the improved readings . . . help illumine passages in other Rabbinic works'.

S. A. BIRNBAUM

The Kaufmann Haggadah: facsimile edition of MS 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. (Publications of the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1.) [iv], 108, [i] pp. Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957. Sw. fr. 120.

ALEXANDER SCHEIBER: *The Kaufmann Haggadah.* 29 pp. Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957. [Issued with the above.]

The publication of a Hebrew MS in facsimile has, in the past, been by no means a frequent

¹ As to two other MSS mentioned in the introduction (pp. 1, 71): both Vatican Ebr. 31 and Karlsruhe Reuchl. 3 are written in an Italian type of writing, as discussed by the present reviewer in his *The Hebrew scripts* (see No. 303). Ebr. 31 has presumably not left Italy since 1073 when it was penned.

² cf., e.g., the Taylor-Schechter fragment 8 G 7 (1) (see no. 188 of *The Hebrew scripts*).

event. It is therefore gratifying to think that in recent years quite a few such works have made their appearance. The volume under review has now been added to their number, the editor being Professor Scheiber, who has given us some valuable studies based on the MSS in the library of the Hungarian Academy.

There is a small literature on illuminated MSS of the *haggada*—the little book containing the liturgy recited on the first two Passover evenings at the family table—and, exactly 60 years ago, the Budapest codex was first discussed in some detail and a few of its pages reproduced.¹ It had once been the property of that great scholar, David Kaufmann. After he died (1899) it was presented by his family—on the advice of Goldziher—to the Hungarian Academy (1905), together with all his other MSS (about 600) and printed books.

The MS is of *de luxe* quality—out of 112 pages, 92 are illuminated, 14 of these with full-page illustration; 78 pages contain text as well as illumination, and in half of these the illumination dominates the page, leaving only a small amount of space for text. The 20 pages containing only text have no more than nine lines per page, the letters being $\frac{1}{8}$ inch high (excluding ascenders and descenders).

The full-page illustrations provide two to four pictures per page. They deal with scenes from the Exodus story, from the finding of Moses to the Red Sea passage. Most of the paintings are in a reasonably good state of preservation. Among the colours, strong reds and deep or purplish blues preponderate. The illuminations on the other pages are based on the initial word of a paragraph; this word is drawn in very large golden letters on a blue or red background, the whole being framed by a green or red line. Sometimes there is a more elaborate form of ornamentation. The field is larger, sometimes divided into a number of fields; a variety of patterns may be woven into its texture, or an overlay of rich white arabesques may be added to heighten the glow of the deep colour of the background. Figures relating to the text are often introduced—occasionally they are partly or even wholly outside the field. There is marginal decor growing out of the corners of the field: acanthus tendrils, the foliage often inhabited by birds (amongst them peacocks, one displaying his fan), animals, fabulous beasts (two birds facing each other, their outstretched necks intertwined, their dragon heads separated by a golden sun), and occasionally also by humans. Each illuminated page in this MS is thoroughly

different in structure, treatment, and detail from all the others. One need not be an art historian to enjoy and appreciate this volume.

Very different opinions have been expressed as to the provenance of our codex. J. von Schlosser² finds that the style of the illuminations is a mixture of North Italian Trecento and French elements. He accordingly ascribes the book to the border region where the French and Italian cultures meet. R. Wischnitzer³ attributes it, also on grounds of style, to Spain; in addition she draws attention to the fact that the Castilian coat-of-arms appears on p. 66 and that the script is of the Spanish type. B. Italiener⁴ leaves the question open. Scheiber declares the codex to be of Spanish origin, basing himself on Wischnitzer's heraldic argument and finding confirmation in the rite of the MS. (He mentions the script, too, but does not seem to use this as evidence.)

Unless there are strong reasons pointing in an opposite direction, the writing and the illumination would have been done in one and the same country. Hence the script of a codex would tell us where it was illuminated. That, in the present case, the script is Spanish is beyond doubt. The illuminations are therefore Spanish, too. This tallies with their style (as analysed by Wischnitzer), the evidence of the coat-of-arms, and the rite.

With regard to the dating of the codex, von Schlosser assigns it to the second half of the fourteenth century, Italiener to its end. Wischnitzer mentions the similarity between the Kaufmann MS and the British Museum MS Add. 14761 in order to show that the latter is 'perhaps the latest of our Haggadahs', implying a date not earlier than the late fourteenth century. Scheiber points out that the arms of united Castile and Leon, shown on p. 66, occur from 1370 onwards and that our MS was therefore written 'at the earliest . . . in the third quarter of the fourteenth century'.

An examination of the script—though not a detailed one, for lack of time—suggests to the present reviewer a date in approximately the first quarter of the fifteenth century.⁴

S. A. BIRNBAUM

¹ See the previous footnote.

² 'Illuminated Haggadahs', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, NS, xiii, 193–218.

³ *Die Darmstädter Pesach-Haggadah. Codex Orientalis 8 der Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert hrsg. und erläutert unter Mitwirkung von Aron Freymann, August L. Mayer und Adolf Schmidt, Leipzig, 1927.*

⁴ cf. Nos. 242 and 243 in the reviewer's *The Hebrew scripts*: the writing of No. 242 is earlier and that of No. 243 later than that of the Kaufmann MS.

¹ D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters*, Wien, 1898.

HAÏM ROSÉN: *Havrit shelanu*. xii, 308 pp. Tel-Aviv: Am-Oved, 5716 [1956].

The renaissance of Hebrew is a phenomenon probably without parallel in recorded history. Other languages have been 'revived' within the past century and have been elevated to the status of a national language; in each case new elements that will satisfy the social, scientific, and cultural needs of modern times have been grafted on to a living speech. With Hebrew the circumstances have been very different. There are conflicting theories as to the precise point in Jewish history at which Hebrew 'died' as a spoken tongue, or whether indeed it 'died' at all. But it cannot be denied that for the great majority of Jews throughout the world Hebrew had become the language of the synagogue and the 'house of study'. It was approached only through another tongue—Yiddish or the vernacular of the country in which the Jews resided. It could lay no claim to being considered the speech-medium of an active community—until little more than two generations ago. But within that space of two generations its status has been recognized as a modern language in the fullest sense of the phrase. It is the normal, everyday speech of Israel, a country of over two million souls with an efficient network of schools and colleges and with a fine record in the arts and sciences already to its credit. Modern Hebrew is the second language of many thousands of Jews in the Diaspora; its study has become a necessity alike to Jews and to non-Jewish scholars and linguists.

The appearance, then, of the first full-length study of modern Hebrew by a competent Israeli linguist is an event of outstanding importance. That a work of this nature should have been delayed so long is due to political and social factors. Mr. Rosén compares the evolution of modern Hebrew to a motion-picture; it has developed at a speed out of all proportion to that of the ordinary processes of nature. Phase has succeeded phase with bewildering rapidity. Each new wave of immigrants has left its mark upon the vocabulary and structure of the language, sometimes forcefully, sometimes so subtly that it can be detected only by an accomplished linguist. Only when large-scale immigration was temporarily restricted did the Jewish population of Palestine assume for a while the character of a homogeneous linguistic unit. But such a time of political depression was not conducive to linguistic research.

The establishment of Israel has given an impetus to linguistic studies. It has given also temporal and spatial definition to the language

spoken within the national boundaries. It is true that the creation of the state was followed by a flow of immigrants, from both East and West, swifter and greater in volume than any that had arrived before; in recent years, moreover, the majority of the newcomers have come from Arabic-speaking countries, and are likely to have an impact on spoken Hebrew out of all proportion to their numbers. Nevertheless, the dominant colouring of Israeli Hebrew remains that subtle blend of Sephardi and Ashkenazi that had been evolved before 1948.

Mr. Rosén insists, and rightly, that the subject of his study is Israeli Hebrew, not 'new Hebrew' or 'modern Hebrew'; and Israeli Hebrew is the Hebrew spoken in Israel. It is clear that we must redefine our terms. 'New Hebrew' is implicitly opposed to Biblical, or classical, Hebrew; it is identical with Mishnaic Hebrew, but ignores the later developments of medieval and modern Hebrew. 'Modern Hebrew' opens with the beginning of the eighteenth century and has continued to this day. Israeli Hebrew is, strictly speaking, one facet of modern Hebrew. But in terms of the Hebrew written and spoken at the present time, Israeli Hebrew and 'modern Hebrew' are in fact synonymous. The language that is taught in Hebrew schools in the Diaspora and written in Hebrew journals and books of the Diaspora draws its inspiration and creative force from the language current in Israel, and not from the language of the Haskalah movement.

There is—as Mr. Rosén cogently argues—another and more important conclusion that logically follows the adoption of the term 'Israeli Hebrew'. The composition of the Bible ranged over some six centuries; and during that long period Hebrew was subject to sharply-defined external influences—Aramaic and Greek, and probably also Egyptian and Akkadian, to mention only the most obvious. Yet Jews, both scholars and laymen, have, from an early date, regarded the language of the Bible as a single, unitary whole. Israeli Hebrew takes the same attitude not only towards Biblical Hebrew, but towards all the other stages of the language—Mishnaic Hebrew, medieval Hebrew, and the Hebrew of the Haskalah movement. With the establishment of the state a line has been drawn across the page of the history of the language. To the Israeli there are two phases in his language, pre-Israeli Hebrew and Israeli Hebrew. Israeli Hebrew is not obliged to conform to the rules or conventions that were current at any single stage in the development of pre-Israeli Hebrew. This is not to say that the new language is divorced from its history and its past. Far from it. But Israeli Hebrew

draws from the vast reservoir of pre-Israeli Hebrew at will and at whatever level is dictated by the needs and the mood of the moment.

It is axiomatic that language is a living organism following natural processes. It is dangerous to talk of 'correct speech' or 'incorrect speech'; and the linguist must record phenomena as they exist or appear to exist. These principles—axiomatic as they are to the point of banality—cannot be repeated too frequently in a discussion of Israeli Hebrew. So firmly entrenched is the authority of the Bible and the Talmud among Jews that there is an instinctive tendency among scholars, as well as laymen, to look back at the vocabulary and linguistic conventions of those writings as the norm. There is little need to point out, as does Mr. Rosén, that we have virtually no direct evidence as to the exact value of the consonantal and vowel sounds of Biblical Hebrew, that all these sounds have radically changed in definition over the course of centuries, or that much of the groundwork upon which is based the traditional scheme of Hebrew grammar was the creation of scholars to whom Arabic, rather than Hebrew, was the medium of intercourse. The Israeli of to-day can no more be contained within the linguistic than within the social framework of ancient Palestine. It is instructive to observe how greatly the modes of Hebrew speech have altered within the last 30 years. Yet many of those who criticize the grammar and speech forms of Israeli Hebrew are thinking, consciously or unconsciously, in terms of the Hebrew of over 2,000 years ago!

In his opening chapter Mr. Rosén seeks, by means of an analysis of Moabite, to arrive at the criteria which distinguish the members of the north-west Semitic group of languages. Details of the method employed in this chapter lay themselves open to criticism, for Mr. Rosén does not apply here the rules of strict linguistic analysis that he operates rigidly and effectively in the later chapters of his book. How far is it justifiable in a modern linguistic study to treat of Biblical Hebrew as a single unit, divorced from the considerations of time and space that vary with many of the several books and documents of the Bible? Should Moabite and Biblical Aramaic be treated side by side and in the same manner? Why is no mention made of the fact that our material in Phoenician and Ugaritic—and even more so in Moabite—is severely restricted in style and content? Mr. Rosén treats of linguistic phenomena of the most varied nature as though they were of equal importance. It is doubtful whether it is sound method to set the Hebrew participle *et* in opposition to the Arabic 'accusative' ending *a*, or the prefixed definite article of Hebrew in opposition to the suffix *a* which

marks the emphatic case of the substantive in Biblical Aramaic. They are not drawn from a common pool, nor is their use parallel even semantically. Yet Mr. Rosén's survey of Moabite and other languages of the same group, illustrated by charts of isoglosses, is significant and useful, not least in demonstrating the central position of Biblical Hebrew among these languages.

Mr. Rosén then analyses the successive phases of Hebrew—of the Bible, of the Mishnah, of the Middle Ages, and of the *Haakalah* movement—in terms of the contribution levied upon them by Israeli Hebrew. The direct influence of Biblical Hebrew has been mainly in vocabulary. Mishnaic Hebrew, on the other hand, has contributed generously in both vocabulary and syntax, notably in the formation of subordinate clauses and in the temporal significance of tenses. One is tempted to comment that Mr. Rosén allows too little weight to direct influence of Greek upon the Hebrew of the Mishnaic period; yet he may well be right in regarding much of the innovations of Mishnaic Hebrew as a natural development. Noldeke has sagely observed of Syriac—which closely resembles Mishnaic Hebrew in this respect—that 'everything is not immediately to be regarded as a Graecism which looks like one. The Greek idiom exercised its influence with all the greater force and effect precisely at those points where Syriac itself exhibited analogous phenomena'. On the adoption of Aramaisms into Israeli Hebrew, particularly in nominal forms, Mr. Rosén has much to say that is both interesting and suggestive. In many cases the parallel Hebrew and Aramaic forms are used side by side with different, and clearly defined, nuances of meaning, in others the Aramaic forms belong to a more elevated diction.

Not the least fascinating section of Mr. Rosén's book is his discussion of the methods employed in coining new words and phrases in Israeli Hebrew. Israel is not lacking in its *Lylys*—nor in its Gertrude Steins. But they have little impact on the language. The *Vaad haLashon* (now the Hebrew Language Academy) has been entrusted by the State with certain functions. Its members act with proper circumspection. These functions, however, are (with an exception to which I refer later) advisory, not legislative. The final arbitrament rests, as it must, with the public; and the yardstick is, as it should be, utility combined with good taste. It is remarkable to what an extent the literate public of Israel (and that means virtually the whole adult population) shares in the creative energy and satisfaction of adapting the language to modern society, and how happy have been the results. The introduction of new words is, of course, no

novelty to Hebrew. Foreign technical terms and words of social import were introduced into the language from the earliest times; we have evidence in plenty in the Bible. But to-day there is undoubtedly a greater sense of urgency and a stronger need for scientific accuracy, and the pressure for the adoption of new words and idioms is more immediate. Sometimes rare Hebrew words are re-employed in a new or more precise sense, like the terms for electricity and revolver, sometimes words are sought in Aramaic or another cognate language, sometimes a Hebrew term has been invented, sometimes a foreign word has been naturalized. The criteria remain arbitrary and inconsistencies are numerous. Why have we *misrak* for telegram, while telephone is *telefon*? But these are the inconsistencies of a living language.

The main, and the longest, chapter of Mr. Rosén's book deals with the details of the forms and the structure of Israeli Hebrew. He takes as the norm of the language the Hebrew spoken and written by graduates of secondary schools and by officials in the course of their duties. Mr. Rosén has been criticized for the fact that he has chosen a norm at all—unfairly, as it seems to the present reviewer. It is precisely this section of the Israeli community—the graduates of secondary schools and the officials—that, in the last resort, creates or rejects new forms and perpetuates old forms in the language; and the decisions of this group have weight out of all proportion to their numbers. In describing as sub-normal or supra-normal features that do not conform to the norm, Mr. Rosén is not advocating wider acceptance of the norm; he is reporting what are in fact the broad conditions of the language.

It is impossible within the compass of a review to embark upon a detailed analysis of this part of Mr. Rosén's book. He discusses the peculiar blend of accent which is dominant in Israeli Hebrew, the 'weakening' of emphatic consonants and the modification of others, the emergence of new phonemes, the morphology and sentence-structure of the language. This treatment of Israeli Hebrew should be in the hands of those who wish to teach or learn the language effectively. It is a careful and scholarly study, and none the less so for being at the same time stimulating and provocative; indeed, its value lies not so much in Mr. Rosén's own statements and analyses as in the train of thought to which they give rise. Here, for example, may be found the explanation of that phenomenon that so often exasperates the non-Israeli Hebraist (and sometimes the Israeli Hebraist also). Why is the 'average' Israeli so 'bad' at the grammar of classical Hebrew, and why,

in particular, is he lacking in ability to point a Hebrew (consonantal) text? The answer is beyond doubt. The vowels of the Massoretic system bear little relation to the vowels of Israeli Hebrew, and the 'laws' of traditional Hebrew grammar (notably on the pronunciation of the *hataf* letters) are largely meaningless in the framework of the modern living language. It is not possible, in short, to compose the formal grammar of Israeli Hebrew along the traditional lines of classical Hebrew.

Yet the influence of the forms of written Hebrew upon the new language remains strong. Indeed, it may be asked whether Mr. Rosén has not treated this aspect too cursorily. When the Israeli says *kōrē* but *kōrēa* (קורע, קורע) he shows awareness of the 'ayin at the end of the latter word; when he says *ōrēh* but *ōrēh* (אורח, אורח) he is conscious of the fact that the second word ends in a *het*, not a *kaf*. The 'ayin, too, is maintained in the middle of certain words (e.g. קרעתי, opposed to קראתי) by a falling tone among Ashkenazim, by the full consonantal enunciation of the letter among Oriental Jews. There seems little reason to doubt that both 'ayin and *het* will recover their full consonantal value and will have phonemic significance in their own right in the near future—under the combined impact of the Arabic dialects of the countries bordering on Israel and of the fast-growing proportion of Israelis originating from those countries. It may be that the Hebrew Language Academy will have cause to regret that it has sacrificed the precise rendering of these sounds in its popular scheme for the transliteration of Israeli Hebrew into roman letters—admirable and courageous as the scheme is in other respects. (The promulgation of this scheme appears to be the only occasion on which the recommendations of the Academy are to be given binding force on official quarters.)

To the task of reducing Israeli Hebrew to a formal grammar, Mr. Rosén's pioneering work is a brilliant contribution, which will be of the greatest value to orientalists and linguists. We may hope that a translation into English—omitting only the passages on the rules and conventions of linguistic analysis that are well-known in the English-speaking world—will make the book available to a wider public than it can at present reach.

Errors of printing are remarkably few; the present reviewer has noted four—on p. 26, line 9, p. 34, line 28, p. 41, line 8, and p. 153, line 8.

J. B. SEGAL

WILHELM HOENERBACH (ed.): *Die vulgärarabische Poetik al-Kūāb al-ʿAṭl al-ḥālī wal-murāḥḥaṣ al-ḡālī des*

Ṣafiyaddīn Ḥillī. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Bd. x.) viii, 92, 214 pp., 2 plates. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1956. DM. 42.

This volume is based on an edition of the poet and critic Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's treatise on poetics entitled *al-'Āṭil al-kāfi* Al-Ḥillī, a biography of whom is prefixed to the Arabic text, seems to have been court poet to the Urtukids of Māridīn, but he travelled in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq itself, visiting both Cairo and Baghdad. Flourishing as he did between the years 677-749 H., i.e. in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D., the period of classical Arabic literature was for him a thing of a past age, and a century separates him from the Spanish poets Ibn Kuzmān and Mudghalis, but though largely concerned with Spanish poets, al-Ḥillī is thoroughly conversant naturally with similar types of poetry in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq. The verse-forms of which he treats are the *zajal*, *mauḍū'iyyā*, *kān wa-kān*, and *kūmā*. For later writers on these genres he seems to have become a source-book, and their references to his work have been carefully collected by Dr. Hoenerbach who discusses his achievements as a poet, a collector, and a linguistic observer.

In the 'philologische Ergebnisse' Dr. Hoenerbach summarizes the observations of al-Ḥillī, and his own observations based on al-Ḥillī's treatise. These include what in classical Arabic are termed poetic licences *metris causa*, but which are really the contractions of spoken Arabic—classical or colloquial—that have appeared in poetry. This portion of the text is most significant, for though the poetic licences and the characteristics of the grammar of Ibn Kuzmān and Mudghalis, writing as they do in colloquial Arabic, differ from the accepted norms of the classical language, they are exactly those of colloquial Arabic verse existing at the present time, I think one could say of the verse of any type of colloquial Arabic. With the principles, if one may so term them, laid down here, one should approach the verse of such poets as al-Shuḡṭarī and apply to them the scansion of colloquial Arabic. In this particular respect it is most fortunate that the MS contains a very full vowelising—it is indeed indispensable to the understanding of the text which otherwise would remain full of obscurities. In scansion of this type of verse the reviewer has found it important to attempt to establish whether an apparently unvowelled consonant is felt by the poet to form a short syllable (when of course in classical Arabic it

would be vowelised), or whether it merely closes a syllable, or whether it is felt to be doubled. The difference is not readily distinguished by ear, though doubtless in sung verse it will be remarked without difficulty. Prolongations and contractions of vowels in accordance with ordinary colloquial usage figure frequently, e.g. (p. 40), *raḡjā'at* for *raḡja'at*, and *wa-la* for *wa-lā*. The principle of a pattern of long and short syllables, however, remains unchanged from ancient Arabic right up to the present day, though of course the conventional notion of 16 metres, a purely artificial concept, has in this context no meaning at all. A typical contraction from the colloquial language is (p. 49) *khuttarā* for *khudh tarā*, which is of course also classical, and I can quote a more violent contraction from a colloquial document—*tasīllā* for *taṣīl ilā*, but simple as these examples seem they can be highly puzzling in an Arabic MS.

At once the similarity of the diction to that of verse known to-day (though the terms are not recent) as *humainī* (and I think in some places as *malhūn*, *nabafī*, or other names as yet unrecorded), is manifest. To take one example (p. 72) among many,

At-layr kad qharad faḡka 'l-aḡḡsān
Fa-hāḡḡat law'at al-mahzūn

This highly conventionalized diction is common to all Arab lands and as it is not always to be explained away as a literary borrowing, though of course it might have travelled with the tunes to which these verses are set, one must look for a traditional origin for it, an origin perhaps as ancient as the oldest Arabic verse, but this problem still remains to be studied *au fond*. Al-Ḥillī states that the best of *zajals* is what is composed in *al-luḡḡat al-'ammīyah* (p. 68), but his derivation of the word is somewhat odd, for the reviewer feels that it can hardly be derived from the brutal sounds of thunder or the noise of stones or iron, but rather from such a usage as *zajal al-kumri*, the cooing of the ring-dove of Ḥaḍramī verse.

The German introduction discusses the *zajal*, its construction, rules of metre and rhyme; the *mauḍū'iyyā* follows with a good bibliographical excursus on *mauḍū'iyyā* literature (pp. 24-5) and a discussion of types, themes, poetic concerns; the *kān wa-kān* and *kūmā* are similarly treated. In the 'Analyse des 'Āṭil' Dr. Hoenerbach discusses the conventions governing the *zajal* and other verse-forms; for instance the *i'rāb*, certain particles, doubled letters, hamzah, and *tanwīn*, may not be used with *zajal* as opposed to *ghī'r*, but such rules do not seem strictly followed.

The usual apparatus criticus to the text is supplied, and a 'zagal-Index'; a further index of technical terms might have been supplied

but the German introduction is so well arranged as to make reference a facile task. This volume is a very significant, indeed a fundamental contribution to the study of Arabic poetics.

R. B. SERJEANT

JÁN BAKOŠ (ed. and tr.): *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne) d'après son œuvre Aš-šifā'*. (Práce Československé Akademie Věd. Sekce Jazyka a Literatury.) 2 vols.: [vi], 270 pp.; ix, 245 pp. Prague: Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 1956. Kčs. 79 and 24.15.

So far, no critical edition of Avicenna's great and encyclopaedic philosophical work, the *Kitāb al-šifā'* exists¹—though this work not only dominated the philosophical tradition of the Muslim world until very recently, and, indeed, still continues to dominate the traditional schools in that part of the world, but was so enduringly and richly influential in medieval Western thought. Of this work, the psychological and the metaphysical parts have been especially influential historically and are in themselves highly interesting. M. Bakoš has, for the first time, made available to the public a critically edited Arabic text of the psychological part together with a French translation.

The materials on which M. Bakoš has based his edition are rather severely restricted, which fact is not perhaps entirely explained by the sad and artificial international barriers to the spread of knowledge. In 1951, Father Anawati published, in Cairo, on the occasion of Avicenna's millenary, a bibliography of Avicenna. This list mentioned about three dozen MSS of the psychological part, complete and partial, known to exist in various libraries. M. Bakoš shows no awareness of this work. But even apart from the MSS existing in the Muslim East, the editor has not fully availed himself of the materials in the West: he has not even consulted the two quite good MSS in Leiden. As a result, M. Bakoš found himself basing his text only on three complete MSS (two of these—those of the British Museum and the India Office Library—very late) and a partial one, in addition to the Tehran lithographed edition which is hardly as good

as a good manuscript. Again, the Latin translation of the text, made in Toledo in 1150, which is a word-for-word version of the Arabic and is older than any known Arabic MS does not seem to have been consulted on a single point. The materials having been so restricted, the editor could not perhaps be expected to discuss the transmission of the text, but he has not even taken the trouble to describe the MSS he has used and the reader is simply referred to the catalogues of the relevant libraries.

The restriction of the basic materials naturally limits the scope of the textual variants; however, one is surprised at the swollen critical apparatus of the Czech edition. Arabic scribes are usually careless about the dots placed above or below certain letters especially in the case of pronominal prefixes and suffixes. It is true that the practice can occasionally cause trouble to the editor in cases where verbs and participles can, theoretically, refer to more than one noun in a sentence. In the vast majority of cases, however, no doubt arises as to the meaning—indeed, this is why the scribes are so casual about diacritical dots. But M. Bakoš has deemed it necessary to record such 'variants' in every case. He explains this procedure in the 'Avant-propos' (vol. II, p. ix): 'On nous reprochera peut-être de mentionner, dans les variantes, *toutes*¹ les divergences, si minimes qu'elles soient. . . . Nous croyons, toutefois, pouvoir justifier ce procédé: comme notre texte arabe est fort difficile au point de vue philosophique aussi bien qu'au point de vue de terminologie, nous sommes d'avis que *toute*¹ divergence peut être d'importance. . . .'

M. Bakoš has obviously given thought to the text he has sought to establish, although he seems to have leaned somewhat heavily on the Tehran text; this is apparent from quite a large number of cases where he has emended the text on the basis of his editorial authority. But his knowledge of Arabic and, not infrequently, his ability to understand the doctrine cannot be said to have been very faithful to him and his honesty. It is impossible to examine in detail the whole work here; I shall be content to make remarks on the first seven pages (pp. 7-13):

(1) p. 7, line 3, end: the editor seems to me to have arbitrarily changed the masculine singular pronoun in his *اسطقساتها* as referring to *الكون والفساد* 'the world of becoming'.

(2) p. 7, lines 9, 12: he has used the II form of *بَرَّ*, which is not found in any Arabic

¹ In 1951, the Egyptian Government and the Cultural Department of the Arab League set up a committee to publish the work, but, so far, only the 'Introduction to logic', the *Isagoge*, has appeared. At the instance of this Committee, I undertook the critical edition of the psychological part, which is now being published by the Publications Board of the University of Durham.

¹ The italics are mine.

classical dictionary; Dozy alone gives it but cites no Arabic authority.

(3) p. 8, line 15: he has arbitrarily and wrongly emended the perfectly correct expression اعليناه من العذر into اعليناه من العذر.

(4) p. 9, last line, beginning: the pronoun هو should be removed since it cannot refer to anything.

(5) p. 10, lines 2-3: ولتعرّف . . . ويحتاج: the verbs should be changed from third person singular to first person plural in keeping with what goes before and after.

(6) p. 10, line 13: فالجسم صورته ما قلنا has been translated, taking صورة in a technical sense 'le corps serait sa forme, c'est ce que nous avons dit' (vol. II, p. 6, line 13). This does not even translate the editor's Arabic, and is, further quite unintelligible, for, whose form will the body become? I think the clause simply means 'the case of the body will be (the same) as we have previously described', i.e. our previous argument would apply in this case too.

(7) p. 10, line 17: جزء (1) should be جزءاً.

(8) p. 10, line 21: ما يقبلها should surely be changed into ما تقبلها (i.e. النفس), despite all the MSS?

(9) p. 11, line 16: لانها صورة is translated (vol. II, p. 7, line 12) 'parce que l'âme est forme'. This mistranslation gives rise to a rather serious misconception of Avicenna's doctrine according to which, indeed, the soul must not be defined as form of the body but as its entelechy or perfection (the same error is committed by the Latin translator). Actually, the feminine pronoun in لانها refers not to the soul but to صورة which follows, the correct translation being 'the form is a form'. But since the editor has taken it to refer to the soul, he is further forced to mis-emend the perfectly correct text in the succeeding line where we read . . . لانها كمال بحسب اعتبارها . . . 'since the soul is a perfection in its relation . . .'. Actually, according to all MSS the pronoun is masculine and refers to كمال — 'since perfection is a perfection in relation to . . .'.

(10) p. 12, line 3: والادراك, as the critical apparatus correctly shows, should be repeated, the previous sentence stopping at the first الادراك, and the next beginning with the second.

(11) p. 12, line 7: فان must be read as وان with the MSS, since here the second alternative of the disjunction starts.

(12) p. 13, line 10: وهذا المعنى . . . في موضوع, 'And this idea is not repugnant to its existence in a certain thing in such a way that it does not exist in a substratum'. The sentence is very difficult to understand since it is difficult to know the referents of 'this idea' and 'its existence'. Some attempt should have been made in the notes to clear this up. But M. Bakoš seeks refuge in a very curious translation opposing his own text (vol. II, p. 8, line 32): 'Mais cette idée n'empêche pas que sa manière d'être ne se trouve dans une certaine chose, non comme dans un sujet d'inhesion'. But this obviously contradicts the previous sentence.

An interesting case involving both language and doctrine occurs on p. 147, line 16: المسمتين بالنودة which M. Bakoš translates (vol. II, p. 107, line 37) 'suivant le chemin pris par le ver'. The Arabic is incorrect because سمت is not followed by ب. The editor has not heeded the marginal revision on the India Office Library MS which, together with the Tehran text, could at least lead him to think that something was missing between the two words. (The Latin translation has also gone quite wrong here.) No MS has given the word correctly and many have omitted it altogether. It should be read, it seems, as المسمتين إلتى النودة 'the two members' called the buttocks of the vermiform process'. The source of the doctrine is Galen (*opera*, ed. Kuhn, vol. III, p. 677): ἐξοχα τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου, γλουτρία καλουμένα.

But the translation of the whole sentence given by M. Bakoš is not correct: 'et (lorsque) le ver qui, appartenant à l'estimative, ouvre ce qui est entre les deux membres . . .' should be rendered 'and the vermiform process is opened by moving apart the two members called the buttocks of the vermiform process'. The doctrine is explained by Avicenna in his anatomy of the brain elsewhere.

M. Bakoš has appended some notes at the end of his translation, where he explains difficult passages of the text and also gives historical sources of Avicenna's doctrines. He quotes Aristotle, Galen, and, occasionally, Alexander of Aphrodisias in these rather sparse notes. But the lengthy and intricate discussions of the problems in Avicenna have their immediate Greek predecessors in the later neo-Platonic commentators on Aristotle—like Philoponus, Simplicius, and others, as I showed in my *Avicenna's psychology* (Oxford, 1952). M. Bakoš has ignored not only these men who were responsible for producing the amalgam of Hellenic philosophy to which the Muslims were heirs, but does not even give references to Plotinus himself.

M. Bakoš's work, in sum, has made a welcome beginning on the text and commentary of the section on psychology of the *Shifā'*, although both need to be carried much further if real justice is to be done to Avicenna's work.

F. RAHMAN

E. I. J. ROSENTHAL (ed. and tr.): *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 1.) xii, 337 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. £3 17s. 6d.

Since Averroes was not able to procure an Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Politics* copies of which, rightly or wrongly, he believed to exist in the Orient and since with Aristotle he regarded *Politics* as being the practical application of the principles discussed in *Ethics*, he undertook to summarize and commentate as a substitute for Aristotle's *Politics* the political part of Plato's *Republic*. Arabic manuscripts of this work have not yet been found, but there exist several manuscripts of a Hebrew translation by Samuel b. Yehūdā of Marseilles. This Samuel was not an accomplished Arabic scholar and his translation is in many ways deficient. Dr. Rosenthal has edited, translated, and annotated this Hebrew version, has given himself immense trouble to make sense of this often very obscure text and, on the whole, has succeeded very well. He has carefully compared his text with the Greek text of Plato's *Republic*, has discussed in his notes some of Averroes' own developments and digressions, which form perhaps the most interesting part of the book, and has traced back some of them to Fārābī and Aristotle.

There are two points in Dr. Rosenthal's short introduction with which I fail to agree. First, he believes that Averroes' commentary is based on Galen's summary of Plato's *Republic*. This would imply that Averroes had no other source for his knowledge of the *Republic* than just this work, but there is no reason to believe this. Besides, the parts which Averroes has commented show that he had a detailed translation at his disposal. But what especially invalidates Dr. Rosenthal's belief is that Averroes polemizes against Galen and says (p. 152 of the translation) that it can be seen from Plato himself that he did not make a certain statement in the way Galen interpreted it.

The second point concerns the date of the work. It seems plausible that the commentary was written after Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* the date of which is 1177. But Dr. Rosenthal

thinks that a *terminus ad quem* may be found in the fact that Averroes speaks of 'Physical Science' and means by that term also *De anima* (according to the Greek and Arab commentators *De anima* formed a part of physical science). Now, according to Dr. Rosenthal, Averroes did not complete his first commentary on *De anima* before 1182 (this is by no means sure) and would presumably have quoted *De anima* under its own title, if he had already written a commentary on it. This seems to me a strange argument. When Averroes wrote the present commentary, he had in any case read Aristotle's *De anima* and he might just as well have referred to it under its own title, even if he had not yet written a commentary on it. I do not attach much importance to fixing a date to this kind of work, but I may perhaps mention here that Alonso, *Teología de Averroes*, 97, attributes it to the year 1194 and gives as a reference a note by Petrus Lambecius in his description of the manuscripts of the Viennese Imperial Library in which a Hebrew manuscript of this work is found. I have verified this reference, but there must be some misunderstanding. The only date mentioned is the date of the Hebrew translation, namely 5082 according to Jewish chronology.

As to the English translation and the notes, I think that here and there certain improvements could be made. I will restrict myself to a few examples taken from the first pages.

1.7: 'The first and second parts of this science [of *Politics*] stand in the same relationship to each other as do the books of *Health and Illness* and the *Preservation of Health and the Removal of Illness* in Medicine'.

Dr. Rosenthal in a note has tried in vain to find the titles of these books amongst Galen's works. He might have saved himself the trouble; no particular books are meant here. The meaning of this passage is: 'Just as in medicine the works that treat of health and illness are the theoretical introduction to the works that treat how to preserve health and to eliminate illness, so in Ethical-Political Science, *Ethics*, its first part, is the theoretical introduction to *Politics*, its second part'. One should compare this with Averroes, *Tahāfut al tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, 510, last line). The passage is ultimately based on Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.*, x.9.1181^{ba}. In this connexion it may be remarked that the words, iv.5, 'how the body grows up in health' should read: 'how the body should grow up in health'.

ii.5: 'For, if every individual were [by nature] capable [of attaining] all human perfections, nature would have done something absurd (or in vain). For it is a fallacy [to suppose] that something were possible yet incapable of coming into existence'.

These sentences are obscure by themselves and need some elucidation. Dr. Rosenthal refers simply to Aristotle, *Physics*, III.2, where, however, this question is not treated. The problem touched on here is whether there are 'possibles', that is potentialities, that are never realized, for instance, whether a particular glass that will never be broken is breakable or not. This question is much discussed both in Greco-Roman philosophy and in Arab philosophy and theology. Here the second alternative is upheld. If a man had the potentiality to acquire all human perfections, but did never acquire them, nature would have done something in vain, i.e. this potentiality would be in vain and, indeed, self-contradictory, since, according to the conception of potentiality here upheld, 'potentiality' means what one day *will* be realized, not what one day *may* be realized. For this conception of the possible, see, for instance, Aristotle, *De caelo*, I.12.283^{ab}. In this connexion it may be remarked that the words in the next sentence 'experience attests to the existence of human individuals of such quality' should read to make sense: 'Experience shows that human individuals are in such a condition', that is, it is shown by experience that no individual possesses all human perfections.

VII.11: 'In our divine law, the same is true of laws which follow [the pattern of] human laws, for the ways which lead in it to God are two: one by persuasion and the other by war'.

I am unable to understand this sentence and Dr. Rosenthal's annotation does not make it clearer. From the context it can be seen that the meaning is: 'What applies to man-made laws applies to our Divine Law . . . that is: just as the profane law-giver leads the masses to virtue by persuasion (or education) or punishment (or war), so the divinely inspired law of Islam leads men to God by these two ways'.

x.8: 'The divine Intelligibles are represented through the operation of political principles and through actions of the physical faculties and principles through their corresponding volitional faculties and arts'.

It is evident that to make sense the second 'through' should be replaced by 'the'. And even then the passage remains obscure and needs some elucidation. To understand this passage one should know that Averroes, using metaphors found already in Aristotle, compares the world to a state or to an army governed or commanded by a supreme King or Commander (God) who is obeyed by his vassals or his officers, i.e. the divine Intelligibles, these separate intellects, who administrate the world as his proxies (for this compare e.g. *Tahāfut al tahāfut*, 184 sqq.). This comparison

of the world to a state is general in Stoicism (*mundum urbem esse bene administratam*). The second part of the sentence (the activities and principles of nature) refers to the Aristotelian doctrine that nature acts with a purpose like a craftsman, for instance, a builder who wants to build a house or an artisan who wants to make a saw (e.g. Aristotle, *Physics*, II.8-9).

These few remarks may suffice to show that certain improvements both in the translation and the notes might be made. This, however, does not diminish my appreciation of Dr. Rosenthal's painstaking and scholarly work which should be carefully studied by all those interested in Averroes' thought.

SIMON VAN DEN BERGH

R. ROOLVINK (comp.): *Historical atlas of the Muslim peoples. Compiled by R. Roolvink, with the collaboration of Saleh A. el Ali, Hussain Monés, Mohd. Salim.* xi, 40 pp. Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1957. Guilders 27.50.

Until recently, students of Islamic history have had to face a sea of geographical names with comparatively little assistance from maps and charts. Occasionally an author might provide cartographical assistance, but in general the reader would have to turn to the few maps allotted to his subject in the general atlases of World or European history.

In the last few years, however, two atlases have appeared which deal specifically with the history of Islam. First came Hazard's *Atlas of Islamic history*, published by Princeton University Press in 1951. This was conceived on an interesting plan; it showed the same area in a sequence of maps portraying the Near and Middle East at intervals of exactly a century; but its value was impaired by its preoccupation with frontier changes, by the lack of space awarded to India and the Far East, and by its large number of inaccuracies.

Dr. Roolvink's new compilation is more conventional in scheme, and depicts the rise and fall of the various Muslim dynasties and states by means of some 60 maps on 40 pages. The atlas is a pleasure to peruse: the maps are beautifully constructed, and the print is legible and artistic.

Comparison with its only rival is inevitable. We find in Dr. Roolvink's work a more fairly proportioned treatment of the different regions, while a departure from politics is provided by two—though only two—interesting and useful charts showing trade routes and main products in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the American atlas gives its place-names in the version current at the date illustrated by each

map, an invaluable aid to the student not found in Roolvink; further, the Hazard scheme shows at a glance the relation between the Islamic, Christian, and pagan countries at the given dates, which is not so easy to discover in the new compilation.

On the score of general reliability, Dr. Roolvink's atlas must be given high marks. Among a few errors in detail, easily remedied in a later edition, we might note the following:

The first map on p. 11 gives a very erroneous idea of Spain in the second half of the ninth century; the Umayyad Caliphate was by no means the compact unit suggested here, being torn by civil wars and rebellions, the indication of which would have afforded a more striking contrast with the next map of the Spain of al-Manṣūr (which incidentally fails to show the extent of the Umayyad influence in Maghrib at this time). On p. 13 the Buwayhid dominions should extend over the Persian Gulf to include Oman. On p. 15 the 'Territories under the suzerainty of Mahmūd of Ghazna' should certainly include Khwārizm; presumably the map was based on the one illustrating Nāzim's *Mahmūd of Ghazna*, but a reading of the text of that book would have shown that the author's map is in error on this point. On p. 20 an ancient mistake is recorded yet once again, when the boundary of the Anatolian Seljuqs in the early thirteenth century is placed too far to the south-west; it first appears in the great Spruner-Menke *Hand-Atlas* of 1880, and has been repeated by nearly every mapmaker since, despite the detailed correction made in 1934 by Professor Wittek in his monograph, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*. On p. 30, an overcrowded map of Ottoman expansion wrongly marks Ragusa as belonging to Venice, and the maps on pp. 31 and 34 suggest that Tabriz and Ādhārbāyjān were Ottoman continuously from 1514 until 1603.

We may now consider how far the atlas achieves the purpose of its creators. If this is to trace the political changes in the Islamic state-complex, the maps are useful and instructive, though there are certain striking omissions; for instance, a general map of the Muslim world is lacking, the Sudan receives no treatment before 1880, North Africa none between 1270 and 1520 (so that the important dynasties of the Marinids, Ziyānids, and Hafsids are unmentioned), and the Khanates of the Golden Horde and Kazan are entirely ignored.

If, however, we look in this atlas for that expression of 'the dynamics of Islamic history' which the compilers have hoped to give, we shall be disappointed. They say that they would 'have preferred to devote more consideration to various aspects of Islamic

history—cultural developments, for example'. A pity, then, that these wishes did not carry the day. For this work is not an atlas 'of the Muslim peoples' at all. To fulfil such an aim, and to be of real benefit to the student, it ought to contain (a) an adequate indication of the movement of peoples and tribes, particularly in portraying a history in which such a large part is played by nomads; (b) the full treatment of such vital features of Islam as the pilgrim-routes, and the spread and distribution of heresies; and (c) at least one large-scale map of each important area in such sufficient detail as to illustrate the works and routes of the leading Muslim historians, geographers, and travellers.

Political changes such as those on which this book concentrates can often be effectively shown either by superimposing boundaries as at different dates on one map, or by the use of several small insets on one page. So, for instance, the three pages devoted to the Tāhurids, Ikhshīdids, Ṣaffārids, Tulūmids, and Sāmānids might have been compressed into one, and a more ruthless exercise of this device might have freed a number of pages for such a combination of imagination and genuine scholarship as would have given us, say, several large-scale maps showing the entire Islamic world during the fourteenth century, an invaluable and much-needed illustration of the works, times, and travels of Ibn Battūta, Ibn Khaldūn, and their contemporaries.

DONALD FITCHER

PIERRE CACHIA: *Tāhā Husayn: his place in the Egyptian literary renaissance*. ix, 260 pp. London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1956. 30s.

After a slightly unpromising opening, Dr. Cachia sets before us an unusually candid survey of Taha Husain and his manifold activities, literary, social, and political. He has succeeded in creating a very readable book of reasonable size out of a welter of material. Much value lies in that part of the survey which treats of Taha Husain's activities since 1945, when so rapid a development has taken place of the Arabic-speaking world, where his writings are so widely read, his opinion so highly considered, for Taha Husain is the acknowledged doyen of contemporary Arabic letters, directly interested in and affected by current world events, especially those relating to Egypt.

While sympathetic, Dr. Cachia does not withhold criticism, and Taha Husain's weaknesses, his inconsistencies, the derivative nature of so many of his theories and ideas, his misapplication of his borrowings, and his

plain ordinary mistakes are given their full measure of criticism, not tactfully brushed aside, yet this study is in no sense a 'debunking' of a celebrated figure. It seems to the reviewer that it is just these weaknesses and uncertainties in an age of so violent change that are typical of contemporary Egyptian mentality, drawn and repelled at one and the same time by its two different cultures. Until now there has been little of real fusion between the traditional culture of Egypt and that of the West to form a distinctive modern civilization, in contradistinction to nearly wholesale acceptance of that culture in some circles; though one may perhaps perceive the shape that this may take. The naïveté of Taha Husain's philosophy, the fundamental fact that he has wandered widely over the fields of Western thought without ever penetrating sufficiently to assimilate the true intellectual discipline of the West, the very inaccuracies of his translations from the French, are typical of much of modern Egyptian culture which affects the rest of the Arabic-speaking world in its turn to a not inconsiderable extent.

Perhaps it is as a literary critic that Taha Husain is at his best, though his earlier more *épaulant* views on ancient Arabic verse are said to have been modified of later years. His view that it is textual criticism which forms the basis of all critical work, his respect for those engaged in the revival of ancient texts and for the value of their labours must inevitably have a special appeal for the orientalist.

Taha Husain's social creed as described by Dr. Cachia does not seem entirely logical. He is aware of ignorance to be combated, and has the usual sympathy for the Egyptian peasant and labouring groups—but who has not? His leaning towards democracy seems to be very consistent, but his answer to specific problems, says Dr. Cachia, 'is unfortunately tangled in the mesh of his political creed and his party allegiance'. Of his activities as an educationist at the Ministry of Public Instruction there is clearly very much that is laudable, but one is astounded at the rising cost of education over 10 years in which the budget increased by seven to eight times over what it was in 1942.

In the matter of Taha Husain's literary style there seems to be one surprising omission which has always seemed self-evident to the reviewer, who had at one time to listen to many radio talks of his, namely that the reason why his style is so discursive, so repetitive, is surely just because Taha Husain is blind his style is therefore rather that of speech, however literary, than that of print. The simple fact that everything must be spoken, the composition, dictation, the reading back of the finished work by secretaries, this

conditions his style, even some of the errors in his books which, had he proof-read them himself, would have been eliminated.

The Western reader of Taha Husain must always look on his self-imposed task of bringing other cultures into the eye of the Arabic-speaking and especially the Muslim world, as dull, especially if he himself be an orientalist, yet this aspect of his activities must surely have its salutary effect as a counterbalance to the tendency of the more conservative Islamic groups at least, to look inwards, rather than outwards. As a mirror of his time and a very profound influence on it Taha Husain is of major interest to us. Moreover despite the element of showmanship in his role as grand *littérateur*, so very well stage-managed, one is convinced of the underlying and true sincerity of the man and his purpose. Having read *al-Ayyām* a number of times, the reviewer has been struck again and again by the great art of this apparently artless book which takes Taha Husain into the realm of a creative writer and not just a stimulating purveyor of ideas.

For this perspective of so prolific a writer and the assessment of his achievement, orientalists are indebted to Dr. Cachia's diligent and selective analysis.

R. B. SHUKJEANT

MORROE BERGER: *Bureaucracy and society in modern Egypt: a study of the higher civil service*. (Princeton Oriental Studies. Social Science, No. 1.) xiii, 231 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 38s.

The classical European tradition of oriental scholarship is an outgrowth and an essential part of the European academic tradition itself. Its roots are in the sister *studia* of classics and theology; its great pioneers were men who brought the philological and philosophical method and discipline, perfected through centuries of study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts and of Christian and Jewish religion, and applied them first to Arabic and Islam, then to the remoter civilizations of Asia. Historical studies came later, and were on the whole less successful. Since the first orientalist disciples of Niebuhr and Ranke, there have been desultory attempts to apply the methods and objectives of scientific history to the study of oriental civilizations, and such scholars as Barthold, Becker, and Caetani were indeed able to make a noteworthy contribution to the understanding of medieval Islamic state and society. Even at the present day, however, probably the most significant

and certainly the most characteristic achievements of European orientalism are in the line of textual scholarship. The European orientalist, whether his interests lie in language or in history, in literature or in religion, begins with a long and arduous apprenticeship in the strict philological study of an oriental language, and thereafter works through the examination of texts, which he analyses, interprets, evaluates, and exploits with all the resources of a tradition of learning that is centuries old.

In the past, American orientalisks have been content to work on much the same lines as their European colleagues, and the Princeton Oriental Studies series, in particular, consisted very largely of translations and studies of texts. The appearance of this first volume of a new sub-series of monographs in the social sciences marks a significant concession to the change that has been taking place in the American academic approach to oriental studies. Not classics, not theology, but the social and what are now called the behavioural sciences are to be the stem on which oriental studies will be grafted; not philology, but sociology will provide the method for their cultivation.

It is obvious that there is much that the social scientist can contribute to the study of oriental civilization, and that there are many things, in the ancient as well as the modern orient, that he alone, with the special skills of his profession, is able to study and explain. American social scientists have already made distinctive and important contributions to the study of oriental civilizations, and it may well be that this new grafting from the old orientalist stem will in time produce a flowering comparable with those of European oriental scholarship following the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the philological golden age in the nineteenth century. Before that can happen, however, there are certain difficulties that must be overcome. It may be noticed that among American scholars using the sociological approach to Islam, the most successful are those who have first served their philological apprenticeship. For the others there remains the problem of how to understand a society for which the principal written sources of study are looked in an oriental script, requiring the mastery of a difficult language to read them, and the intimate study of a civilization to interpret them. Most of the solutions propounded to the problem rest on one or both of two questionable assumptions: that it is possible for the social scientist to acquire within a short time a 'working knowledge' of an oriental language which will be sufficient for his purpose, and that the use of trans-

lators and informants is an adequate substitute for direct personal access to the evidence.

All these points are well illustrated in Dr. Berger's monograph, which is assuredly without precedent or parallel in any field of Islamic studies. The theme of his study is the Egyptian higher civil servant. To throw light on this subject, Dr. Berger tells us, he 'reports and analyzes data gathered in two ways: historical research, and the replies that 249 higher civil servants of Egypt gave in 1954 to a long questionnaire about their backgrounds, attitudes, and opinions'. It is in the analysis of the answers to the questionnaires that the chief merit of the book lies. Dr. Berger's historical research is trivial, and his brief statements concerning the earlier history of the Egyptian bureaucracy are based, somewhat insecurely, on a few secondary sources, apparently without any reference at all to the vast Arabic literature produced by, for, and about bureaucrats in Islamic Egypt. He is thus able to say that in medieval times 'much of the administration was in the hands of a special class recruited from abroad by the Mameluke sultans'. The Mamluks themselves were indeed recruited from abroad, and monopolized all posts of military or political authority. But the administration—the bureaucracy, which is Dr. Berger's special concern, was almost entirely of local birth, and it is at least arguable that the great Egyptian bureaucratic dynasties, and the stable and efficient administration in which they served, were as important as the Mamluk soldiery in giving the Mamluk Sultanate its unique strength and durability. Again, Dr. Berger attributes to Napoleon's 'injections of European nationalist influence' the fact that 'Muhammad Ali . . . , although he nominally represented the Turkish Sultan, pursued an independent policy . . .'. In acting independently, Muhammad Ali was doing no more than what had become standard practice among the pashas of the remoter Ottoman provinces during the eighteenth century; the significance of his career lies not in his independence, but in the use that he made of it, and the opportunities he opened for others after him.

These objections, however, are of secondary importance, since the historical section and historical comparisons form only a small part of Dr. Berger's book. The greater and more significant part deals with the answers to the questionnaire, the text of which is given in full both in English and in Arabic. There are 62 carefully framed questions, the answers to which were obtained and recorded by a specially briefed corps of 27 Egyptian interviewers; and then analysed by a tabulating machine. On the basis of the resulting returns

Dr. Berger was able to make a series of statements concerning the Egyptian higher civil service, which are grouped in chapters under the following headings: 'The background of the higher civil servants today' (parentage, birth, economic and social origins, education, etc.); 'The attraction of the educated man to the civil service [sic]' (reasons for joining the service, likes and dislikes in the service, attitude towards leaving, etc.); 'Changes in status and prestige'; 'Loyalties: the professional and private worlds of the civil servant' (professionalism, family loyalty, etc.); 'Initiative and subservience: the range of bureaucratic behavior'. Besides displaying his data, Dr. Berger attempts some evaluation and interpretation of them, and makes comparisons with other countries in which similar inquiries have been conducted.

The formal critical assessment of Dr. Berger's work must be left to those whose training is in the same field as his own. The orientalist, while feeling some reserve about the efficacy of the methods used and the validity of the results obtained, will nevertheless find much to interest him in this book. The problems of the formation and functioning, the outlook and ethos of bureaucratic *élites* is a fundamental one for students of the classical Islamic Empires, and they will find stimulation in Dr. Berger's formulations and findings. The orientalist who studies earlier Islamic bureaucracies on the basis of the vast compilations of Qalqashandi and his fellows, or in the mirror of the great collections of *adab* that were their product and their pabulum, may not be able to present his informants with questionnaires, and display their answers on a Guttman scale; he will, however, be able to put questions to his material, and a reading of Dr. Berger's book will suggest some new and penetrating lines of inquiry. Such questions as no. 21—'How would you describe the ideal civil servant?'—would present no great novelty to the reader of *adab*, but there are others that would be of great help in the task, still to be undertaken, of a prosopographic study of Islamic history. It is true that the answers to these questions will be refracted through the prism of a writer of literature—but is that any worse than a part-time interviewer?

B. LEWIS

C. J. EDMONDS: *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925*. xiii, 457 pp., front., 16 plates, 3 maps [one on endpapers]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 42s.

Mr. Edmonds has played a part of distinc-

tion in the development of modern Iraq, and in the building of its administrative structure his has been a responsible role. This present volume covers the very formative period represented by the years 1919-25, and these personal memoirs and studies by one in so excellent a position to know what was really happening at that time, are of permanent value to students of Iraqi history. In fact there is little about Arabs in a country predominantly Arab, ruled by an Arab dynasty, but much of prime interest on Kurds, Persians, and Turks of the Mosul vilayet so racially diverse, all set in an era which to-day seems remote and enchantingly picturesque.

The author has served us up a mass of miscellaneous detailed information that his day to day experience of the country naturally brings, but with the observation and comment of scholarly taste. Here are the Kurds, their tribes, their social order, customs, personalities, even translations of their poetry, their political groupings, the religious element, its organizations, beliefs, and the strange heresies which seem native to this corner of Islam. From his own experience the author is able to show the nature of the interaction of such an assortment of men, and on every page his pleasant, tolerant attitude to the variety of human beings met under all circumstances is clearly manifest. The text is supported by frequent and well-informed reference to previous travellers, to Arabic, Kurdish, and Persian sources, and notes abound on geographical information, antiquities, and genealogies. The last part of the book, on the Mosul Commission, is certainly a useful comment on the history of this important event.

The amount of family history set down is very considerable, to those unacquainted with the Middle East it might even seem excessive, but a more intimate knowledge can but impress ever more and more how important it is to study the great families and groupings, to interpret history correctly, for, so often, it is their attitudes to one another, their concept of their relative positions in society, that has shaped the course of events, rather than the introduction of novel ideas, political or otherwise.

Of special interest to the reviewer is the account of the election of a 'Lord of Misrule' at the vernal equinox, which is paralleled in some parts of Arabia by the election of Karkūs the *Sulṭān al-'Id* who, for the space of a day, exacts his dues from high and low. Again (p. 12) it seems that the term *Miskin* (*miskīn*) is applied to non-tribal villagers, almost serfs, who submit meekly to their tribal rulers. In Arabia the identical usage is common, and the word remounts probably to pre-Islamic times, but it is more likely to be

derived from *sakana* in the sense of 'to dwell' than in the sense of 'poor'. Mr. Edmonds states (p. 117) that the title of *nakīb* was given to the head of Saiyid families in certain towns by the Ottoman Government, but unless he is actually quoting from a source known to him, this would seem not quite correct for there were *nakībs* of Sādah in Iraq even in the quite early 'Abbasid period. Any Ottoman action in this matter must have been nothing more than recognition of an existing practice.

Mr. Edmonds' remarks (p. 181) and reflections on the necessity of the quality of flair in a political officer are indeed judicious, though one must add to this that the knowledge of a country is also of first importance. The major mistake such an officer can make is to allow himself to get murdered! At this time, the author states, Kurdistan was ruled through political officers who had to live largely by their wits, real resources being inadequate. Is this, however, not always the case? The political officer must practise something of the nature of bluff, for when resources do become adequate the political changes into something much less romantic—an adviser, district commissioner, etc.!

This remote, but lovely and fascinating part of the Middle East, scarcely known to the world at large, has, like mountain Arabia which in many ways it resembles, not been without its influence on the history of the world though in lesser degree perhaps. It is to be hoped that Mr. Edmonds will add to this volume an account of his experiences as Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior in Iraq in 1935-45 which, though in a different way, should be equally valuable.

B. B. SERJEANT

BJÖRN COLLINDER: *Fenno-Ugric vocabulary: an etymological dictionary of the Uralic languages*. xxiii, 212 pp. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955. Sw. kr. 39.

The contents of this book must *a priori* be of great interest to those who study one of the language-groups of Central Eurasia, and particularly to those dealing with Uralian word-history. The name of the author gives, in its turn, an *a priori* guarantee that the treatment of the subject will be expert, thorough yet stimulating, with a touch of slight unorthodoxy which so much characterizes Professor Collinder's whole work. In a field like Uralian studies, which are almost stifled by the stiffness of a tradition which is a mixture of the formalism of nineteenth-century German scholarship and Scandinavian etiquette, this is in itself a welcome factor. The splendid

achievements of Finnish scholarship—I think almost unparalleled among linguistic studies devoted to a single group of languages—suffer from a slight tendency to hypercriticism which, laudable as its motives may be, makes progress very slow. There is also another danger: as it furrows its way painstakingly, inch by inch, through an enormous amount of material, it risks entering blind paths. Works like the one under review have the merit of refreshing the atmosphere and of provoking controversies; they may also serve as a sign showing the direction in which Uralian studies should make greater efforts to advance.

The Introduction is followed by a number of Word-lists: 'Uralic' (pp. 1-69), 'Fenno-Ugric' (pp. 70-127), 'Indo-European loan-words' (pp. 128-41), 'Uralo-Altaica' (pp. 142-9); a detailed *Index verborum* (pp. 151-202) grouped according to languages, and a useful list of *Nomina animalium et plantarum* (pp. 202-4). The book closes with a bibliography which is admittedly not exhaustive but which should, nevertheless, have included such works as the *Magyar etymológiai szótár* (quoted several times) and Otto Donner's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen*, which, published in 1874-88, remains the only previous attempt to tackle the task Professor Collinder set his hand to. The book, alas, has no table of contents.

Professor Collinder intended his work to be a textbook and, quite rightly, his aim was not to provide new etymologies but to give a good selection of the many that have already been proposed. As is the case with all dictionaries, one can always argue with the compiler over the reasons for including one word rather than another. So, for instance, why was it necessary to include Hungarian *kenyér* 'bread', *fűt* 'tuft, etc.', or Cheremis *časka* 'small-wood, scrub, etc.' when their etymologies are, according to the author himself, most doubtful? And what justifies the presence in the word-list of Votjak *-jos*—a plural suffix? On the whole, the author's selection is reasonable and reflects well the present position of etymological research. The work will thus be of great use to the non-specialist, who is given a reliable reference-book, well-presented and accessible, in fact: an excellent textbook.

Its use for the specialist is very much limited by the absence of bibliographical references. Admittedly, it is not usual to include them in an etymological dictionary, but with comparatively little additional labour—since Professor Collinder must have had them on his cards—they could have been added to each entry. Then the work would have become an indispensable index, used by everyone, even the most expert in the field, as a guide in the maze of Finno-Ugric etymological research.

The Ural-Altaic word-list is given as an appendix. I am not quite sure whether it was useful to include it at all. Ural-Altaic research has been marred by a casual approach. People took sides in one way or another, without having examined the available evidence let alone having done personal research in the subject. This appendix will do little to clarify the problem.

The final verdict on the book must be favourable. It is the fruit of vast scholarship, and it fulfils the aim set by its author.

D. SINOR

BO WICKMAN: *The form of the object in the Uralic languages*. 154 pp. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1955. Sw. kr. 14.

Any work which tries to summarize research on one given question of Uralian comparative linguistics, particularly if it deals with problems of morphology or of syntax, must be welcome. The wider field of Ural-Altaic comparative studies suffers greatly from the lack of reliable studies on each of the language-groups concerned.

According to the author the aim of this work 'is to describe the form of the object in the various Uralic languages and to try to arrive at some conclusions as to the original form or forms of the object in the earlier stages of the development of these languages . . .'. The method of investigation adopted by the author is neither defined nor applied with sufficient clarity. It could be summarized as follows:

The author examines the Uralic languages one by one with regard to the conditions in which the grammatical object—i.e., in the definition of the author, the object 'which appears in a syntactical case' such as the genitive, the nominative, or the accusative—appears. As was only to be expected *per definitionem*, the syntactical case most often used to denote the object is an accusative, indicated by a suffix of which, then, the author endeavours to trace the origin. To achieve this he examines the various uses of the accusative, and its relation to some other forms such as those of the plural or of the possessive. Here we find ourselves in a purely morphological field.

It appears that most of the Uralian languages have an accusative singular suffix *-m*, used chiefly to denote a definite object, and that 'with the sole exception of Lappish all the Uralic languages that have preserved the accusative singular in **-m* in one shape or another may also express the singular object by the nominative'. Though the statement is

accurate, and not new, it is to a large extent meaningless, for the suffix of the nominative in Uralian is *-s*. Dr. Wickman's thesis may thus provisionally be formulated as follows: 'Uralian languages sometimes indicate the object and sometimes they do not'. If I say 'provisionally' it is because we have to examine the other uses of this suffix *-s* before we can establish whether it really denotes an object, or whether the object remains in the limbo of undistinguished concepts. The problem does not seem to have occurred to the author, just as we are not told whether the *-m* suffix can play other rôles than that of indicating the object. It should also have been mentioned that in some languages, such as Hungarian, the object is implied in the verb-form. Since not all aspects of the question have been considered in this book, its conclusions are, when not already known, much too vague.

A book, however, should not be judged solely on what it fails to provide, and Dr. Wickman's work has positive virtues. Some of the brief monographs of which it is composed will be found useful, particularly those dealing with the little-known Samoyede languages. Even if one may be tempted to disagree on certain points, it is certain that Dr. Wickman is making here an important contribution to our knowledge of Samoyede.

A similar treatment of the other languages would have been highly desirable; there is only one page dealing with Hungarian, four pages with the Permian languages (with all examples taken from Zuryene), and eight lines with Ostiak. The book bears traces of hasty preparation and lacks clarity. It is, however, a useful contribution to Uralian studies and will facilitate further research. The fact that all the examples given are accompanied by source-indications must be highly valued.

D. SINOR

KENNETH BALLHATCHET: *Social policy and social change in western India, 1817-1830*. (London Oriental Series, Vol. 5.) x, 335 pp., front., 2 maps. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 45 s.

This book is a notable contribution to the economic and social history of modern India. The writing of British Indian history has long suffered from the reproach of being a dull chronicle of battles, dates, and governors-general when it should be a moving and sympathetic story of the lives of India's millions as they were brought into increasing contact with the West. Dr. Ballhatchet's study begins with the annexation of the

Peshwa's territories in 1817, the event which marks the consolidation of British power in India. He endeavours to show how direct British rule affected the old ways of life in these territories and to describe administrative and social change in the Bombay Presidency as it absorbed these new conquests. From another point of view, his work is a study of the most important decade in the career of Mountstuart Elphinstone who, first as Resident at the Peshwa's court, then as special commissioner for the newly annexed territories and finally as governor of Bombay indirectly or directly presided over the destinies of the former Maratha power.

In Mountstuart Elphinstone, we see the influence of utilitarian ideas upon a British administrator whose appreciation of Indian cultural values was unusually wide and deep. This interaction between British and Indian modes of thought often escapes notice in accounts of the so-called Anglicist versus Orientalist controversy, which is usually presented, thanks to Macaulay, as a matter of sharp extremes. The parts of Dr. Ballhatchet's book which may attract most attention are those which deal with religion and education. We gain a clearer idea of the complexities involved in such matters as the abolition of *sati* and the promotion of the teaching of English as we watch large-minded men of Elphinstone's stamp struggle with obscurantists in both camps. Instead of a reform effected at one stroke after much initial hesitation, the abolition of *sati* by Bentinck is seen as the culmination of long and patient prior experimentation with various expedients for promoting its disappearance.

Similar painstaking experimentation went into the work with *panchayats* in Elphinstone's time. He and his colleagues, with their knowledge of the former Peshwa's administration, were naturally anxious to preserve, develop, and strengthen *panchayats*, and use them, especially in the judicial sphere, in ways which would bring the new government local popular support. The difficulties and disappointments encountered which necessitated the restriction of *panchayats* to a much more limited role deserve careful study to-day, when the revival of the *panchayat* as a local democratic institution is meeting with analogous difficulties. The new administrators have a better chance of succeeding than Elphinstone did, but they could profit by his experience.

Discussion of the transformation of the former Peshwa's administration begins with the great chiefs and proceeds to the lesser social ranks. The fate of the great chiefs was the usual one, characterized by many a rear-guard action in which the more stubborn *jagirdars* strove to hold off the inevitable. On

the whole, they succeeded surprisingly well in maintaining their wealth and social importance, despite the indignity of occasionally being summoned before British magistrates. The description of what happened to groups lower down in the social scale, such as village headmen, is of much more interest. These pages are a commentary on the author's observation (p. 184): 'Indeed, however much Elphinstone wished to maintain the position of the aristocracy of the country, the new system had the general effect of lowering it. The whole revenue and judicial administration of the British was more uniform, more systematic, more closely knit together than that of their predecessors. Of its nature, it was a government of laws rather than of men. The activities of all who had authority and influence were thereby restricted and they themselves reduced in social consequence'. The headmen saw their perquisites abolished, and watched lesser officials who had formerly served them become directly responsible to the Collector. They also saw the new rulers bring the Bhil tribesmen under control and fix the Bhils' functions in society both in the plains and in the hills. This early chapter in the history of the administration of Indian tribal peoples will be of interest to anthropologists.

Though Dr. Ballhatchet's theme is social change, his book illustrates the difficulties of bringing twentieth-century readers into the fields and bazaars of Elphinstone's India. The nature of the official materials, their voluminousness, their impersonalness screen us from the life of the people. We are still too much with the great, as they wrangle over their privileges, and with the officials as they formulate revenue and judicial policy and make administrative systems. We are not brought close enough to the peasant to know whether he finds himself happier or better off under the impersonality of the new regime than under the paternalism of the old. We are almost never in the bazaar with the shop-keeper, learning how the coming of the new rulers has affected his life. Perhaps the paucity of unofficial materials will always handicap Indian social history in this way, but the effort to get below the surface of the massive files and glean the utmost in human interest from them must go on, as the author of this book would be the first to recognize. His study of social change under another great administrator of this period, Sir John Malcolm, will be awaited with interest.

HOLDEN FURBER

LOUIS DUMONT : *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du sud : organisation sociale et religion des Pramalai Kallar.* (École Pratique

des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Le Monde d'Outre-Mer, Passé et Présent. Première Série. Études, 1.) [v], vi, 460 pp., 38 plates. Paris, La Haye : Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £3 2s.)

LOUIS DUMONT : *Hierarchy and marriage alliance in south Indian kinship*. (Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No. 12.) Cover-title, 45 pp. London : Royal Anthropological Institute, 1957. 10s.

The publication of the above-mentioned book is an important event in Indian social anthropology. Where other writers have focused on a single village (Dube) or a limited problem (Srinivas) or have worked on an extended canvas in largely descriptive fashion (Fuchs), Professor Dumont has set himself a detailed analysis of all aspects of a subcaste of the kind that only Aiyappan of contemporary anthropologists has so far attempted. Professor Dumont's aim is to describe Tamil society by dealing in a single subcaste with institutions whose bases, if not surface manifestations are common to all. The extent to which this is successful can only be assessed by those who know the wider Tamil society, for there is no extensive discussion of the degree of correspondence in the book. This deals with the subcaste alone, and in doing so it breaks new ground and must stimulate the author's colleagues as well as a wider public.

The book is divided into three parts. The first describes the external view of the Pramalai Kallar subcaste. This is a community living in an area of some 12 by 24 miles west of Madura in the extreme south of India. There is an initial account of the local settlement pattern, and chapters follow on general ethnography (clothing, diet, etc.), the system of agricultural production, and the main outlines of the rest of the economy. The second part is the longest, and deals with the internal structure of the subcaste—e.g. the local groupings and descent groups, the main relations between these groups and between kin, and the mechanisms of social control in the subcaste. The last section concerns itself with religion, notably the connexions between religious activities and social groups.

No specific problem is posed as a theme for the book. But the emphasis is on the relation of the descent system to kinship patterns and local organization. Such a theme might, indeed, have provided a sharper focus for the material, had the author not been concerned with the broader cultural portrayal I have mentioned. This latter leads, in parts, to a certain diffuse-

ness in presentation. The section devoted to the definition of the settlement (*agglomération résidentielle*) and its size, for example, ends with a passage on elections to the District Board (p. 32) which appears marginal to a strict pursuance of this theme. For the same reason, the different topics are treated with a varying depth of analysis. But it must be added that the author is aware of this and sees the book as an attempt to combine full ethnographic coverage with a 'problem-centred' approach in the present British manner. This attempt is on the whole successful, though it makes for a book longer than is acceptable to most publishers nowadays.

There is nothing discursive about the main analyses, however. The principal structural features, it is shown, are patrilineages (*lignée*) and the system of alliances which link them. These provide definite ritual and secular obligations for all members of the subcaste. In some cases alliance links entire lineages, in others the smaller agnatic descent groups within them. Further, the provinces (*nāṭu*) are sometimes the homes of agnatically linked lineages and sometimes of them and their allied lineages. The provinces are therefore sometimes exogamous and sometimes allow marriage internally, and the same applies to the local settlements in them. The pattern of descent and local organization is woven into accounts of the religious organization (the participation in festivals, lineage basis for cults, etc.), the system of sanctions, and so on.

A brief review can do no more than hint at the interest which this book will arouse. There is, for example, a short but masterly analysis of the concept of 'mother goddess' so frequently used in previous writing about this area. Professor Dumont shows that these goddesses are not, in fact, either 'mother' or 'village' deities. They are, for the most part, goddesses controlling different diseases on the one hand, and on the other women who have been deified for immolating themselves at the cremation of their husbands. These belong to their allied lineages, and in this way the women become the divine symbols of the alliance, whose conjugal rather than maternal attribute is emphasized. The Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit 'Seven Mothers' (*Saptamātṛikā*) is 'Seven Girls' (*eṭu kannimār*). This demands not only further research in the south, but also a comparative analysis from northern India; here there are similar goddesses (*Satī Mātā*) whose deification comes from the wifely rather than motherly virtues of immolation, but these are thought of as 'mother' as well as 'goddess' and the word *mātā* refers to both. The variation may stem from different positions of affines in the south and north.

This is only one of many occasions when the book stimulates further inquiry, and the detail of the material provides an opportunity for comparison. There is a full bibliography, index, and glossary, and the text is divided into sections and subsections which allows for an almost gazetteer-like use. The reader's only difficulty comes from the small print of some of the texts and comment.

The second publication is a short paper which has as its main object to show that there is a common principle of kinship organization among five structurally diverse substates of Madura, Tinnevely, and Rannad districts. This forms part of the wider view, mentioned in the book, that such principles together make up a social morphology of Tamil civilization.

In this paper the common principle discovered is that of alliance, and a subsidiary purpose is to present in English the theory of alliance advanced in the book. Briefly, this is that where there is a positive marriage regulation (here matrilineal cross-cousin matches) 'marriage acquires a diachronic dimension, it becomes an institution enduring from generation to generation' (p. 24). This is called an alliance, and from it flow such features as a man's considering his mother's brother's son as an affine, in anticipation of marriage to his sister. The reader might well ask for more information about the frequency of the ideal type of marriage; for it is possible for the alliance to lapse when there are no appropriate partners (book, p. 190). The lack of data on this point in either publication may be because of the relatively short time spent in the groups (the Pramalai Kallar were studied the most intensively, for seven months). But it would be useful for an assessment of the degree to which the cognatic and the affinal may be said to coincide or be 'tinged' one with the other because of this limiting marriage regulation. For example, the pattern of prestations in a central Indian village implies the viewing of uterine and affinal relatives in a single category; for the wife's brother gives the same type of gift at a wedding as the mother's brother. But here there is no positive marriage regulation or system of alliance. It may be that Professor Dumont's analysis cannot be contained by the concept of alliance, but is more widespread. This is perhaps why he writes in the preface to the book that in subsequent research in north India he found many features corresponding to his Kallar material. If so, we may hope for as penetrating a book on this wider scale.

ADRIAN C. MAYER

GEOFFREY BOWNAS (tr.): *Confucius, by Shigeki Kaizuka*. (Ethical and Re-

ligious Classics of East and West, No. 17.) 192 pp., front. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956. 12s. 6d.

Professor Kaizuka's *Confucius*, a semi-popular work, was first published in 1951 in the Iwanami Shinsho series. Coming from the pen of a historian, it makes a refreshing change from the ordinary run of books about the sage. The book is divided into five chapters. In the opening chapter is given an admirably concise and useful account of Chinese society in the Ch'un-Ch'iu period. Then follows an account of the early life of Confucius, in which Professor Kaizuka's attitude towards the common traditions concerning the events in the life of Confucius can, perhaps, be described as critical but not excessively sceptical. The third chapter contains the most stimulating section of the whole book, dealing with the influence on Confucius of the 'worthy ministers', especially Tz'ü Ch'an of Ch'eng, who died when Confucius was 31. Then follows a rather short chapter on Confucius' thought. Here the author's purpose seems more to be the placing of the views of Confucius in their historical context than the provision of a searching analysis of these views. In the fifth chapter the story of the life of Confucius is again taken up, but the attitude of Confucius towards government and education, for instance, is neatly woven into the narrative. The book concludes with a few pages on the last years and death of the sage, with the suggestion that there was a subtle change in his way of thinking which 'went unnoticed by even the perceptive disciples'. This, as I have indicated, is very much a historian's account of Confucius, and as such constitutes a very valuable and welcome addition to the many books there are on the subject.

Mr. Bownas' translation bears signs of having been hurriedly done. A notable weakness is the way quotations from the *Analekts* are translated. Not infrequent inaccuracies could easily have been avoided had the translator consulted standard commentaries or translations. I can only give a few examples of such mistakes.

On p. 111 we find 'Confucius further said, "An examination of the past brings an understanding of 'humanity'", and, "If Hui" (the given name of Yen Yuan, one of the disciples) "hears one point, from that he gains a knowledge of ten. If Tz'u" (the given name of Tzu Kung) "hears one point, he knows two"'. Now the second saying which comes from the *Analekts*, v.8, is here wrongly attributed to Confucius. This is not the fault of the translator as he is only translating the

words of the author (see Kaizuka, 116). It is, however, strange that neither the author nor the translator noticed that the same passage is cited again later on in the book (p. 175) where it is correctly attributed to Trü Kung. Again, the word *kwo* 過 translated in the first quotation (iv.7) as 'the past' seems never, when used by itself, to have that meaning, but should be translated as 'fault' or 'mistake'. Here it is difficult to be sure whether Mr. Bownas has not been misled by the context in which this saying is quoted by Professor Kaizuka, although the latter gives no indication that he understood the word *kwo* as meaning 'the past'.

There are, however, cases where the responsibility cannot but be Mr. Bownas'. On p. 134 Mr. Bownas translates *Analepts*, III.1, as, 'Having eight rows of dancers in his hall! He who does not shame to do this, would not be ashamed of anything'. The last sentence should be rendered, 'If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?'. The words *ké jén* 可忍 can only mean 'can be tolerated'. Thus, presumably, Mr. Bownas could have gathered from the Japanese reading of *shinobu bekumba*.

Again, on p. 97, we find 'he deals on the square with those who are possessed of the way'. This comes from the *Analepts*, I.14, and should be rendered 'he goes to those who possess the Way to have himself corrected'. It is difficult to see how Mr. Bownas arrived at his interpretation. The reader who wishes to look up the passages quoted from the *Analepts* is not helped by the fact that no references are given in the translation, whereas in the original references to books, though not to chapters, are given. It may be mentioned in passing that often Mr. Bownas does not even take the trouble to ensure that the same wording is used in the translation of the same passage occurring in different parts of the book. Thus, on p. 46 we find 'At fifteen, my will was set on the Way of study'. The same sentence occurs on p. 60 as 'When I was fifteen my heart was set on study'.

The translation is, on the whole, readable, though there are some curious lapses in style. For instance Mr. Bownas speaks of 'coolie labour' sent by feudal lords to the Chou king (p. 19); of the heads of the three noble families in Lu as 'headmen' (p. 37); and of 'city-state format' (p. 30) and rhyming verses of 'systematized format' (p. 68). As to occasional odd renderings such as 'Filthy hovel' (p. 117) for *lou hsiang* 陋巷 'mean lane', and 'a poor and cold household' (p. 89) for *hinkan na katei* 貧寒な家庭 'a poor family', one can only put them down to oversight.

The original preface, bibliographical note, and postscript are omitted, though an index is added, in the translation.

D. C. LAU

SØREN EGEROD: *The Lungtu dialect: a descriptive and historical study of a south Chinese idiom*. xviii, 284 pp. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd., 1956. D. kr. 70.

Lungtu is a Hoklo (Fukienese) dialect spoken in the Chungshan district, north of Macau. This book is the fruit of the author's seven months' stay there, when he studied this dialect, and also Chungshan (a Cantonese dialect), and a local form of Hakka. It is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Chinese dialects, and is in some respects a model of dialect description.

The book is divided into three parts. The 'Preliminary part' provides the geographic and linguistic setting of Lungtu, and outlines the phonemic transcriptions which the author uses for other dialects. Next comes the 'Descriptive part', in five sections, where the phonetics are described, a phonemic analysis made, a grammatical analysis is given, and the relationship with the Chungshan dialect is described, and finally a complete syllabary is provided, and extensive texts. The final section of the book is the 'Historical part', where Lungtu is compared systematically with Ancient Chinese, and the relationship with the Min (Fukien) dialects is demonstrated in general outline.

This dialect is historically of considerable complexity, as three distinct strata are discernible in it. Whereas in other Min dialects there are easily distinguished a colloquial and a literary stratum, the two have fused in Lungtu to become the Lungtu colloquial, while the literary language is based on Chungshan, which has also influenced the colloquial. The author has very skilfully and convincingly disentangled these strata in the colloquial language. However, his claim (p. 281) that the pre-Tarng elements (Min colloquial) are closer to Fuchow forms, while the Tarng elements (Min literary) are closer to Southern Min of Amoy and Swatow is not so well substantiated, based as it is on chiefly negative evidence (p. 210).

Two features may be singled out as especially praiseworthy. These are the collection of texts, and the syllabary. Although many studies of Chinese dialects have been made, the number of authentic texts is small indeed. Yet, without the texts, one works very much in a vacuum. Dr. Egerod has remedied this for the Lungtu dialect by presenting a good number of texts, most of intrinsic interest, in the

colloquial language, and a few in literary language also. The syllabary is a model of its kind. It includes all syllables discovered in his investigation, with the literary and colloquial pronunciations of the characters distinguished. Chinese studies are peculiarly fortunate in that for nearly a thousand years, almost every worker in the field of phonology has provided a complete inventory of the sounds in his dialect. It is good to see that Dr. Egerod has maintained this tradition.

The 'Historical part' is exemplary. The various reflexes of Ancient Chinese initials and finals are arranged clearly, and, most important, the number of occurrences of each reflex is shown. Much material for speculation is provided, especially where certain general patterns seem to be general in the Min field, as, for instance, the two reflexes of Anc. Chin. ʔ-. This is perhaps to be related to the problem of the two reflexes (aspirated/unaspirated) in the reflexes to Anc. Chin. 'voiced' plosive initials.

Most difficult to assess is the grammatical analysis (pp. 52 ff.). Based partly on Hjelmslev, it uses two criteria, presupposition and position. It is also burdened with a truly formidable terminology. In some cases, one wonders whether the texts used were extensive enough. For instance, are there in the dialect no constructions equivalent to Pekingese 大了很多? If there are, his category of 'non-conjugatables' (p. 54) ceases to exist. Occasionally his texts seem to contradict his analysis. Since 'címhəj' in 'lāəq címhəj' 兩姊妹 (p. 151) is modified by an 'approximable', is it a 'singulative'? The feeling persists that although the approach may be fruitful, the analysis as presented is not altogether successful.

In the 'Preliminary part', phonemic transcriptions are provided for Cantonese, Chungshan, Amoy, Swatow, Fuchow, and Pekingese, based on the same general approach. The question of what kind of transcription to use for comparative work is extremely difficult, and the author deserves credit for tackling it. Nevertheless, the solutions he offers are disappointing. The transcriptions he uses seem to be a mere juggling of vowel-symbols to get the smallest possible number of symbols, in the course of which many of the fundamental features of the dialects are obscured. In Cantonese, for instance, to use the symbol 'i' for the vowels of both the -eŋ and -iŋ finals, and 'ə' for both -ən and -œŋ, not only obscures the long/short distinction, basic to Cantonese, but also makes comparative statements needlessly complicated.

The book is well-produced, and errors noted were very few (chiefly in Ancient Chinese

reconstructions). The book deserves an unstinted welcome. The reviewer hopes that Dr. Egerod will continue his work on the Min dialects, hitherto probably the most obscure of the Chinese dialects.

G. B. DOWNER

S. HOWARD HANSFORD: *The Seligman Collection of oriental art. Vol. I. Chinese, Central Asian and Luristān bronzes and Chinese jades and sculptures.* xiii, 135 pp., front., 80 plates. London: Lund Humphries for the Arts Council of Great Britain, 1957. £8 8s.

During the 'thirties collectors in Europe, the United States, and Japan were eagerly competing for the ritual bronzes of China which were coming on to the international market more and more freely, while exhibitions in a dozen different cities deeply impressed wide circles of the public with the qualities of conception and execution of a great monumental art. At the same time scholars were seeking to classify and arrange these vessels and weapons and to explain their uses and the meaning of their form and decoration. In the same period, too, for the first time scientific excavation was in progress in China on an important early site, at Anyang in Honan, and reports were beginning to be published. It was thus essentially a period of exploration, and the first need was to publish and to provide the material for study. So there appeared in these countries two types of publication, the catalogue, of collection or exhibition, and the typological study, like those of Karlgren, Trubner, or Jung Kéng by form, grammar of ornament, or technique of decoration. Among the catalogues none was more thorough and rigorous than those by W. P. Yetts of the Eumorfopoulos and Cull collections. He based them on two fundamental studies which seemed to offer some firm ground, the study of inscriptions which had a long history in China, and the study of bronze technique in which Western scientific techniques might be expected to be useful. The Cull catalogue appeared in 1939, by which time preliminary reports of the Anyang excavations were already appearing. It seemed that a new period in bronze studies had opened. However, nearly 20 years later the position does not seem to have changed greatly. Catalogues follow one another of collections in Japan, America, Sweden, Germany. The older woodcut books of bronzes in some instances are succeeded by new collections with more accurate reproductions of ink squeezes. The amount of published material and the number of cross-references grow. In

Sweden Dr. Karlgren, now the doyen of the profession, has pursued his analytical studies of the decorative motives. It seemed as though little further progress was possible on these lines and many were eagerly awaiting the general treatment of this subject on which the late Professor Yetta had been working so long. It is now known that this study will never appear, and one regretfully looks round for such a treatment from another hand.

Professor Hansford was trained by Yetta and has now succeeded to the chair of Chinese Archaeology of which he was the first occupant and which has now been transferred to the Percival David Foundation. The first volume from his pen since his inauguration has now appeared: it is a catalogue of the Chinese (and some other northern Asiatic) bronzes, jades, and sculpture in the collection of Mrs. Seligman, widow of the well-known anthropologist Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., who died in 1940, and herself an anthropologist of note. They travelled extensively together and collected, virtually from the time of their marriage in 1905, Chinese antiquities and works of art. At first they acquired mainly pottery and porcelain, but bronze became an increasing interest. The collection was, however, built up with much discrimination, each piece having some special point of interest. The part of this collection of more purely archaeological value, the Chinese weapons and ancient glass, was generously presented to the British Museum by Mrs. Seligman in 1941, together with several outstanding works of art, and she has since reduced the porcelain collection but much enhanced the importance of the collection of bronzes.

The Seligman collection of bronzes is not very large—some 25 vessels, 24 mirrors, 8 weapons, 13 fittings are the most important categories—but it has been formed with great care and discrimination over 30 years, and it is clearly one of the best private collections in Europe. The Arts Council has commissioned a catalogue on a generous scale worthy of such a collection. Nearly every item is reproduced in the 80 collotype plates. The plates are clear and detail is sharp under a glass, and much care has evidently been taken in choosing the angle of vision. It is therefore not easy to say exactly why the bronze vessels do not all look as fine as they are. There is, however, something old-fashioned about the appearance of this volume which is unexpected in a work bearing the imprint of Messrs. Lund Humphries and the Arts Council. Collotype is an expensive process and it was therefore right to set a limit to the number of the plates, but it might have been wiser to illustrate some of the finest pieces (A 3, 4, 9 for instance) from several

points of view or with full scale detail as has been done in some American and Japanese catalogues. Some of the mirrors, on the other hand, occupy a comparatively exaggerated space.

The catalogue entries are disappointingly brief and factual and chronological attributions generally are avoided or at least are as indefinite as 'Shang-yin or early Chou', a form of dating corresponding to the First Stylistic phase in Yetta's system of classification which is taken over by the author. It is curious that after noting the association of one vessel, a *fang-ting* (A 3) with two inscribed bronzes in the Buckingham and Kano collections, this is given no more precise a date than 'First Phase', when Early Western Chou would be expected. Caution is wise but if the line of argument for an attribution is clearly disclosed there is no reason to eschew attempts at closer dating. Indeed only by constructive analyses of this kind can the sifting of this material be taken further.

Considerable attention is, however, directed to the inscriptions on several of the vessels. There is space here to comment only on two of them. The authenticity of the horses in the inscription on the fine *ting* (A 2) is not supported by comparison with the parallels cited from Lo Chên-yu. These are all pairs with a man between and in form unnaturalistic. The *ho* (kettle) A 4 bears a diagrammatic character traditionally equated with *Chu* 𠂔 and given the meaning in the *Shuo-wên* of 'store separately'. The catalogue entry illustrates several variants of this pictogram, but it is worth recording that it is found, in exactly the same form as on the Seligman *ting*, on three ritual vessels now exhibited in the Shang gallery in the Peking Palace Museum, a *p'ou*, a *ting*, and a *fang ting*, which were all found together. The existence of this unpublished group strongly suggests that the pictogram is a family emblem and may very well stand for *lu* 盧 (shield) as suggested by Kuo Mo-jo and reported by Professor Hansford, who himself seems to prefer a descriptive meaning connected with the idea of safe storage.

Under A 5 there is a lengthy excursus on the diagrammatic cartouche which was designated by the Sung cataloguers the *ya-hsing* 亞形, which simply means the form shaped like the character *ya*. Dr. Karlgren has for many years past argued that this must be a picture (that is, a ground plan) of the ritual jade known as *ts'ung* 琮, which name he suggests is identical with the *tsung* 宗 (ancestor temple). Professor Hansford prefers to see in the cartouche a picture of the typical

tomb with its four entrances on the four sides, such as was found at Anyang. He would like to believe that the character *ya* developed from this pictogram and acquired its meaning of hateful, abhorrent, through association of ideas with burial and the tomb. But this is only a secondary meaning of *ya*, and it is an unfounded assumption that to the Shang people the tomb was 'hateful'.

What is instructive in Professor Hansford's account is the suggestion that the cartouche may have to do with rites performed at the tomb at the time of burial, for instance the offering of wine, as represented in a *ya hsing* of which he reproduces a representation (fig. 7). This may be a fruitful line to follow up. Could it be that the first ancestral temple is the tomb? This idea does perhaps receive some support from the pictogram on a *kuei* in the Ingram collection, discussed by Yette, who identified the animal inscribed inside the cartouche as a dog. For, as Professor Hansford elsewhere reminds us, a dog has been found buried beneath the corpse in some Shang burials, and must therefore have been sacrificed at the funeral rites.

In his discussion of the same vessel (A 5, a *chueh*) Professor Hansford favours the suggestion made by Claude Schaeffer that the capped columns rising from the lip of this shape and the *chiao* and *chia*, may be derived from small cups found attached to the rim of some pottery vessels found at the old Iranian site of Tepe-Giyan. This is, however, only a rare 'sport' in Persia without any following so far as we know and too remote in place and time from North China in the Shang period to lend it significance. The columns also, in the Chinese bronzes, are at least as significant as the caps, and it is hard to believe that they did not have the functional purpose proposed by Yette of providing a handy means of lifting these tripod wine vessels when heated. This view is, in my opinion, not weakened by the discovery of a pottery *chia* with this feature in the lowest, presumably early Shang-yin, level at Ch'eng-chou. It merely suggests to me that bronze was already in use at this time, since the excrecence has no purpose in pottery, which is to be regarded as only a cheap substitute for the metal.

Professor Hansford does not discuss Karlgren's identification of the pictogram on the *kuei* A 11 as the artist's signature, unless he implicitly rejects it as one of the 'ingenious explanations' to which he refers without comment. It would be interesting to know why the *ku*, A 25, is ascribed to the 'Early Third Phase. Chou period' while the bell A 23 is given to the 'Second Phase. Mid-Chou period'. In all these cases one cannot help regretting that Professor Hansford with his

specialist knowledge of the subject has not allowed himself to quote parallels more freely, especially those from excavations. There is now a considerable body of material in official Chinese publications which permits of closer ascription in time and place. The remarks prefixed to the bibliography suggest a possible reason; for there the reader is referred only to publications available in 'the larger public libraries in Great Britain'. The volume is sponsored by the Arts Council and may be assumed therefore to be addressed to a wide public which it is intended to introduce to one of the great arts of the world. Is it possible that in a desire not to be too technical or discursive the author has fallen short of what his reader whether specialist or non-specialist might have hoped for? The introduction does not set out to give a general account of Chinese culture but gives instead a useful summary of the evidence for the technique of bronze casting and of the traditional Chinese classification of the vessels, in which much attention has been confined to the inscriptions. But is it not over-simplifying to say that the early Chinese 'used the ritual bronzes as vehicles of inscriptions'? This suggests, no doubt unintentionally, that the main purpose was this, whereas many early bronzes are uninscribed, and it may be that all early marks served no other purpose than to distinguish vessels dedicated to the service of one ancestor rather than another. That it is true of some Chou bronzes should not lead us to read any such significance into Shang times. So too the statement that the ritual bronzes served as 'a kind of communion plate for use in the family shrines of the ancient nobility', imports something which has precise connotation in religious history and which would be highly significant if it could be proved. A few pages earlier we read that the gods of the forces of nature and of local features were similarly honoured in sacrifices with the ancestors. The reader will want to know more. In fact, although one is grateful for this record of a fine collection, it is not unmannerly to ask for more.

BASIL GRAY

ROBERT J. SMITH and JOHN B. CORNELL:
Two Japanese villages: Kurusu, a Japanese agricultural community; Matsunagi, a Japanese mountain community. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Occasional Papers, No. 5.) xvi, 112, xvii-xxiv, 113-232 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956. \$6.

The fifth volume of the Occasional Papers

of the Michigan Center for Japanese Studies presents more results of anthropological research based on the Center's research station in Okayama. Each of the two monographs it contains describes a smallish *buraku* community of the mountain village type; one, in Kagawa Prefecture, well exposed to urban influences, the other, tucked away in the mountain fastnesses of northern Okayama, about as difficult of access as villages can be in modern Japan.

Both authors give good precise factual descriptions of the material culture; the layout of the villages and of farm-houses, types of crops, agricultural techniques, and the like. Thereafter their interests diverge. Dr. Smith gives us the annual ceremonial calendar and the life-cycle of the individual traditional to the American cultural anthropologist. He also provides detailed information on the land reform and the economic structure of agriculture, though not always accurately where the wider institutional context is concerned. Thus it is not true to say (p. 33) that a farmer in difficulties may lose his land to the Government. Co-operative savings and loan interest rates are not fixed by law (p. 62), though loan interest maxima are. Nor, since the *nōgyō tegata* system began in 1948, have all chemical fertilisers had to be bought for cash (p. 52). Dr. Smith's main analytical concern is with the changes induced by the processes of urban influence, industrialization, modernization, Westernization or what one will. He has some interesting things to say on the effect of the war, and in particular highlights the evacuation of city populations to the countryside in 1945 as an important catalyst of change. But his analysis of the mechanisms of social change is not spelled out in detail. It does not, for instance, provide an explanation for the disappearance of the many traditional customs which he records as 'formerly practised', or 'known only to some older residents'. One can understand how weather forecasts reduce the urgency of rain-invoking rites, but why should the coming of buses and trains and radio and evacuees lead to the disappearance (and in this age of feminine resurgence) of the traditional custom that men cooked their wives' breakfasts on New Year's morning, or that grooms visit their in-laws on the fifth day of marriage? Is it that a weakening of the authority of tradition in, say, the technological sphere affects the imperative force of tradition in other spheres? And if so why does it break down where visits to in-laws are concerned but not, for instance, as regards the making of marriages? Dr. Smith does not provide answers to these questions, but he provides a great deal of data for those who would wish to speculate.

Dr. Cornell's interests lie more in the analysis of groupings in the village and of the structural principles which underlie them. His analytical scheme of household roles (or more properly statuses)—basic categories of household membership which blood relationships are, sometimes arbitrarily, tailored to fit—is an excellent one and an original advance in the analysis of the traditional Japanese family. But he surely goes too far in claiming (p. 231) that the 'role relations [of the household] are those of person to group instead of the familial one of person to person'. (Surely the specific mother-child relationship, for instance, is still very important.)

The second main emphasis of his analysis is placed on the importance of residential propinquity, rather than kinship, in determining relations of solidarity within the village. The diminished importance of extended family ties in the central and western districts of Japan is well known, but Dr. Cornell's villagers apparently go further than most in de-emphasizing kinship. The word for 'relative'—*shinrui*—is applied to neighbours with whom close ties are maintained, irrespective of whether or not there are actual ties of blood or marriage. (What, one wonders, do they make of the old adage *too shinrui yori chikai tanin* 'better an unrelated neighbour than a relative far away'?) This is a discovery of considerable interest; so, too, is Dr. Cornell's indication of the importance of kinship ties in determining social relations *outside* rather than *inside* the village.

In reading these two accounts one is forced to reflect on the difficulty of finding any unidimensional scale for measuring the 'traditionalism', the 'backwardness', or the degree of 'urbanization' of Japanese village communities. By all accounts Dr. Smith's Kurusu is the more sophisticated; the more subject to town influences in the matter of education, permanent waves, dress, and the like. But yet it is Matsunagi which has the more highly developed commercial agriculture, growing a variety of cash crops, while Kurusu markets only grains. The book could usefully have been rounded off with a joint chapter discussing the whys and wherefores of differences such as these.

Perhaps, however, one could hardly hope for conclusive results from a comparison of only two villages. It is the merit of these authors that they have made wider comparisons easier and more potentially fruitful by adding two more specimens to the growing body of village studies. And they have produced accounts which are well enough planned and written to be read with pleasure for their own sakes.

R. P. DORN

B. SCHRIEKE: *Indonesian sociological studies, part two. Ruler and realm in early Java.* (Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Vol. 3.) xii, 491 pp., 2 maps. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1957. Guilders 11.50.

This is the second volume of the late Professor Schrieke's writings to be issued by the committee formed under Dr. W. F. Wertheim's chairmanship for the purpose of publishing English translations of works on Indonesia by Dutch scholars, and affiliated to the Royal Tropical Institute at Amsterdam. It consists almost entirely of previously unpublished work, which the author was engaged upon during the last years of his life, and left unfinished at his death in 1945. Schrieke was primarily a social scientist, and his contributions in the field of Indonesian history were of the nature of interpretations of existing material. And it is not too much to say that he formulated some of the more important theories with which Dutch historiography has been busy since the publication in 1931 of N. J. Krom's great pioneer work, *Hindoe-Javaansch geschiedenis*. He it was, for example, who rejected Krom's theory that the impact of Islam caused a break of a fundamental character in Javanese cultural history, and insisted that Javanese history and historiography must be viewed as an indivisible whole. Two of the papers in the present volume, 'The penetration of Islam in the Archipelago' and 'Disruption and continuity in Javanese historiography', deal specifically with these questions, and are welcome for their clear expression of some of his most mature thought. Unfortunately both were left unfinished. The first breaks off just short of a conclusion, but its penetrating examination of subjects such as Islam's 'race with Christianity' in Indonesia, and the role of the north Sumatran state of Aceh in the diffusion of Islam, makes it of special interest. The second, a discussion of the historical ideas of the *babads* and *sejarahs*, the dynastic chronicles produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is little more than a fragment, though worth having.

The essays forming the major part of the book, and from which it takes its title, were composed as parts of a *magnum opus* which was never completed. It was to have been a special study of the kingdom of Mataram, both the older 'Hindu' realm in central Java, which flourished in the latter part of the first millennium A.D., and the later Islamic one with which the Dutch had to deal in the seventeenth century, and Schrieke's object, he tells us, was to show the contribution that the more

recent history of Java can make towards a better understanding of earlier history. Thus these essays represent an attempt to justify the basic hypothesis that Javanese history must be treated as a unity.

Now presumably to-day no one would quarrel with this hypothesis. About the precise value of these studies, however, the question is not so easily settled. For since Schrieke's death our knowledge of the Sailendra period has been completely revolutionized, mainly through the labours of Professor J. G. de Casparis of the Airlangga University of East Java in elucidating the evidence of its epigraphy, while for the later periods the previously accepted ideas regarding the nature of the chronicles, notably the *Nagarakertagama*, the *Pararaton*, and the *Babad tanah Jawi*, have been subjected to devastating criticism by Professor C. C. Berg of the University of Leiden. This means that some of the basic assumptions about the earlier history of Mataram accepted by Schrieke—e.g. the Hindu colonization of Java, Airlangga's partition of his realm, Krom's account of the four daughters of Kertanagara and his view of the empire of Majapahit—are now so powerfully challenged that, in this reviewer's opinion at least, they are quite untenable.

In their 'foreword' the editors refer to studies which are in disagreement with Schrieke's theories, but without specifying them. They explain that 'they have not felt it necessary to indicate these divergencies of opinion' because only a handful of scholars is working in the field and no common agreement has yet been reached between them. It is a regrettable decision. It may well be that the task of adding notes to indicate what more recent scholarship has to say on the subjects dealt with by Schrieke would be particularly difficult, perhaps impossible to perform satisfactorily. Nevertheless the 'new look' given by de Casparis to the Sailendra period, and the 'higher criticism' applied by Berg to the Javanese chronicles, ought not to have been passed over with this mere wave of the hand, for presumably this excellent English translation is intended for a far wider circle of readers than just those few specialists who have kept abreast of recent work on the subject.

D. G. E. HALL

FELIX M. KEESING and MARIE M. KEESING: *Elite communication in Samoa: a study of leadership.* (Stanford Anthropological Series, No. 3.) vii, 318 pp. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; London:

Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, [1956]. 38s.

As an anthropologist looks at the organization of a small-scale social group functioning at a low level of economic development, he may often be struck by the similarity between the social stimuli and the consequent responses which can be seen at work there and those which operate in the internal and external affairs of great nations. Anthropological literature is not lacking in attempts to relate the analysis of social problems in a microcosm not only to the understanding of human behaviour in general but to the solution of individual and social problems in industrial societies. It will be remembered that Margaret Mead pointed out the contrasts between the adjustment of adolescents to adult society in Samoa and the United States. Professor Keesing whose interest in Samoan society is of 30 years' standing and who has also written other important studies on that subject, sets out in the work under review to discover what general deductions may be made from a study of *elite communication*. The word *elite* is used broadly in the sense of *privileged class* and if I interpret him aright *communication* must here be held to mean the establishment and maintenance of any relationship whatsoever either between individuals or between social groups with particular reference to the existence of barriers due to differences of language, status, race, and relative power.

Since 1947 the New Zealand authorities administering Western Samoa on behalf of the Trusteeship Council, and the Council itself have urged the Samoans to adopt a system of direct voting, and in keeping with modern concepts of democracy, to grant votes to all adult persons. Paradoxically enough it is the Samoans themselves who have consistently and emphatically rejected these well-intentioned proposals. Even a cursory knowledge of Samoa must leave one with little doubt that the voteless members of the community are as opposed to them as the privileged voters. Thus on the assumption that the system now in operation is satisfactory to all and is suited to the needs of Samoan society, interesting problems of social organization arise. What is this privileged class whose sole right and exclusive claim to have a voice in elections is supported by the whole country? How are its members recruited? What is the basis of their power and how is it maintained? What safeguards exist to guarantee against abuse of power and misrepresentation? How are different opinions reconciled? What provision is made for the peaceful settlement of rival claims? In a simple economy serving a people with an orally-transmitted culture how

are leaders distinguished outwardly from the rest of the people? How is the relative status of social groups varying in numbers and power maintained and, if necessary, altered, in keeping with changed circumstances? How can the privileged voter voice the different opinions of his non-voting supporters faithfully? How is individual behaviour geared to corporate responsibility? Does the system breakdown when *communication* is, say, between Samoans and Europeans? In all these activities what is the relative part played by language, by ceremony, by travel, by the formal exchange of valuables, and by other means of *communication*?

The authors have put and attempted to answer all these and other cognate questions. Their detailed analysis of the mechanism of Samoan communication carries conviction and satisfactorily accounts for the apparent anomaly of a people living in an age of almost universal individual franchise and yet not wishing to have the vote. By reference to the concepts of corporate responsibility, corporate prestige, and to the desire to be represented at the highest level by a representative of the highest possible standing, the authors show how the Samoans may in fact have a more effective and even perhaps a more democratic (in the true sense of the word) way of managing their own affairs than they could be certain of if they relied on the chances of the ballot-box.

It might be argued that as they develop their thesis the authors show a tendency to overstress the positive and pass somewhat lightly over the negative results of the methods by which elite communication is achieved. The striving after balance and the desire to keep opposing forces in permanent mutual check, the temporarily weaker party never acknowledging the supremacy of the stronger social group must lead to a state of general flux, uncertainty, and insecurity, with open violence never far beneath the outward calm and dignity of Samoan social life. Moreover the striving after balance finds an outward expression through certain activities such as ceremonial exchanges which are at best unproductive and at worst utterly wasteful. This reservation does not, however, invalidate the authors' analysis and the parallel with modern international affairs will be evident even if they have not made it explicit. This attempt to co-ordinate in a single study the techniques of social anthropology and of communication theory is as far as I know unprecedented and it may well open another fertile field of sociological discovery.

G. B. MILNEB

AMAAT BURSENS: *Inleiding tot de studie van de kongolese Bantoe talen.* (Kongo-Overzee Bibliotheek, VIII.) xxii, 151 pp., 6 maps. Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1954. Bel. fr. 120.

This book was published simultaneously in a French and a Dutch version. As the purpose of the author was to provide an introductory manual of Bantu language study for students at the official training college for future administrators in the Belgian Congo, the material used is chosen according to a definite plan. There are a number of illustrations quoted from languages spoken outside the Belgian Congo and some from the lesser known languages of the Colony, but most of the description is based on Luba, Mongo, Swahili, and Lingala, the latter being, however, an artificial so-called literary form rather than the trade language actually in use.

This manual adds little to our knowledge of the Bantu languages since most of the information it contains is taken from existing work, and indeed in the introductory sections assertions made by other writers are quoted as authoritative, even where they have but a slender foundation. The result is that in some respects there is a deceptive air of finality about a number of statements that are in fact of doubtful validity. Apart from this defect, however, the author has undoubtedly succeeded in producing a book suitable for giving a general idea of the main characteristics of the selected languages.

MALCOLM GUTHRIE

Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique). Série in 8°. Sciences de l'Homme. Linguistique, Vols. 3, Tom. 1, 10-14. Tervuren: Commission de Linguistique Africaine, 1955-7.

These volumes are part of the important series of studies on languages spoken in the Belgian Congo published as Annals of the Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo at Tervuren, Brussels. Eight volumes have previously appeared and these further works are well up to the high standard of typography and general production of the earlier ones. One cannot but be glad that the Commission de Linguistique Africaine continues to support the publication of the series.

Vol. 3, Tom. 1: BENJAMIN LEKENS and GEREBERN MENS: *Ngbandi-idiotoon. 1. Nederlands-Frans en Ngbandi.* xxvii, 1091 pp., map. 1955.

This is indeed a monumental work on

Ngbandi, a non-Bantu language spoken in N.W. Belgian Congo, consisting of over 1,000 pages of dictionary preceded by 19 pages of grammatical outline and followed by over 70 pages of texts consisting of proverbial material. In some ways it is a pity that so complete a work should be from the standpoint of Dutch and not from that of the language being described. One notices that the book is marked Part 1 of Vol. 3 in the series and so presumably the second part will contain the more natural Ngbandi-Dutch dictionary. There is indeed a wealth of information on this interesting language to be found in the dictionary, but the fact that it is arranged with reference to Dutch means that its usefulness is restricted to those who happen to be speakers of that language. It is true that with the headword of each entry the French equivalent is given, but the extensive examples set out under most entries will be of no value to any reader who knows French only, which means that the sub-title of the work *Nederlands-Frans en Ngbandi* is, to say the least, somewhat misleading. Nevertheless the standard of the work is high, and all the material is transcribed with precision so that it provides a comprehensive work of reference on this language.

Vol. 10: P. DE WITTE: *Taalstudie bij de Basakata.* 216 pp., map, errata sheet. 1955.

This is an unusual work embodying a mainly lexical comparison of some 19 dialects of the exotic Sakata language. An attempt even to transcribe material from any of these dialects calls for a high degree of perceptual skill, to say nothing of the ability to use an extensive range of phonetic symbols and diacritics, and in both of these respects the author is clearly well equipped. The comparative vocabulary is prefaced by brief grammatical notes in Dutch, and followed by a résumé in French of the same information. The vocabularies themselves being collected mainly by the author himself are of uniform quality, and as a detailed map of their location is given, they provide a most valuable collection of data for studies in both comparative linguistics and linguistic geography.

Vol. 11: M. MAMET: *La langue ntomba telle qu'elle est parlée au Lac Tumba et dans la région avoisinante (Afrique centrale).* 377 pp. 1955.

This volume consists of a study of a Bantu language presented in a conventional manner, containing grammatical notes, and dictionary Ntomba-French and French-Ntomba, together with nearly 40 pages of texts and trans-

lations. The outline of the grammar is adequate but follows mainly traditional lines, and while the transcription uses a full range of seven vowel characters with tone-marks, the use in the dictionary of notes such as 'ε et ɔ peu ouverts' 'le ε plutôt long' 'le ɔ très sec' makes one wonder whether the standard of phonetic observation is quite as high in this work as in others in the series. As a documentation of this relatively unimportant language, however, the work is quite useful.

Vol. 12: A. COUPEZ: *Esquisse de la langue holoholo*. 161 pp., map, table. 1955.

The Bantu language described in this work is spoken on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, and although used only by a relatively small number of people, it is of considerable linguistic interest. The author uses an original method of presenting the grammar of a Bantu language, although his treatment shows some influence from certain American schools of linguistics. The amount of information contained in the book is considerable, and it has clearly been recorded and transcribed with great care. It is all the more pity therefore that the work is so difficult to use. In the absence of any kind of index, it is far from easy to find a particular point one wants to look up, and this state of affairs is aggravated by the idiosyncrasies of the method of description. This prompts one to wish that those who write about almost unknown languages would bear in mind that a too great preoccupation with the technique of description may actually detract from the value of their work for other scholars. Apart from this practical criticism, however, one can only be grateful to the author for adding yet another reliable description to the works of reference on African languages.

Vol. 13: A. DE ROP: *De gesproken woordkunst van de Nkundó*. 272 pp. 1956.

This is an important study of an aspect of African life that has not often been the subject of detailed description. The people involved in this work live astride the Equator and speak a Bantu language. In common with many other African societies they make great use of what has been loosely termed 'oral literature', but the author of this work has not been content to deal with this by merely making a collection of such material. Instead he has attempted to classify the various ways in which the skilled use of the spoken language plays a part in the life of the people. Dealing in one section with such subjects as

songs used in dancing, games, and personal activities, as illustrations he uses extracts collected from various sources. Further sections consider the different kinds of fables that are in current use and the light they shed on the beliefs of the people and such things as the accepted standards of behaviour. Documentation of this kind is very valuable and one may hope that this particular work will provide a sort of general pattern that may be followed for other language areas.

Vol. 14: LAURENT NKONGORI and THOMAS KAMANZI (ed. and tr.): *Proverbes du Rwanda*. 80 pp. 1957.

There have been many collections of proverbs in African languages published with translation both literal and free, and this present work from one angle is just one more to be added to the list. What distinguishes it, however, is that its authors are Africans, and that the proverbs are in their mother-tongue while the translations are in a language they have learnt. This is a welcome change, and the fact that the transcription used is accurate enough to satisfy the most fastidious makes this book a very welcome addition to the authoritative works available on the languages of central Africa.

MALCOLM GUTHRIE

A. N. TUCKER and J. TOMPO OLE MPAAYEI: *A Maasai grammar, with vocabulary*. (Publications of the African Institute, Leyden. No. II.) xvii, 317 pp., 2 maps. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955. 30s.

For half a century, Sir Claud Hollis' pioneer work *The Masai, their language and folklore* (1906) served as guide in the study and classification of Maasai. When Bari, Lotuxo, and Teso had become better known, it was felt that Maasai, a related language, should be studied anew by an experienced linguist. Professor Tucker appeared to be the only scholar in the field to undertake such a task, and we are glad that he, with all his experience and patience, did so. The outcome of this work is the rich material and masterly analysis of *A Maasai grammar* which Professor Tucker and his Maasai co-author J. Tompo Ole Mpaayei now present to us.

The orthography is based on the script system now generally applied to Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic languages, an advantage which will be appreciated not only by Maasai students and future Maasai writers, but also by students in comparative linguistics. It will

here be regretted that no diacritic distinction could be introduced between diphthongs and disyllables.

A combined method of presentation is used for the complicated material. Part I introduces the reader to the noun, adjective, and the gender pronoun system. Many examples, and translation exercises followed by a key, make the first studies easy. Part II (pp. 51-104) deals with the two class verb system with the contained pronominal object characteristic of the Maasai language. The author now introduces the distinction between close and open (the latter printed in bold face) semantic stem vowels which by their quality affect the prefix and/or suffix vowel. In a fixed scheme of vowel harmony, this vowel adapts its quality to that of the stem vowels.

Parts I and II offer so much interesting material that only a few items can be picked out. The gender prefix of the noun (masc. *ol-* fem. *en-* in the singular) may be associated with largeness or strength (*ol-*) and smallness or weakness (*en-*), and is interchangeable, e.g. *ol-doinyo* 'mountain', *en-doinyo* 'hill'. This phenomenon also applies to persons so that the gender prefix may be opposite to sex. As such observations have been made in other languages, apart from the extreme case in Hottentott, it would be of general interest to know more about this point, especially how far this changing of gender is used in daily speech.

A peculiar feature of the fem. gender prefix is its splitting up into *en-* and *enk-*. It is best observed when the noun is used without gender prefix (cf. pp. 46-7), whereas the full noun (i.e. with attached gender prefix) does not seem to make a distinction in the pronunciation of *en-kitey* 'cow' and *enk-alem* 'knife'. The comparative vocabulary of Nilotic and Nilo-'Hamitic' languages shows some similar cases of a puzzling behaviour of initial *k*- with noun-stems. We find e.g. Maasai *enk-ái* 'ram' in a Lotuko dialect, recorded by Driberg, as *kai* 'rain'. We do not yet know what the nature of this *k*- is.

Professor Tucker makes no attempt at establishing plural classes, as the formations are too manifold and there are many exceptions to the 'rule'. The adjective also knows a variety of plural formations. As a qualifier, it has no gender prefix. Used attributively, it follows the noun, whilst predicatively it precedes the noun in the same way as the verb precedes the subject (noun).

It is remarkable that gender distinction is absent in the personal pronoun, whereas the demonstrative, possessive pronouns, etc., and also the numerals 1-4, 7, 9 agree in gender not only with the masc. and fem. gender of their nouns but also with the one and only

representative of a third gender, *e-vueji* 'place', where *e-* is a locative gender prefix reminiscent of the concept of the locative classes in Bantu.

The most fascinating section of the book is Part III, 'Notes on tonal grammar', in which the tone quality and tone morphology of the two foregoing parts are dealt with. This is the first systematic tone study in a Nilo-'Hamitic' language, and its results are of great importance for similar studies in related languages, and for African and general linguistics.

We do not find the term *toneme*, and the position in Maasai shows how right the author is in handling this question carefully. There appear to be four tone levels in Maasai: high, low, mid, and high-low falling. All of them are possibly tonemes. As the mid tone is a 'raised low tone' at the beginning, and a 'lowered high tone' at the end of a word, the author regards mid tone level as a secondary tone category. But the noun tone class Id where mid tone is found on the last syllable in isolated position (and accusative) of the word, e.g. *en-túú* (as compared with nominative *en-túú*) deserves our attention; for the final syllables of other nouns in this position show high and low tone, and even falling tone, so that mid tone is apparently no secondary category here.

There are two main tone systems in Maasai: a noun and a verb tone system. The first (not affecting the gender prefix) shows a distinction between accusative (in tone like the isolated word) and nominative. So the noun constitutes a tone pattern pair in the singular and usually a different tone pattern pair in the plural. Professor Tucker groups all tone pattern pairs into four typological groups. A loan word like acc. *en-kámpí* 'camp', nom. *en-kámpí* would favour the suggestion that the accusative tone-form reflects the semantic tones. Any suggestion on this point seems to be, however, premature before comprehensive tone studies have been made in languages related to Maasai.

The verb tone system (already introduced in Part II) shows some peculiarities which seem to be based on the tone(s) of the infinitive, and it also affects and includes the pronominal prefix whose etymological tone appears to undergo a shifting (to high tone in the Continuous tense, by one tone level higher in the Present tense, and to one tone level lower in the Subjunctive). Supposing that such tone shifting, also known in the affixed pronouns in Bantu, really exists, one would have to regard the pronoun of the 3 p.sg. and pl. as containing an etymological mid-tone, and the 1 p.pl. as containing an etymological low tone, whilst all other pronouns would have high tone.

Appendix I contains a Maasai text with translation and annotations. A valuable asset is the Maasai-English and English-Maasai vocabulary in Appendix II, with tone marks and references to tone classes, paragraphs, etc.

With Professor Tucker's *Maasai grammar*, the investigation into the Nilo-Hamitic languages has made enormous progress. We congratulate the author on his wonderful work and hope that he will find time to analyse another related language with the comprehensive experience he has collected in this field. Our sincere thanks are also due to the co-author J. Tompo Ole Mpaanyi for his contribution, for indeed our tone studies would have little success without the patient help of the African who is interested in his mother-tongue.

OSWIN KÖHLER

B. W. ANDRZEJEWSKI (ed.): *Hikmad Soomaali, by Muuse Hqaji Ismaa'il Galaal*. (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Annotated African Texts, IV: Somali.) xi, 150 pp. London, Cape Town: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1956. 25s.

This is the fourth, and so far the fullest, in the School's series of 'Annotated African Texts', containing some 30 pages of actual texts by Mr. Galaal plus 30 pages of grammatical introduction and 90 pages of annotations by Mr. Andrzejewski. The question is bound to pose itself sooner or later—for whom are these and other 'annotated texts' intended? For the native reader? For the foreign learner (and, if so, at what stage of his learning)? For the language scholar? For the literary savant? For the orthography maker? The present work seems to be aimed primarily at the last three categories (which in the Somali field include a fair number of native speakers), with the proviso that any European scholar should have a previous thorough knowledge of the language. From the point of view of the School itself, the texts naturally provide valuable material for the teaching staff.

There are actually 23 texts of varying length, including poetry; Mr. Galaal himself occupies a high place among the rising Somali authors and poets, and the School was indeed fortunate in obtaining a writer of such talent. The texts deal with traditional themes, and throw much light on Somali thought and culture. One can but sympathize, however, with non-Somali-speaking students of East African culture in that, owing to the absence of a free translation of the texts, this rich material is denied them.

The orthography (or orthographies) of Somali cannot be said to be stabilized yet, and one of the functions of the texts is to illustrate the orthography which the author and his editor consider best suited to the language. This orthography is very similar to that of Bell's *The Somali language* with the addition of tone and vowel quality diacritics. Potential readers are warned to make full use of the 'Grammatical introduction' before embarking on the texts.

The normal Somali reader, unless he felt strongly about one of the rival orthographies, would undoubtedly enjoy the texts, but would be completely at sea as regards the annotations, whereas the foreign student would make very heavy weather of the texts unless he had a good vocabulary and thoroughly understood the 'Grammatical introduction'. And this introduction he will not understand until and unless he has read some standard treatise on the language like Bell's. In fact a newcomer will not even be able to pronounce the words until he has read Armstrong's 'The phonetic structure of Somali', and from that understood the great advance in phonetic theory (especially concerning the vowels) which the present work represents. For, whereas the theory of 'frontness' is convincingly set out in the introduction, the actual tongue positions of both 'normal' and 'fronted' vowels are never given and may only be guessed at by reference to a table on p. 3, where the authors' symbols are compared with those of Armstrong. (Even here the two sorts of 'i' sound are not described.) Actually, both phonetically and grammatically, one has the feeling that much of the material of the grammatical introduction is primarily concerned with establishing the authors' carefully thought out orthographic system in the eyes of other Somali orthographic experts. Consequently one feels that Mr. Andrzejewski's introductory remarks are too concentrated, and that he does not give enough of the exciting new material he has discovered, especially in the realm of tone; for his tonal discoveries are epoch-making and solve once and for all the problem as to whether and to what extent Somali may be regarded as a tone language. But why is he so sparing of his tone marks in the introduction? Surely the obvious course would have been to tone mark all the examples here, whether tonal grammar were the main topic or not, so that readers would have a background of corroborative material before embarking on the texts themselves, where tone marks are rightly reduced to their absolute minimum.

The book contains a very good bibliography of European works on the people and their language. The 'Annotations' are very full and

contain much valuable sociological as well as linguistic information. Some of the grammatical points, however, are so important that they would have been better placed in the introduction. (Learners of the language, for instance, will find the first paradigm of a typical Somali verb on p. 66, where it forms a long digression in the annotations on Story No. 1; another important paradigm is inserted among the notes on Story No. 7 on p. 76.) Similarly, some of Mr. Andrzejewski's sociological notes (such as 1A on p. 65, 4B on p. 80, 1A on p. 84, to mention a few) might well have been lifted out of their setting to form a chapter on the social background to the stories.

For the Somali scholar, however, whether native or foreign, who knows his grammar, and has a good vocabulary, the book will be a joy and an inspiration.

A. N. TUCKER

ENRICO CERULLI: *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti. 1. Storia della Somalia; L'Islam in Somalia; Il Libro degli Zengi*. (A cura dell'Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia.) [v], 363 pp., col. front., 26 plates. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1957.

It is only very recently that the present reviewer had an opportunity, in the columns of this journal, to express his admiration for two of Dr. Cerulli's latest books in the field of Ethiopic literature. Now he has the pleasure of welcoming the first volume of a monumental work, of a predominantly historical character, on another region of the horn of Africa, Somalia. It contains a large number of the author's published as well as hitherto unpublished writings concerned with this area and testifies to a literary output extending over 40 years. Some of the articles here included are difficult of access (*BSO*, *RRAL*, *Orientalia*, *OM*, *Africa Italiana*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, etc.), and it is a convenience as well as a pleasure to find them here collected together between two covers.

The Italian Trusteeship Administration of Somalia (to whose auspices we also owe the publication, in 1955, of M. M. Moreno's important Somali grammar and texts) deserves credit for sponsoring so excellent a book, and the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato has once more given proof of its splendid typographical resources. But it is to the author first and foremost that our gratitude and appreciation are due. Dr. Cerulli's writings are so numerous that he gives no respite to his reviewers and they are also so eminently good that we find ourselves depleted of superlatives. The work

under review is the fruit of Dr. Cerulli's dual role of proconsul and scholar.

The first volume now before us consists of three distinct parts:

(1) The history of Somalia. Under this head (pp. 1-173) we find Arabic inscriptions and documents bearing upon the history of this region, ethnological material and indigenous traditions, etc. Of particular interest are the mention of Somalis in the Ethiopic chronicles and the description of Mogadishu (*Maqdišu*) by Portuguese navigators at about A.D. 1600. There is also a note on some coins found along the Somali coast. This section concludes with several encyclopaedia articles on the history, religion, and language of the Somalis. Reprints from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* are in English.

(2) Islam in Somalia. This study (pp. 177-227) highlights the flexibility of Islam, especially in its fringe areas, where pagan, i.e. indigenous Cushitic, beliefs and practices continue to exist under its large umbrella. Muslim fraternities, of Šufi origin, have exerted a notable influence on the religious, political, and economic life of the country. The judicial system reflects—as so often happens—the blending of Islamic law with traditional customary codes. This section closes with a recondite disquisition on astronomic notions current among the Somalis.

(3) The final part (pp. 231-357) offers an *editio princeps* (with ample variants and Italian translation) of the *Kitāb az-Zunūṣ*, a document of considerable importance for the history of the people and country of Somalia, purporting to go back to the origins of the Somalis and taking us up to the year 1888. Dr. Cerulli's edition and the variants are based on two MSS which reveal great divergences between them, not only in purely textual matters, but also by the insertion of entire episodes and many additions. Dr. Cerulli considers this type of composition typical of the chronicle literature of East Africa and quotes in support the so-called *Cronaca abbreviata* of Ethiopia (cf. Bodleian MS Bruce 90; I. Guidi, (*Breve Storia della letteratura etiopica*, 91-2; Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, 161-2).

It would have been an advantage if the translation had carried marginal page correspondences to the Arabic text. There are a few minor printing errors in the Arabic part which the reviewer has noticed. On p. 258 *Hiffās* should, of course, have been spelt *Hifāz*.

The plates are all excellent and of great interest. The Mogadishu of 1957 (plates XIX-XXVI) looks a fine city. Indices are promised in the second volume which is to appear in the near future; and it may be hoped that it will also include a map.

While these lines are penned, the correspondence columns of *The Times* sound a warning about the political future of all the Somalia. Dr. Cerulli has given us this timely guide to a country too frequently forgotten, yet one that should not be neglected by statesman or scholar in virtue of its position as a bridge between the civilization of the East African littoral and Arabia.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

ROLAND OLIVER: *Sir Harry Johnston & the scramble for Africa*. xv, 368 pp., front., 18 plates. London: Chatto & Windus, 1957. 30s.

Sir Harry Johnston saw in tropical Africa a 'new India' awaiting British rule. He was something of an enigma; a man not acceptable to those who expected officialdom to follow an accustomed pattern, but none the less a person of uncommon gifts and infectious enthusiasm that proved capable of winning support in unlikely quarters. Unfortunately for him, however, a suitable climate in which these unusual qualities could flourish did not always exist at the Foreign Office, and though few of his contemporaries could match his extraordinary versatility and range of achievement, many were destined to secure greater advancement in more orthodox careers. Dr. Oliver's admirable analysis of Johnston's life is concerned mainly with his work as a man of action, and particularly with those two great periods of his career, as first Commissioner of British Central Africa and as Special Commissioner in Uganda, which have been placed within their contemporary setting in the course of African history.

Johnston's original intention was to become a professional artist, but at the age of 21 his interest was awoken in the regions of tropical Africa that then lay outside European control. His talents, as he said at the threshold of his career, were at the disposal of any who believed in 'the scheme of a universal British dominion'. Later, as his experience of Africa and its people deepened, he saw with remarkable clarity many of the problems that must one day ensue from the creation of new multi-racial societies.

Opportunity came in November 1881, when Johnston was invited to join a hunting expedition in Portuguese Angola. It was in preparation for this that his interest was first aroused in Bantu languages, a study that in varying degree absorbed his attention throughout the whole of his life. The expedition was followed by a journey up the Congo, where he gained first-hand knowledge of the political questions then developing among European powers

interested in the future of tropical Africa. He returned to England to produce his first book and to be questioned at the Foreign Office about the slave trade. During his second expedition, this time to the Kilimanjaro area, he evolved a scheme for the establishment of an 'African Ceylon' peopled by British colonists, and wrote to the Foreign Office requesting £5,000 to clear the forest, build a road, and construct timber houses. The money was not forthcoming, yet the coincidence of this absurd scheme and Johnston's so-called 'treaties' in the Taveta area, with Germany's entry into the colonial field played some part in inaugurating Britain's forward policy in eastern Africa.

In 1885 Johnston completed his book *The Kilimanjaro Expedition*. By now his work was well known, and his friendship with Anderson and Lister at the Foreign Office led to his first official appointment, a double Vice-Consulship in the Oil Rivers District and the Cameroons. On his return to England he came into personal contact with Lord Salisbury. Dr. Oliver's account of the relations between the shrewd and experienced statesman and the imaginative yet knowledgeable young man whose temperament was rather that of a naturalist and explorer than a consular official, makes fascinating reading and throws important light on subsequent events.

Johnston visited Hatfield, where he discussed with Salisbury the consolidation of British territory in West Africa and the elimination of the French and German pockets that were threatening the production areas for the coastal trade. Salisbury was full of the Parliamentary difficulties involved, but his main interest was Egypt, where England could only govern by placating the two chief creditors, France and Germany. Protection of the Nile Valley from other powers thus became the key to Salisbury's policy elsewhere. He was prepared to make concessions in the west, while turning his attention to East and Central Africa instead: hence the need for a settlement with Portugal to prevent the British missions and trading settlements near Lake Nyasa becoming isolated from the new British sphere of influence to the south.

For one so junior in the Service, Johnston played an influential and somewhat curious part. Assuming that Salisbury required his help in securing the support of press, public, and Parliament, he wrote an article in *The Times* entitled 'Great Britain's policy in Africa', an article, says Dr. Oliver, that 'streamed far ahead of any contemporary pronouncement of Lugard on the one hand or of Rhodes on the other... the voice of Salisbury's adviser as well as his confidant'. Significantly, it embodied the idea of a Cape-to-Cairo route

to link South Africa with Egypt—a conception that Dr. Oliver thus shows to have originated with Johnston, though Rhodes was afterwards to claim it as his own. At the beginning of 1889, when Johnston was appointed Consul at Mozambique—‘more of a special mission than a routine posting’ on account of the important issue then at stake in the control of the Zambezi as access to the interior—Salisbury actually sent Johnston to Lisbon to negotiate direct with the Foreign Minister. Before leaving for Mozambique he met Rhodes for the first time. Inspired by a common purpose, the two men talked all night, and Rhodes promised financial support.

In 1891 Johnston returned to Central Africa as Commissioner of the new Protectorate and Administrator of the sphere to the west, where the charter of the British South Africa Company had been extended. This uneasy arrangement made him an official of the Imperial Government and a servant of the Company, dependent on both—though in differing degree—for money. He had a poor opinion of the African Lakes Company and the Scotsmen who ran it, whom he accused of ‘silly little frauds’ and lack of enterprise. Communications and trade were his first concern, and Dr. Oliver has given a careful assessment of the friction caused by his land settlement and taxation, not only with European settlers and Africans, but with his paymaster the British South Africa Company, whose money he was spending on the Protectorate rather than the Company’s sphere.

By 1893, when Johnston returned to England, his relations with Rhodes were strained and before long the breach became permanent, but with a Treasury grant now guaranteed, he was able, after a recruiting tour in India, to return to Central Africa in a much stronger position. The slavers were effectively crushed, and with internal peace assured he settled down to the development of his territory. His time was short, for a third attack of blackwater fever had already made it imperative that he should leave the country.

Disappointed in his hope of the High Commissionership of South Africa, Johnston accepted the post of Consul-General at Tunis. The duties were not commensurate with his boundless energy and bubbling talents. He spent much of his leisure writing and studying, and when after two years a second opportunity came, it was partly the hope of continuing his work on Bantu languages that led him to accept the appointment of Special Commissioner in Uganda.

The situation in Uganda was serious, and the presence of a senior official, vested with the authority of Commander-in-Chief was urgently needed. The Sudanese Mutiny in the Uganda

Rifles and the military operations against Mwanga and Kabarega had driven up the imperial grants to £400,000 a year; affairs were in confusion and a new political and economic settlement was imperative. Here, perhaps, Johnston’s work and methods were less happy than in Central Africa. He was inclined to blame the country’s troubles on the effect of military rule, rather than viewing the latter as the inevitable result of years of political strife. Dr. Oliver describes the difficulties that had arisen between the officers commanding the African forces and those of the Indian troops who had reached the country in consequence of the Mutiny as ‘childish dissensions’, but they were surely rooted much more deeply than in mere questions of personal prestige. When troops are rushed into operations in separate detachments, in a country where communications are slow and difficult, central control non-existent, and mutiny rife, responsibility devolves upon local commanders to an unusual degree, and questions of seniority can be of vital importance. The Foreign Office recognized this, and more than once turned to the War Office for advice, though without receiving much practical help. Johnston’s natural preference was for the Indian troops who had served him so well in Central Africa, and he thought the Uganda Rifles already too ‘civilized’ for bush warfare: ‘They are beginning to require now military roads on which to tramp, tramp, tramp in their military boots, and, to display their military qualities to the best advantage, they must be met by an enemy on much the same plane as themselves’. But as Dr. Oliver shows elsewhere, Johnston was not above embroidering the truth when it suited his purpose: the Uganda native forces were not in fact equipped with boots until a much later period, and it was the immobility of the Indian troops, who were unable to live on the country, that within a few years led to their withdrawal and replacement by African units.

Perceiving that Buganda was the key to the country’s economic future, Johnston set about devising a system for levying taxes and securing the cession of uncultivated land. Here again the problem was very different from that of Central Africa. Negotiations were long and difficult, but the resulting Agreement left the country with a substantial revenue from hut tax, both in money and labour. Johnston’s saving of £18,000 a year in military expenditure was less to his credit, for it was not he, but the successful campaigning of the last few years that made military retrenchment possible, by purging the Protectorate of its turbulent characters.

Johnston’s relations with the Foreign Office were now far less cordial. Dr. Oliver writes in

highly critical terms of Sir Clement Hill's personal animosity, which was based on a jealousy of long standing. Yet there were many others besides Hill who were critical of Johnston's methods in Uganda, and Hill's actions were surely not entirely dictated by personal prejudice. He was not necessarily wrong, for example, in preferring the military advice of an officer of such long experience in Uganda as Colonel Ternan, and the stop which he put to Evatt's operations against the Nandi so that the railway could be completed with greater speed was in the long run sound military policy. The tribe could only be effectively subdued by several columns operating simultaneously, and for this the railway was needed as a base line for reinforcement and supply.

Though still in early middle age, Johnston received no further official employment after leaving Uganda. After two failures to obtain a seat in Parliament and two unsuccessful commercial ventures, he settled down to a secluded scholarly life, spent mainly at his country home, where the products of his pen grew steadily in volume. Dr. Oliver has not forgotten Johnston's achievements as explorer, artist, naturalist, linguist, and author, combining them skilfully with his career as a practical man of affairs to present a clear and interesting portrait of a character so many-sided and hitherto so little known. Especially valuable is the light which he has thrown upon Johnston's relations with Rhodes, Salisbury, and the officials at the Foreign Office, and their consequent repercussions upon the affairs of the pioneer period of British administration in tropical Africa. The book is well illustrated, mainly with excellent reproductions of Johnston's work as an artist.

H. MOYSE-BARTLETT

ERNST DAMMANN: *Studien zum Kwangali: Grammatik, Texte, Glossar.* (Universität Hamburg. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Bd. 63. Reihe B, Bd. 35.) xi, 184 pp. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1957. DM. 21.

Kwangali is a South-western Bantu language spoken by 16,000 to 20,000 people on the borders of South West Africa and Angola. This is the first systematic study of Kwangali, the only previous attempt being an outline grammar in manuscript which was written by a missionary for missionaries in the territory. The present work is based on the author's own field notes, taken mostly from three informants at Mupini. The author is aware of some

dialectal bias in his data and he has sought to correct this by incorporating notes and observations from experts in other areas.

The book is admirable because it contains not only a wide display of grammatical and lexical material right down to ideophones, interjections, and particles, but also a section on sentences and an appendix of annotated texts with glossary. It is a pity that the texts, which came from tape-recordings, are not tone-marked.

The reviewer has no first-hand knowledge of Kwangali and can judge the author's findings only by the inner coherence of the material, which in fact it possesses to the highest degree. The presentation is another matter. This is open to the same criticism as works by other followers of Meinhof. One is baffled by the inordinate concern for those pseudo-problems of Bantu philology which centre round the 'basic meaning' of elements whose function is perfectly clear. The notional approach carries its familiar crop of frustrated predictions in chapter headings which proclaim a 'series', followed by a cry of 'absenteeism' when it is found that the necessary members are not there (pp. 63, 83, 87, 120).

The author diverges from Meinhof in treating Classes 16-18 out of context, yet his assertion that locative substantives do not exist (p. 13, n. 2, and p. 14) is refuted by the appearance of *-nze* on p. 80. It would seem, too, that the postulation of a Class 4 in Kwangali is morphologically and grammatically untenable. Nominals pluralizing from Class 3 have the prefix *no-* and the concords *i-*, etc., of Class 10, so that the singular-plural pairings are 3/10 and 9/10, but not 3/4.

This book, which is excellently printed and produced, leaves the overall impression of being a serious and valuable contribution to Bantu studies rather than to Bantu linguistics.

GUY ATKINS

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE: *Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. one.* 146 pp., 3 maps [in end-pocket]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1956. 32s. 6d.

Problems of classification have for many years occupied scholars of African languages, and the present volume represents the latest contribution to such studies, in seeking to determine the northern borders of the Bantu languages. This border area seems to be most diffuse and complex in the region of the Cameroons, becoming more clearly defined as

one moves eastwards across the Belgian Congo : so that, though the Eastern and Far Eastern teams benefited from the considerable amount of classificatory work which was already available, for the Western team the survey remained largely a matter for pioneering in the best sense of the word.

The teams undertaking the survey were divided into a Western and an Eastern one ; the former operating between the Atlantic coast and the river Oubangi, and the latter between the river Oubangi and the Nile. To these, a Far Eastern section, covering the area from the Great Lakes to the Indian Ocean, has been added for completeness. The field work, carried out under the supervision of Professors M. Guthrie and A. N. Tucker of the School of Oriental and African Studies, was completed by December 1950, and the present work contains the demographic data for the three sections, including numbers of speakers, nomenclature, and relationships with other groups wherever possible. The appended maps form a useful complement to the text.

In any survey of this kind it is clearly essential to have a set of criteria by which languages under consideration may be classified. Here the Western team state unequivocally that for Bantu languages they follow Professor Guthrie's two main criteria. These are, firstly, a system of grammatical genders, regularly associable with those found in other Bantu languages, and with certain specific features ; and, secondly, a vocabulary, part of which can be related by fixed rules to a set of hypothetical common roots. The team is thus enabled to classify other types of languages accordingly : hence the term 'Sub-Bantu' is applied to those languages in which the second criterion is operative but not the first ; while 'Bantoid' is reserved for languages in which neither is the second criterion valid nor is it possible to relate the systems of grammatical gender to those in other Bantu languages. Languages not conforming to the above are labelled negatively 'non-Bantu', which at this stage is perhaps all that can be attempted. No such statement of policy is proffered by the other teams, nor is it clear to what extent they subscribe to this view, but it would have been particularly valuable to know the basis for the Eastern team's categories of 'transition' and 'unclassified' languages, without this being in any way prejudicial to their later documentation. For the Far Eastern team it may be argued that the basic classifications into Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, etc., are sufficiently well established not to need re-statement here, but again, some explanation of a term like 'partly Bantu' would be of value. For this area, with some change of emphasis, one would welcome a discussion on

the basis for establishing particular language groups and the possibility of relating one with another. The actual system of classification used is that devised by the Linguistic Advisory Committee of the International African Institute but it appears to have been applied in some instances in a rather arbitrary fashion, since even an examination of the linguistic analyses fails to make it clear on what grounds the Luhya Group, for example, is to be distinguished from the Gisu Group. Surely somewhere attention might be paid to the criteria by which languages broadly related to one another are nevertheless differentiated at a lower level !

An evaluation of the three sections can properly be undertaken only in conjunction with the linguistic analyses (Vols. II-IV), but some general observations may be made. The work of the Western team is immediately valuable in clearing the way for further studies, and makes a major contribution to clarifying the extremely confused situations with which the team was often confronted and which have already been described by I. Richardson in 'Some problems of language classification with particular reference to the north-west Bantu borderland', *Africa*, xxv, 2, 1955, 161-9. The data for the Bantu languages in some cases amplifies that already presented by Professor Guthrie in his *The Bantu languages of Western Equatorial Africa*, O.U.P., 1953, in which linguistic features are described. The Eastern team, though concerned with a vast number of languages and dialects—some 438 being covered altogether—nevertheless benefited from previous research by such authorities as Fr. Santandrea, Professor A. N. Tucker, and Professor van Bulck, and this section should be read in conjunction with *The non-Bantu languages of north-eastern Africa* by Professor A. N. Tucker and Miss M. A. Bryan, O.U.P., 1956, with which there is both some overlap and some divergence. What applies here is also applicable to the Far Eastern section, the non-Bantu data of which had previously been published in these author's recent work (vid. sup.). The data on the Bantu languages are new in some cases, but, as noted above, the grouping is tantalizing, in that where it differs from earlier classifications, too little attention is given to differentiating features.

In conclusion the authors must be congratulated on having brought such a measure of order to their material. It is to be hoped that their efforts will stimulate further classificatory work, both in the Western areas for which data has hitherto been scanty, and in the Far Eastern region where there is a relative wealth of material.

IRVINE RICHARDSON: *Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. two.* 95 pp., map [in end-pocket]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1957. 25s.

This volume contains the linguistic evidence in support of the classification presented in Part I of the first volume. That is to say, it contains outline linguistic descriptions, together with some demographic notes, for that part of the Bantu borderland that lies between the Atlantic coast and the R. Oubangui. (Nigeria, except for part of the Cameroons territories, is excluded.) It is also intended, in its Bantu section, to supplement Professor Guthrie's *Bantu languages of Western Equatorial Africa*. This accounts for the fact that only five of the eleven Bantu groups listed in Vol. I are dealt with here: other data have already been published by Professor Guthrie. There are a few other minor gaps, evidently because first-hand information could not be got in the field.

There is a close relationship also between this work and Professor Guthrie's, since his conceptual scheme is adopted. The languages are divided into Bantu (including sub-Bantu), Bantoid, and non-Bantu. The most important criteria for establishing membership of the Bantu or Bantoid groups are, respectively, a vocabulary that can be regularly related to, and one that merely resembles to a greater or lesser degree, a hypothetical Common Bantu one. Regular correspondences in the class-prefixes are also important as distinguishing between Bantu and Bantoid. The non-Bantu languages have nothing particular in common beyond what their name implies. In each separate description, also, Professor Guthrie's pattern is followed, in that information is given under a standard set of headings such as Sound Patterns, Class System, Verbal System, Vocabulary Content, and so on, not all of which, however, are listed for each language.

Dr. Richardson and his colleague on the research team were faced with two problems.

One was to make some sort of general sense of an area inherently complex, but made even more confused by conflicting statements from different authorities, misapplication of ethnic names to languages, extension of them to other ethnic groups, and so on. The second was to record, systematize, and classify the linguistic data from this area. They have succeeded in making the demographic situation much clearer; and, to a lesser extent, with the linguistic problem also. On p. 62, for example, we read, 'No attempt has been made to systematize the phonetic material [on Bamileke languages] gathered in the field since it is realized that under the circumstances this might well lead to an inadvertent falsification of the linguistic evidence'. This is one of a number of cases where little or no systematization of the data could be arrived at in the time available. Moreover, the Bantu-centred approach inevitably leads to descriptions which become less satisfactory the farther the language under consideration departs from a Bantu model. This is not to deny, however, that, for the Bantu and Bantoid languages of the area particularly, we have in this book much new, interesting, and useful information. The investigators have based their work firmly on first-hand research in the field, but they have also constantly taken into account the findings of previous workers in the area, and have integrated them into a single self-consistent account. The whole work represents an important step forward in our knowledge of a difficult area.

There is a misprint on the map, where Bantoid language 2.1 (Bandem) has been shaded as if it were non-Bantu. I should have welcomed an alphabetical index of languages as well as a numerical one, and should have preferred a rearrangement of the volumes whereby demographic and linguistic material would have been given in a single volume for each of the sections of the survey. It seems, however, that financial considerations hindered the realization of what might have been desirable on other grounds.

F. D. D. WINSTON

SHORT NOTICES

SABATINO MOSCATI: *Ancient Semitic civilizations*. 254 pp., 17 plates [one on dust-jacket only]. London: Elek Books, 1957. 25s.

Professor Moscati's work, now made available in this English edition, is designed to give a general outline of the main features of Semitic civilization within certain historical limits, terminating in the case of the Hebrews with the loss of their political independence, and in the case of the Arabs and Ethiopians with the coming of Islam. The work is aimed at the general reader, who will find it an intelligible and in most respects a reliable and well-balanced introduction to the subject. Separate chapters are devoted to Babylonians and Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs, and Ethiopians.

The chapter on the Babylonians and Assyrians gives, within less than 80 pages, a remarkably lucid and informative outline of Mesopotamian civilization. The chapters on the Canaanites and Aramaeans are very useful, although the author, whilst at one point mentioning the distinction between Aramaeans and speakers of Aramaic, does not always keep this distinction clear himself. When dealing with the Arabs Professor Moscati gives a very readable account of the usually accepted facts of the *jahiliyya*, with the findings of archaeology in South Arabia taken into account, but writes with an apparent prejudice in discussing Muhammad and the coming of Islam. The least useful chapter is probably that on the Hebrews. It is no doubt difficult to find any fresh presentation of such well-known material, but a substantial part of what is said in this chapter seems to be an unnecessary re-telling of what is already almost universally known amongst the reading public. One wonders how many English readers are likely to tackle a work, however popular, on ancient Semitic civilizations, who are not already aware that the collection of Psalms is 'one of the greatest works of human poetry' and 'contains a hundred and fifty songs of varying date' (p. 150). Almost seven pages are given up to quotations from the Old Testament: the reviewer does not question the enduring importance of Hebrew sacred literature, but as this is the one collection of ancient Semitic texts to which every reader will have access, some of the space might well have been used more profitably in further quotation from other literatures, or in dealing more adequately with Islam, which is passed over in half a page of discussion and a few fleeting references.

The plates are on the whole well chosen, though one wonders why the Dead Sea Scrolls, which are far out of the scope of the author's subject as he defines it and which are very properly dismissed in the text in a passing reference of three lines, receive one whole plate out of the 16 plates in the book. In Plate VII the choice of seal impressions is open to criticism: those reproduced—three Assyrian, one Kassite, and one Mitannian—include nothing from the Akkadian or Old Babylonian periods, the periods of highest importance for the study of Semitic cylinder seals; whilst it could be argued that the Mitannian specimen (see H. Frankfort, *Cylinder seals*, Plate XLIII¹ and pp. 281-2 for previous publication and description) belonged to Semitic civilization only at second-hand.

An odd mistake occurs in two places (pp. 169, 179), where Til-Barsip, the capital of Bit-Adini, appears as Borsippa.

H. W. F. S.

CHARLES PELLAT: *Introduction à l'arabe moderne*. v, 243 pp. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1956. Fr. 800.

In his preface, and for various reasons, Professor Pellat states that 'il n'est pas opportun de parler d'une arabe moderne en l'opposant à une arabe ancien ou médiéval'. In vocabulary only, he avers, does it show any material difference, and for practical purposes he is considering Arabic here as that fraction of the language recorded by Hans Wehr, some 45,000 words, and the vocabulary of modern times which lies outside Wehr's lexicon. No account, of course, is taken of dialects. Though Professor Pellat has perhaps slightly overstated the case, the Arabist will generally find himself in substantial agreement with him.

The grammar is intended for adults either working with a teacher or by themselves. It is in Arabic script from the outset and aims at teaching the student how to read newspaper Arabic; it is, of course, a good introduction to broadcast Arabic. It is sufficient to say that this is a good, sound grammar of simple modern Arabic, sensibly arranged, provided with a set of good modern examples and annotated passages for translation. Discussion of style hardly enters into the book, unless it be in the notes. The whole is done in 50 lessons representing approximately what could be done in an intensive course in this type of Arabic in two terms. There is a vocabulary

of approximately 2,000 words. There is no very remarkable feature of this presentation of Arabic grammar, but its soundness will doubtless make it most useful.

R. B. SERJEANT

NICOLA A. ZIADEH: *Whither North Africa?* [vii], 79 pp., map. Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1957.

This book is described by the author as 'another attempt towards an understanding of the issues in North Africa'. It is a statement of the Arab case against France, written before Morocco and Tunisia obtained independence. The historical accounts of resistance movements in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco present some contrasts with similar developments further east, in the central regions of the Arab world, e.g. the importance in Algeria and Tunisia of the Ottoman sultanate as a rallying-point, and the strength of pan-Islamic feeling.

P. M. HOLT

MAJID KHADDURI: *War and peace in the law of Islam*. x, 321 pp. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, [1955]. (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege. 45s.)

In his Preface, the author observes that 'The entry of ten Muslim states into the United Nations and its agencies is a significant phenomenon in view of the radical differences between the traditional Muslim law of nations and the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter'. Whereas, therefore, the first edition of this work, which was published in England in 1941, was confined to a study of the principles and practices of early Islam, the present edition includes a consideration of the efforts which have been made in the Muslim world of recent years to adapt these principles and practices (chiefly, it may be said, the latter) to those of the modern community of nations.

This work by the Professor of Middle East Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University and Director of Research and Education at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., will receive a warm welcome, for it provides a most convenient summary of a topic which is not only of great academic interest but also of urgent importance in the modern world. It is well arranged and well documented; detailed yet comprehensive; and it never loses sight of the wood for the trees.

Almost inevitably there are certain weaknesses. The author occasionally questions the authenticity of some of the alleged historical incidents as recorded in his sources; but more often he seems to fall between the two stools of summarizing the legal theory (as founded on, or supported by, traditional material) and providing a genuinely historical study. The English is sometimes confused and incorrect; and the proof-reading leaves much to be desired. But the format is attractive, and the printing excellent. We are greatly in Professor Khadduri's debt.

J. N. D. A.

Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, No. 1. [iii], 70 pp. Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1957. Rs. 3.50, 5s.

The first issue of this new journal from the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh, contains five articles, all dealing with matters of contemporary interest. Dr. Maqbul Ahmad, known for his work on Idrisi, launches the new journal with a stimulating essay on 'India's relations with West Asian countries and the importance of Persian and Arabic studies'. The distinguished Persian scholar, Sa'id Nafisi, contributes a 'General survey of the existing situation in Persian literature', including some pungent comments on books and writers. Dr. Munibur Rahman writes on the 'Movement for the emancipation of women in Persia' in both its literary and its political and social manifestations. Dr. Abdul Aleem reprints the first instalment of his inaugural address to the Indian School of International Studies, on the 'Historical background of present tensions in the Arab world, 1798-1914', in which he tries to provide some historical perspective for the present discontents of the Arab peoples. Dr. Mohammed Shafi Agwani concludes the issue with an essay on 'Britain and the West Asian crisis', which from its tone appears to have been written during the Suez crisis.

It was as the paramount power in India that Britain first became actively involved in the Middle East, and it is not surprising that an independent India finds herself more and more closely concerned with the problems of that area. It is therefore fitting that the Muslim University of Aligarh should take the initiative in producing a learned journal devoted to the study of the contemporary Middle East. It is not easy to deal with such a subject in a spirit of complete academic detachment, and most of the existing journals in the field reflect, however faintly, the interests and outlook of their sponsors. To this new journal the authors bring a blend of Indian patriotism

and Islamic loyalty—or rather, identification—which is in interesting contrast with the different assumptions and purposes of most Western writers on the subject. Students of the modern Middle East will welcome this new and stimulating journal, and hope that its sponsors will succeed in establishing and maintaining the high standard of scholarship which the subject merits.

B. L.

G.-H. BOUSQUET and J. SCHACHT (ed.): *Selected works of C. Snouck Hurgronje*. xxi, 299 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957. Guilders 32.50.

The Dutch orientalist Snouck Hurgronje is usually ranked with the Hungarian Ignaz Goldziher as one of the founders of the modern scientific study of Islam. Unlike Goldziher, Snouck was able to collect and republish, during his lifetime, the greater part of his miscellaneous writings, and to issue them in the six volumes of his *Verspreide geschriften*. These have, however, for some time been out of print; many of them, moreover, are written in Dutch, and for that reason are not as widely known as they deserved to be. It was therefore an excellent idea to publish, on the centenary of the master's birth, a selection of his more important writings on Islamic history, religion, and especially law. Two of the studies included in this volume were originally published in French; the others first appeared in Dutch or German, and have been translated for this volume into French or English by the editors.

The volume opens with an English version of Snouck's essay on Islam, contributed to the Bertholet-Lehmann *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1925). This is followed by the full text of his 52-page review of Herbert Grimme's biography of Muhammad. This famous review, originally published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* in 1894, was vastly more important than the book which it discussed, and marked an epoch in European scholarship in this field. The remaining eight studies deal with *Zakat*, Pilgrimage, and general problems of Islamic law. Though written on different occasions, often for critical or controversial purposes, in combination they justify the editors' claims that they 'form a remarkable introduction to the study of Muhammadan law, and fill a gap that we have all felt in the course of our own teaching'.

Snouck Hurgronje has been well served by his two distinguished disciples who have edited and produced this fine volume with such care and competence. Is it too much to hope that his great contemporary Goldziher may be similarly served by other disciples who will

help new generations of students across the barriers presented by the inaccessibility of many of his writings, the difficulty of his German style, and the still more daunting obstacle of Hungarian?

B. L.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE: *A study of history. Abridgement of Vols. VII-X by D. C. Somervell. (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.)* xii, 414 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 25s.

In this volume Professor D. C. Somervell provides an abridgement of the last four volumes of Professor Toynbee's *Study of history*, on the same lines as his earlier abridgement of the first six volumes. The two together thus form what Professor Toynbee describes in a preface as 'a uniform Abridgement of the whole book, made by a clear mind that has not only mastered the contents but has entered into the writer's outlook and purpose'. To facilitate the reader's work Professor Somervell has added at the end a useful 40-page 'Argument', summarizing the abridgement and setting forth schematically the basic theories and conceptions of the whole work.

C. G. SIMPSON: *The Turkish language of Soviet Azerbaijan: selections from the Press and from modern authors with a grammatical introduction.* [iii], iii, 124 pp. [London: Central Asian Research Centre, 1957.] 20s.

The aim of this work is to make the Azerbaijani language available for study by those with no knowledge of Russian and no previous knowledge of the Cyrillic script and in this it succeeds admirably.

Part 1 (pp. 1-38) contains a brief outline of the grammar. Because of the close similarity of Azerbaijani grammar to the grammar of Turkish of Turkey, on which several works are available in West European languages, the author did not feel that a full and complete grammar was necessary. He works on the assumption that his reader knows some Turkish and draws comparison throughout with Turkish.

The first section of Part 1 is an introduction entitled 'Orthography and phonetics'. The Azerbaijani alphabet is set out and its correspondence to the Roman alphabet of Turkish is indicated. The author, quite rightly, deals with the orthography in detail. The fact that modern Azerbaijani is written in the Cyrillic script proves a stumbling block for some of

those wishing to make a study of this language, and obscures its clear resemblance to Turkish. There is not much of phonetics but the author does not set out to give a phonetic analysis—he provides references to phonetic studies by others—and he sets out rather to give help with the spelling, and points out the changes of spelling of certain types of words in particular phonetic contexts. A phonetic table of consonants is given, but none for vowels, which is a pity, as vowels generally present a much more complex problem.

Paradigms of nouns, pronouns, and verbs are clearly set out and examples are given for all the categories dealt with. Throughout the grammar attention is drawn to points where Azerbaijani differs from or is similar to Turkish.

This work is intended to stimulate a general interest in the study of the language and is not primarily intended for linguists, so one must not be too critical of the use of such naïve terminology as 'mutation' of consonants (p. 4), 'euphonic y' (p. 6), 'unstable vowel' (p. 9), 'normal' nouns and 'pronominal π inserted' (p. 12).

As stated in the author's sub-title, the book is primarily a selection of the modern literature of the language. It is therefore fitting that the greater portion of the work (Part 2, pp. 41–123) should be taken up by the well-chosen and varied selections, which are divided up as follows: pp. 41–4, proverbs; pp. 45–63, passages from modern Azerbaijani authors; pp. 64–89, passages in translation; pp. 90–123, passages from the press. A short bibliography is given on p. 124.

There is now a steady trickle of books, written in the various languages of Soviet Asia, becoming available in this country, many of which use the Cyrillic script, and the particular value of this work seems to me to be in breaking down the barrier created by the use of this script. It would be encouraging to see similar publications for some of the other languages spoken in Central Asia.

NATALIE WATERSON

JAKOB WACKERNAGEL: *Altindische Grammatik. Nachträge zu Bd. II, 1 von Albert Debrunner.* [iii], 96 pp. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957. DM. 14.

It is a matter of good fortune for all Sanskritists and Indo-Europeanists that Wackernagel's *Alt.Gr.* is being not only re-issued under Professor Debrunner's editorship, but also extended. To the scope of these extensions, outlined in my review of Bd. II, 2 in *BSOAS*, xviii, 1, 1956, 188–90, must now

be added these *Nachträge*, which bring the references to the subject-matter of Bd. II, 1 (1905) up to date, and correct a few incidental misprints. The indication of the references by page and line is admirably clear. They range from previously unconsidered nineteenth century works and articles to those of the middle 1950s, and no significant material appears to have been overlooked. The final four pages are devoted to 'Nachträge zum Abkürzungsverzeichnis von Band II 2 S. 941–966', which, since they refer to all three published *Bände*, are very convenient to have. The printing and lay-out are excellent.

J. B.-P.

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY (tr.): *Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, or Theory of suggestion in poetry (translated into English with notes)*. (Poona Oriental Series, No. 92.) xxii, 184 pp. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1955. Rs. 12/8.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA (ed.): *Dhvanyāloka of Anandavardhana, edited with an elaborate English exposition (Uddyota I).—(Uddyota II)*. li, 177 pp.; 172 pp. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopādhyāy, 1956, 1957.

Although Dr. Krishnamoorthy's is the first complete translation of the '*Dhvanyāloka*' to appear in English, a German translation was published by H. Jacobi in 1902–3 (*ZDMG*, lvi, lvii), and to Jacobi all subsequent translations are or should be deeply indebted. Dr. Krishnamoorthy, with a touch of *ῥέψις*, dissents from Jacobi's comment that this is 'ein solcherer text'; but the critical reader will find in the present translation many evidences that Jacobi was right after all. In a first effort of this sort, minor errors are bound to creep in, and no great demerit attaches to them. They are not in general of such a nature as to interfere with the understanding of the main argument of the book. A much more serious criticism concerns the English in which the book is presented—occasionally felicitous, for the most part dry and uninspired; but every few pages, some startling ineptitude or downright error appears. In one verse, for example, we find 'heroes comfortably seated in aeroplanes. . . . They were now being fanned by the barks of the heavenly tree sprinkled with aerated sandal-water'. With renderings of this sort, it is impossible to persuade the English reader who knows no Sanskrit that such a text can have any literary importance whatever. I am not belittling Dr. Krishnamoorthy's knowledge of English. I should indeed be happy if I could do as well in his

language. But why omit the elementary precaution, before publishing in a foreign language, of having the text checked by a competent person?

Mr. Bhattacharya's work, of which the first two Uddyotas have now appeared, is very different in aim. It gives the text a few lines at a time, followed by comments in English, and lengthy quotations, which are not translated, from Abhinavagupta's sub-commentary and other relevant works in the literature on poetics. It thus provides the Indian University student with a convenient compendium of authorities on the topics dealt with by Ānandavardhana. The word 'edited' on the title-page claims more than is performed, since the text given is virtually that of the Benares edition of 1940, complete with all its errors. For the second Uddyota, the author had at his disposal the manuscript collations and suggested corrections made by Professor S. K. De; but he appears to have made hardly any use of these beyond occasionally quoting a 'variant' in his notes, without any attempt to decide which was the better reading. It seems that the old tradition that one *pāthāntara* is as good as another is a long time a-dying.

J. BROUGH

RANIERO GNOLI (ed.): *Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters. Part 1. Text [and] plates.* (Serie Orientale Roma, x. Materials for the study of Nepalese history and culture, 2.) xviii, 131 pp., 85 plates [in separate cover]. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956.

This volume contains the text of all the known Sanskrit inscriptions from the early history of Nepal, almost all brought from the central valley. In addition to those previously published by Bhagavānlāl Indrajī and G. Buhler ('Inscriptions from Nepal', *Indian Antiquary*, ix, 1880, 163 ff.), C. Bendall (*A journey of literary and archaeological research in Nepal and Northern India*, Cambridge, 1886), and Sylvain Lévi (*Le Népal*, iii, Paris, 1908). all of which are here repeated, the present volume contains 51 hitherto unpublished inscriptions, discovered by His Excellency Kaisher Bahadur. Whenever possible, Dr. Gnoli has examined existing rubbings, and worked on the stones *in situ*. Many of the inscriptions are in a lamentable state of preservation, and Dr. Gnoli is to be congratulated on the patience and skill with which he has read such broken texts. In the re-edited inscriptions, he has been able to suggest improved readings in a number of places.

Further volumes are promised, containing

an English translation and indices, and historical comment, by Professor Tucci, Dr. Gnoli, and Professor Petech. The volume of inscriptions on the Malla period is to be expected shortly.

This is a most important series, and when complete promises to add greatly to our knowledge of the history of Nepal.

ARMAND MINARD: *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins: recherches sur le Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Tom. II.* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série in-8°, Fasc. 3.) [vii], 422 pp. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1956.

This continues the author's grammatical research on the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, the first volume (?) having been published in a different series (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, Paris, 1949). The earlier publication examined principally problems connected with the accentuation of the text. The present part appears to be only the beginning of the answer to the second problem stated at the beginning of the first part: 'forme et rôle des pratika'. The third problem, 'valeur de la kaṇḍikā et, plus généralement, des différentes divisions du texte', is yet to come. Professor Minard has arranged his own work in divisions which he designates by the terms 'partie, tome, volume, cycle, livre, cahier, feuillet, chapitre, titre, section, article, §, paragraphe'. It would be premature for a reviewer to undertake research into the 'valeur des différentes divisions du texte' until the whole is published. As a tentative hypothesis I would suggest that what we now have before us is I.1, and II.1a (I.2 being in preparation, II.1b intended for the future, and II.2 being apparently now dropped from the scheme). But this is at best only a partial solution, and leaves many problems unsolved. (What, for example, is 'le second volume' mentioned on pp. 8 and 14 of the 1949 publication?)

At first sight, the author appears to have striven after an enigmatic style of presentation in keeping with his title. A vast quantity of information is laid before us, and it is sometimes difficult to see the relevance of a particular item to the main argument in progress. I suspect, however, that at least part of the difficulty is due to the author's lack of time or inclination to re-work the material into a more digestible form for the reader, and that in some places he has merely printed his collection of notes, without removing what is superfluous, or indicating connexions which, naturally, were clear enough to him, but are not always so to the reader.

This much having been said, it remains to

acknowledge with gratitude that Professor Minard has provided for us, with painstaking thoroughness, a grammatical study which is likely to remain a constant work of reference for all who are interested in the language of the oldest Sanskrit prose texts. For good measure, the footnotes supply a wealth of bibliographical references, and many interesting etymological suggestions.

J. BROUGH

CECIL BENDALL (ed.): *Śikshāsamuccaya: a compendium of Buddhistic teaching compiled by Śāntideva chiefly from earlier Mahāyāna-sūtras*. (Indo-Iranian Reprints, I.) [vii], vii, xlvii, 419 pp., front. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £3 2s.)

This text, originally published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902, as vol. 1 of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, appears as the first volume of a series of reprints to be published by the Editorial Board of the *Indo-Iranian Journal*. A work such as the *Śikshāsamuccaya* needs no fresh commendation at this date, and scholars in the field of Buddhism will undoubtedly be grateful to the Board for making it available again.

The present volume is, as the general title of the series indicates, a reprint of the original edition, produced by photography. The sole point open to criticism in an otherwise entirely praiseworthy venture is the fact that the series is described as 'edited' by the Editorial Board of the *Indo-Iranian Journal*—a phrase which might well mislead readers into expecting textual improvements from the distinguished scholars on that Board.

J. B.

VĀSUDEVŚARAṆ AGRAVĀL: *Bhārat-sāvitrī, Mahābhārat kā ek navin evaṃ sār-garbhāt adhyayan (Ādi-parv se Virāt-parv tak)*. xvi, 347 pp. New Delhi: Satsāhitya Prakāśan, 1957. Rs. 3.50.

Śrī Vāsudevśaraṇ's sure touch and sympathetic writing are everywhere apparent in this little work, which is a free translation in Hindi of the first four *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata*; the remainder is to follow in two further parts. As so much of Hindi literature, new as well as old, draws its inspiration from the Epic, this book will be of great value to the student of Hindi in providing him with the

background of many of his texts, and will, we hope, encourage him to the study of the Epic in the original.

J. B.-P.

U. N. GHOSHAL: *Studies in Indian history and culture*. xxv, 538 pp. Calcutta, etc.: Orient Longmans, 1957. Rs. 25.

This is a revised edition of Dr. Ghoshal's *Beginnings of Indian historiography and other essays*, published in 1944, but so much has been altered, and so many new papers have been included and old ones omitted, that it constitutes virtually a new book. It consists in the main of articles which have already appeared in learned journals, and their range alone testifies to the catholicity of the interests of one of the most venerated authorities on early Indian history.

The papers are of varying importance, but all are of value and interest. Among others this collection contains articles on the historical content of the Vedas, the Purāṇic historical tradition (about which Dr. Ghoshal shows commendable caution), the *Harṣacarita*, the *Rājataranginī*, 'the dynamics of Indian history' (an interesting survey of the whole course of India's historical development, showing a freshness of approach admirable in so senior a historian), and an important series of studies on aspects of ancient Indian polity, a field which Dr. Ghoshal has made especially his own. The latter includes articles on the Vedic ceremonies of royal consecration, the republican tribes of ancient India (in this paper the author is very critical of many interpretations generally accepted by Indian scholars), the functions of ministers, and administrative nomenclature. A valuable paper on Indian slavery must also be mentioned, as well as the concluding study of the book, on the causes of the downfall of Hindu India in the face of the Muslims, in which the author rightly rejects all specious simplifications and attributes the failure of the Hindus to the interaction of many factors, social, political, and religious.

Of the papers included in Dr. Ghoshal's earlier collection and omitted from this the absence of two is especially to be regretted. These are a useful survey of some disputed passages in the Aśokan inscriptions, and the paper entitled 'On some texts relating to the ownership of the soil'. The latter, refuting the view of Jayaswal that the Hindu king did not claim the ultimate ownership of the land, is in our opinion one of the best short studies of the question hitherto produced.

A. L. BASHAM

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI: *Ethnic settlements in ancient India (a study on the Puranic lists of the peoples of Bharatavarsha). Part I—northern India.* xviii, 213 pp., map. Calcutta: General Printers & Publishers Ltd., 1955. Rs. 10.

The historical and geographical data of the *Purāṇas* have long been the subjects of much research, but, as with many other topics of early Indian historical study, no universally accepted chronology has been produced, and many historians have inclined to the view that the picture of the earliest history of India becomes more convincing and clearer if this obscure and garbled legendary material is virtually ignored.

In the work under review, however, some useful historical information has been extracted from these scriptures. Dr. Chaudhuri has studied no less than 280 ethnic and tribal names in the *Purāṇic* literature, and, by bringing to bear on them the evidence of such sources as Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā*, Buddhist and Jaina texts, inscriptions, and classical and Chinese references to India, has thrown considerable fresh light on the location and history of many Indian tribes of ancient days. Perhaps wisely, he has escaped the chronological difficulties involved in the study of *Purāṇic* material by leaving the question of dating virtually untouched. Thus he has avoided the fantastic claims of some Indian scholars, who believe that settlements of Aryan tribes existed in widely scattered parts of India in remote periods, when, if we are to believe the archaeologist, the Harappā Culture was still flourishing in Sind and the Panjab. This is a positive if modest contribution to knowledge, the value of which is not seriously diminished by several questionable views or by the annoying and inaccurate Bengali habit of using *b* for *v* in Sanskrit words and phrases.

A. L. BASHAM

SIR CHARLES FAWCETT: *The English factories in India. Vol. III (New series). Bombay, Surat, and Malabar coast.* xlviii, 436 pp., 3 plates, 2 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.—*The English factories in India. Vol. IV (New series). The eastern coast and Bay of Bengal.* xxxvi, 377 pp., 2 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. 50s. each.

These two volumes both cover the years 1678–84, an eventful period. The factories were troubled both externally in their relations

with the local Indian authorities—with the officials of Aurangzib, of Shivaji, and of Golkonda—and internally by the quarrels of their own officials—by Keigwin's rebellion and by the disputes of Hedges with his colleagues. The plan is strictly chronological, each year being treated separately. This must present serious difficulties to any author wishing to make a coherent historical analysis of trends extending over a period of years, but it need not detract from the usefulness of the volumes as guides to the sources. The footnotes alone bear witness to the impeccable scholarship of the late Sir Charles Fawcett. The two volumes under review were the last to be written by him, and it is understood that there is no intention of continuing the series, at least in its present form.

The growing volume of the sources must have suggested that under such a detailed and encyclopaedic treatment the series would soon become unwieldy if not unmanageable. There had already been some departures from the original plan. When Henry Stevens published the first Court Minutes of the East India Company in 1886 he reproduced the text *verbatim et literalim*. Sir George Birdwood followed the same policy when he published the first letter book of the Company in 1893. When F. C. Danvers and Sir William Foster began to publish the *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, they still found it possible to reproduce all the documents in full (though with some regrettable variations in policy concerning the retention of the original spelling). That series concluded with the year 1617. When, in 1906, Sir William Foster began the series entitled *The English factories in India*, with the intention of continuing the story from the year 1618, he did not attempt to reproduce all the documents in full. What he envisaged was a calendar of the relevant documents, formed according to the principles followed by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. All important passages were quoted, while the rest were summarized. After the pause enforced by the first world war, Sir William decided that the growing amount of material invited a further reduction of scale. In the volume beginning with the year 1655 he therefore initiated a new policy—to extract merely those passages which seemed to merit preservation, and to connect them by a narrative which would at the same time embody the information obtained from other documents which it was not thought necessary to quote in full.

When Sir Charles Fawcett began the *New series of The English factories in India* in 1936, he announced a further change of policy in the same general direction. In accordance with

the wishes of the Government of India, the India Office Records were henceforth to be 'treated in a less detailed manner. . . . Instead of giving extracts from, or epitomes of, the principal documents in turn, the contents of the records are to be digested into a readable account of the main events in each year'. The new series was, in short, to be more like a history than a collection of documents or a calendar. Sir Charles completed his task with lucidity, accuracy, and wit.

K. A. BALLHATCHET

JOHN CHARLES EDWARD BOWEN: *The golden pomegranate: a selection from the poetry of the Mogul Empire in India, 1526-1858*. xvi, 96 pp., including 12 plates. Bombay, Thacker & Co., Ltd., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Luzac. £2 10s.)

This is a very pleasant collection of a mere 33 verses, inspired by rather than translated from the Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and Pāsto poets who wrote within the general sphere of influence of the Mughal courts. One example of the translation must suffice, an anonymous couplet from the Urdu: '*id ke din sab miloge apne apne yār se / ham gale mil mil ro'ge dar-o-divār se* (all will meet their friends on the day of 'Id; I shall weep, embracing the door and walls) appears as 'This day to Festival have gone / My brother and my sister, / And from the ribbons she had on / I know that there he kissed her— / The youth whose proud and lissom grace / I love, because of whom / I here in loneliness embrace / The four walls of my room'. This perhaps is sufficient indication of the general atmosphere of the book, which is enhanced by designs and decorations by the author, and twelve full-page plates, specially painted by a young Bengali artist, Balai Das, illustrate twelve of the verses with delicacy and sympathy. The work is more than anything evocative, and its atmosphere is well served by the lavish use of decoration and space in its presentation. A few pages of notes on the poems, poets, and decorations will be of interest to the amateur; but, unfortunately, few will wish to afford fifty shillings these days for charm alone.

J. B.-P.

GLEN WILLIAM BAXTER: *Index to the imperial register of tz'u prosody (Ch'in-ting tz'u-p'u)*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, xv.) xiii, 61 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege. 12s.)

This index is an essential tool for the student

of this genre of Chinese poetry. Consulting the *Ch'in-ting tz'u-p'u* has, up to the publication of the above, necessitated a laborious search for the particular pattern of *tz'u*, which often consumed a disproportionately large amount of time. With titles of *tz'u* given both in Chinese characters and in romanized form and placed alphabetically in a list, a pattern will readily be found in this book. The position of every pattern in the 'Register' is indicated by placing the number of *chuan* and page immediately after the romanized title, and the name of the author of the pattern in question has also been included. A list of authors and sources in romanized form as well as in Chinese characters has been appended at the end of this book which is a most useful contribution to the study of *tz'u* poetry.

K. P. K. W.

ARTHUR WALEY: *Yuan Mei, eighteenth century Chinese poet*. 227 pp., front. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956. 21s.

Paradoxically, it is sometimes easier to weave the life story of someone who has left behind only a few available data than that of a well-known person who has provided us with masses of material in the form of literary works which have to be sorted out, carefully selected and sifted, and then fitted into a manageable and proportionate whole so as to create in the mind of the reader the desired impression of the personality, qualities, and literary ability of the writer in question. This Dr. Waley has amply succeeded in doing.

Yuan Mei, a gentleman and poet living in eighteenth century China, if handled unsympathetically, might have been turned into an uncouth or even callous character, possibly repugnant to the English reading public instead of the kindly, human, amusing, slightly impish, and amazingly independent character that he was. Among other things it was necessary to explain Yuan Mei's sense of values and morality, so alien to the West, in their proper contexts. His attitude towards women-folk, the 'ten thousand flowers', or towards handsome actors—one of whom caused him to feel 'desolate' after 'five days' entanglement' and to write in these words 'Would that I could hear but one note of the songs the fair one is singing!'—needs, indeed, sensitive handling and interpretation. The anecdote of how Yuan's concubine, Miss Fang, was deprived of her idol, Kuan-yin, by Yuan in a fit of temper is an intimate picture showing how the poet could behave in 'so tyrannical and at the same time so superstitious a way'. On the whole Dr. Waley gives us the picture of a person who shows great kindness and

devotion to friends, generosity to younger writers, and consideration for and appreciation of all and sundry. In one of his poems on old age Yuan tells us:

'Now that I am old I get up very early
And feel like God creating a new world.'

Experiencing, however, the inconvenience of having 'no hot water for a wash' as his servants were still asleep, he writes:

'At first I am cross and feel inclined to shout;
But all of a sudden remember my young days—
How I too in those early morning hours
Lay snoring, and hated to leave my bed.'

Apart from a large number of selected poems Dr. Waley also includes some of Yuan Mei's amusing ghost stories and other anecdotes, records of journeys, and a short summary of Yuan's ideas about the function of poetry, viz. that poetry should be an 'expression of individual temperament and feeling, and within the general framework of traditional technique, that temperament must find its own phrasing, its own idiom'.

No wonder that Yuan with his independent spirit, like a breath of fresh air, delighted both the Manchu ruling class and the Chinese literati, at a time when many writers, out of fear of persecution or habit rather than conviction, insisted that literature should be merely a vehicle for moral edification.

K. P. K. W.

ALAN J. A. ELLIOTT: *Chinese spirit-medium cults in Singapore*. (Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 14 (New Series).) 179 pp., 6 plates. [London]: London School of Economics and Political Science. Department of Anthropology, 1955. 18s.

This book gives a detailed and intimate picture of the various Chinese spirit-medium cults and practices which prevail among Overseas Chinese. The author has, no doubt, drawn his pictures from long and patient observation of spirit-medium ceremonies and has studied closely the religious and semi-religious feelings of the partakers of these ceremonies, and indeed of the Chinese people around him. 'Faith, in the Chinese sense, is best summed up in the negative statement that it would be very unwise not to believe upon occasion' is the author's succinct comment on the Chinese people's attitude towards religion. The information given in this book makes interesting study. In the last section, entitled 'the decline of spirit-mediumship',

the author seems to sound the knell of these occult practices, for he points out that Chinese children going to Chinese schools (of whom there is a large proportion) develop an even more hostile attitude to the tradition of spirit-mediumship than those receiving an English education. Thus he may turn out to have been one of the last of the witnesses of these interesting cults still practised by the Chinese immigrants.

K. P. K. W.

ERICH HAENISCH: *Sinomongolische Glossare. 1. Das Hua-i ih-yü*. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1956, Nr. 5.) 37 pp., plate. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM. 7.

The discussion of the linguistic material of the Ming dynasty *Hua i i yü* is brought a step further by Professor Haenisch's latest publication. The Chinese-Mongol vocabularies and specimen texts of the *Hua i i yü* were republished in facsimile by the late Marian Lewicki (*La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du xiv^e siècle*, Wrocław, 1949) and in 1952 Professor Haenisch himself published his transcription, translation, and discussion of the specimen texts (*Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1952). The present volume treats the vocabularies, not exhaustively, but, as Professor Haenisch says, in the hope that younger scholars may take up the task of considering as a whole the technique of transcription in Chinese.

Professor Haenisch groups his material in five columns. The first gives the romanization of the Uigur writing and the second the romanization of the Chinese transcription as these appear in the so-called Hirth Polyglot. (For bibliographical references see *Sino-mongolische Dokumente*, p. 6.) The third column gives the romanization of the Chinese transcription from the version printed by Lewicki, and the fourth column the Chinese keyword, also from Lewicki. The last column gives the German translation of this keyword. The material is annotated and is followed by an index to the first column. The actual characters used for the Chinese transcription are given by Lewicki, pp. 149-76, and must be consulted there.

The lexicographical value of the vocabularies is not great, as Professor Haenisch himself says; though this value is indeed considerably enhanced by his annotations. He has, for example, given the controversy over the word *turintai* a new and interesting

turn (pp. 14-15). Professor Haenisch's material will serve primarily, as he intends, the task of investigating Chinese methods of transcription, and the inclusion of the Chinese transcription from the Hirth Polyglot will show, if nothing else, how far from the original a transcription can stray when diacritics are ignored.

O. R. BAWDEN

ROBERT E. WARD (ed.): *Five studies in Japanese politics*. (University of Michigan. Center for Japanese Studies. Occasional Papers, No. 7.) v, 121 pp. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957. \$5.

The first two papers in this volume are very brief: Sugai Shuichi's thinly-documented but useful survey of the Japanese police system, emphasizing developments since 1945; and Paul S. Dull's rather inconclusive vignette of a rural political 'boss'. The other three contributions are more substantial. Alfred B. Chubok's very able paper on 'Japanese conservative politics 1947-1955', through an analysis of election results, confirms some accepted generalizations and suggests a few interesting modifications. William C. Amidon's study of Sakhalin in Russo-Japanese relations suffers from too complete a dependence on English-language works, not all of them reliable. Hence one must regard it as an essay rather than as research, but as such it is a convenient re-statement of known material. The last paper, consorting rather oddly with the rest, is an informative and well-organized bibliographical study of Tokugawa legal history by Dan F. Henderson.

W. G. B.

GRAHAM IRWIN: *Nineteenth-century Borneo: a study in diplomatic rivalry*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel xv.) xi, 251 pp., 4 maps. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the two paramount powers in the Eastern Seas were Britain and Holland. British activities were centred on sea-borne trade and the trade route between India and China, and British policy was one of non-involvement in the internal affairs of the Malay Peninsula and the Eastern Islands. The Dutch on their side were intent on exploiting the export crops of the fertile and heavily populated island of Java, and for reasons of economy attempted to restrict their activities in the other islands

to a minimum. The major interests of each were thus distinct, and not such as to cause friction between them. But islands like Borneo posed a problem. British statesmen and administrators had nothing but the deepest repugnance for its jungle and mountain fastnesses, which in the days before the development of rubber and oil produced little of value, and for its people, who were too few and seemed too idle to support large-scale tropical agriculture or to provide an important market, but who thrived on piracy. Yet they were reluctant to allow the island's north coast, which flanked the China trade route, to pass into the hands of any other power which might prey on British merchant shipping in time of war. Since the Dutch could afford neither the men nor the money to occupy Borneo, and such few posts as they maintained on its south and west coasts were run at a considerable loss, there was a tacit community of interest between them. This was broken in 1839, when the British adventurer James Brooke established himself in Sarawak, on the north coast, the whole of which was nominally under the control of the Sultanate of Brunei. Two hundred years of supremacy in the archipelago had given the Dutch the habit of regarding all the islands as their own exclusive preserve, and though they had left many of them undeveloped and unoccupied they cherished the hope that eventually they would be able to bring them all under effective administration.

The appearance of 'the White Raja' in Sarawak threatened all this. Was he in fact a private adventurer? Or were the British Government attempting through him to take over Borneo, and to evade the undertaking given by them in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 that they would not extend their control over 'the Islands South of the Straits of Singapore'? Even if they were not, his example might be followed by other adventurers, or by other European powers. Brooke's advent thus created a Borneo problem for the Dutch. They failed to secure his removal through the British Government, who refused to accept the Dutch interpretation of the 1824 Treaty, and made it clear that in their view Holland had no prescriptive right to any parts of the island which were not actually under some form of Dutch control. In self-defence the Dutch were forced to extend their rule first of all over the south and west of the island, and eventually, spurred on by the acquisition of a large area by a private syndicate which later became the British North Borneo Company, towards the north-east. The establishment in Sarawak of a new state by a British subject also had far-reaching consequences for the British Government, who from

fear that the Dutch or some other power would step in were brought to annex the island of Labuan (1846), to bring the Sultanate of Brunei under their influence, to issue a Royal Charter to the North Borneo Company (1851), and finally to declare a protectorate over the whole of the north-west and north coasts.

The whole of this story is admirably recounted by Dr. Irwin. One of the great merits of his book is that he is the first historian, British or Dutch, to make extensive use of both British and Dutch archives in this field, so that his treatment of the subject is both exhaustive and well balanced. It contains as an appendix a note on the colonial MSS in the *Rijksarchief* which in the absence of any other students' guide to that collection will be of great use to research workers. Another is the vigorous and attractive language in which he clothes his scholarship; the result is an outstandingly happy example of what can be achieved with that much maligned literary form, the Ph.D. thesis. But he has not been quite so happy in his choice of title. Such diplomatic rivalry as there was between Britain and Holland over Borneo was largely finished by 1850, when because of considerations of European politics the Dutch decided that they must acquiesce in British activities on the north-west coast. Thereafter the story is one of the parallel extension of British and Dutch control over separate areas. Even before 1850 the title is misleading. 'Diplomatic rivalry', like most other forms of international conflict, suggests a competition in power, which never existed. The two nations were too unevenly matched for that. The British holdings in Borneo were confined to the north coast not because of any diplomatic activity on the part of Holland, but because successive British governments willed that it should be so.

C. D. COWAN

G. J. HELD (ed. and tr.): *Waropense teksten (Geelvinkbaai, noord Nieuw-Guinea)*. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel xx.) xvi, 400 pp., map. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956.

It is sometimes almost forgotten that a field-investigator whose material can only be studied at first hand in the tropics must sometimes expose his health and even his life. When the Dutch anthropologist G. J. Held set out in the late thirties to study the Waropen culture of Western New Guinea he was knowingly taking serious risks. In spite of physical hardship

and illness he carried out his task with single-mindedness and three monographs published in his lifetime are the fruit of that investigation.

At his premature death in 1955 he left a number of field-texts from the same area, and these have now been edited posthumously. Taken in conjunction with his grammar and vocabulary of the Waropen language this collection is an important contribution to the study of the languages of New Guinea. The edition of field-texts in little-known languages is in any case a difficult task and where the recorder and chief authority can no longer be consulted formidable problems arise. Here the editor has faced them resolutely but he has not overcome them entirely. The subject-matter of the texts contains little which is not already familiar in the world of primitive myth.

G. B. M.

H. R. KLIENEBERGER (comp.): *Bibliography of Oceanic linguistics*. (London Oriental Bibliographies, Vol. 1.) xiii, 143 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 45s.

Mr. Klieneberger lists in 2166 entries all that he has been able to trace of printed books, articles in periodicals, and reviews dealing with Oceanic languages, excluding only works written wholly in any of the languages. He has himself checked the great majority of the items, and where this has not been possible he indicates the standard catalogue, such as that of the Library of Congress, from which the information is drawn, or a librarian in another country who has checked details for him. There remain, it is disturbing to note, more than a score of cases in which Mr. Klieneberger, in spite of what were clearly extensive inquiries, has been unable to confirm the existence of works for which titles are quoted in recent publications. Several examples occur in each of C. R. H. Taylor's *Pacific bibliography*, A. Capell's *South Pacific Commission. Survey of linguistic research*, F. Uchinomi's *Bibliography of Micronesia*, and works by P. Lanyon-Orgill. It might have been helpful to list such titles separately.

In addition to an index of languages and an index of authors, the work has 15 sections, the first of which is devoted to bibliographical literature consulted for the purpose of the compilation, the second to literature concerned with Oceanic linguistics in general, and the last to works on Pidgin English and Beach-la-Mar. The remaining sections are established on a regional basis; one on Melanesia in general is followed by nine others dealing with sub-areas, and Micronesia and Polynesia have one section each. Within each section, more

general works precede those on particular languages.

Under each language are given the various names by which it has been known, all of which appear in the index of languages, the particular region in which it is spoken, and the group—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian, or Papuan—to which it is assigned. When a work is not to be found in the main library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, an indication is given of the library possessing it. In one or two cases, Mr. Klieneberger has seen only a manuscript copy.

This admirable work is indispensable to all workers in the field of Oceanic linguistics. It is beautifully produced, and a pleasure to use. Mr. Klieneberger's preface is dated January 1955, but he mentions that the bibliography will be kept up to date, and that the latest information will be provided on request.

N. C. S.

JOHANNES ITTMANN: *Volkskundliche und religiöse Begriffe im nördlichen Waldland von Kamerun*. (Afrika und Übersee. Beiheft 26.) [ii], ii, 68 pp. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1953. DM. 10.60.

In the form of a glossary of terms in the Duala language, this work records a large amount of material on the general and religious beliefs of the people living in the region round about Douala. Comparable words in neighbouring languages are given in many cases, always in a narrow phonetic transcription. Under some entries there is detailed explanation of the uses of the term, with examples from one or more languages, particular note being made of the special technical use of words which also have a more common everyday meaning.

L. W. LANHAM: *A study of Gitonga of Inhambane*. (Bantu Linguistic Studies, No. 1.) [ii], viii, 264 pp. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1955. 15s.

This work is the first of a series of Bantu Linguistic Studies to be issued from the University of the Witwatersrand. It is produced by mimeographing and consists of a description of the Gitonga language based largely on the method due to Doke. In addition there are various points on which comment is made with reference to the Ur-Bantu technique developed by Meinhof. Throughout the work there are precise indications on the pronunciation of the examples, except that apart from seven pages devoted to a discussion of the part

played by tone in the language, no tones are marked. There are three Appendices, dealing respectively with 'The descriptive possessive construction', 'The place of Gitonga in the Bantu language family', and 'Oriental loan-words in Gitonga'.

ALBERT JOZEF DE ROP: *Syntaxis van het Lomongo*. (Universiteit te Leuven. Verzameling van het Instituut voor Afrikanistiek, No. 1.) xiii, 142 pp. [Leuven]: Henri Proost & Co., 1956.

In this work the author applies a technique of structural analysis to the study of the syntax of Lomongo, a Bantu language spoken in the Belgian Congo. The first part describes different categories of word groups, and the second types of sentence. The third part then deals with various kinds of complex sentences. All the material used in the work consists of quotations from published texts, the specific reference being given each time. This study is published as the first number of a series to be issued by the African Institute of the University of Louvain.

L. HOMBURGER: *Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée d'un chapitre sur le sino-africain*. (Bibliothèque Scientifique.) 343 pp. Paris: Payot, 1957. Fr. 1200.

This is a revised edition of a work that first appeared in 1941, and the greater part of it is identical with the earlier book. Taking as a basis some 24 geographical areas of Africa, in the first chapter the author outlines certain of the general lines of the distribution of language families. The next nine chapters treat various aspects of description of the languages of Africa taken as a whole. The long second chapter on 'La phonétique négro-africaine' deals mainly with theories about the development of languages rather than with phonetics in the English sense of the term. Chapters 3 to 10 are concerned with morphology, and presuppose general grammatical categories which are then illustrated from various types of African language. In chapter 11 there is a brief outline of the development in African language studies prior to 1930. The final chapter on 'Sino-African' did not form part of the earlier edition and embodies a statement of the author's theory that the origin of African languages is to be found in the Dravidian group, ancient Egyptian being an intermediate stage in the development.

M. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

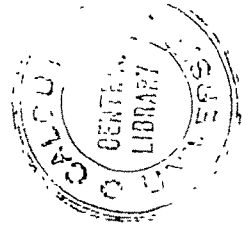
- VĀSUDDEVĀRAṆ AGRAVĀL: *Bhārat-sūtrī, Mahābhārat kā ek navīn evaṃ sūgarbhī adhyayan (Ādi-parv se Virāt-parv tak)*. xvi, 347 pp. New Delhi: Satsāhitya Prakāśan, 1957. Rs. 3.50.
- A. S. ALTEKAR: *The coinage of the Gupta empire and its imitations*. (Corpus of Indian Coins, Vol. iv.) [iv], xvi, 390 pp., 29 plates. Banaras: Numismatic Society of India, 1957. Rs. 30, £3 3s.
- L. D. BARNETT and others (comp.): *A second supplementary catalogue of printed books in Hindi, Bihari (including Bhojpuria, Kaurmali and Maithili), and Pahari (including Nepali or Khaskura, Jaunsari, Mandeali, &c.) in the Library of the British Museum*. Compiled by L. D. Barnett, J. F. Blumhardt, and J. V. S. Wilkinson. viii pp., 1,678 cols. London: British Museum, 1957. £15 10s.
- CECIL BENDALL (ed.): *Ākṣhāsamuccaya: a compendium of Buddhistic teaching compiled by Cāntideva chiefly from earlier Mahāyāna-sūtras*. (Indo-Iranian Reprints, 1.) [vii], vii, xlvii, 419 pp., front. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £3 2s.)
- ERIC F. F. BISHOP and MOHAMED KADDAL (tr.): *Chrestomathia Baidawiana. 'The light of inspiration and secret of interpretation'; being a translation of the Chapter of Joseph (Sūrat Yūsuf) with the commentary of Nasir ud-Din al-Baidāwī*. (Glasgow University Publications. [Oriental Studies, No. 1.]) 60 pp. Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co., 1957. 10s.
- DERK BODDE: *China's cultural tradition: what and whither?* (Source Problems in World Civilization.) vi, 90 pp., 4 plates. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1957. \$1.25.
- E. W. BOVILL: *The golden trade of the Moors*. ix, 281 pp., front., plate, map. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies*, No. 1. [iii], 70 pp. Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1957. Rs. 3.50, 5s.
- HAZEL CARTER (ed. and tr.): *Soko risina musoro, by H. W. Chitepo*. (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Annotated African Texts, v: Shona.) vii, 63 pp. London, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1958. 12s. 6d.
- ENRICO CERULLI: *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti. 1. Storia della Somalia; l'Islām in Somalia; il Libro degli Zengi*. (A cura dell'Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia.) [v], 363 pp., col. front., 26 plates. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1957.
- SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI and SUKUMAR SEN: *A Middle Indo-Aryan reader. Revised edition*. 2 parts: vii, 101 pp.; [ii], 103-226 pp. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1957. Rs. 10.
- HARAPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: *The sepoy mutiny, 1857: a social study and analysis*. [v], vi, 235 pp., 2 maps. Calcutta: The author, 1957. (Agents: Bookland Private Ltd., Calcutta. Rs. 15.)
- SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI: *Civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies (1857-1859)*. xxiii, 367 pp., map. Calcutta: The World Press Private Ltd., 1957. Rs. 15, 25s.
- [COMITÉ ANDRÉ BASSET]: *Mémorial André Basset (1895-1956)*. 159 pp. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1957. Fr. 1600.
- K. K. DATTA: *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*. (K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Historical Researches Series, Vol. 1.) [vi], xii, 232, iv pp., front., 14 plates, map. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1957. Rs. 6.
- J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT: *The Hoysālas: a medieval Indian royal family*. xx, 257 pp., 5 plates. Madras: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1957. 21s.
- C. J. EDMONDS: *Kurds, Turks and Arabs: politics, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925*. xiii, 457 pp., front., 16 plates, 3 maps [one on endpapers]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 42s.

- MIRCEA ELIADE : *Patterns in comparative religion*. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. xv, 484 pp. London and New York : Sheed and Ward, 1958. 25s.
- JOHN K. FAIRBANK (ed.) : *Chinese thought and institutions*. (Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations, [No. 8].) xiv, 438 pp. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1957. (English agents : Cambridge University Press. 64s.)
- Sir GODFREY FISHER : *Barbary legend : war, trade and piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830*. xii, 349 pp., front., map. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1957. 50s.
- J.-C. GARDIN : *Céramiques de Bactres*. (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tom. xv.) 131 pp., 23 plates, table. Paris : Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1957. Fr. 3600.
- W. R. GEDDES : *Nine Dayak nights*. xxxi, 144 pp., front., 8 plates. Melbourne, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 42s.
- U. N. GHOSHAL : *Studies in Indian history and culture*. xxv, 538 pp. Calcutta, etc. : Orient Longmans, 1957. Rs. 25.
- LIONEL GILES : *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*. xxv, 334 pp. London : British Museum, 1957. £5 10s.
- OLEG GRABAR : *The coinage of the Tūlunids*. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 139.) x, 78 pp., 3 plates. New York : American Numismatic Society, 1957. \$3.
- ERICH HAENISCH : *Sinomongolische Glossare. I. Das Hua-i ih-yü*. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1956, Nr. 5.) 37 pp., plate. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM. 7.
- RICHARD S. HARRELL : *The phonology of colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications, Series B—Aids—No. 9.) [v], 90 pp. New York : American Council of Learned Societies, 1957.
- G. J. HELD : *The Papuas [sic] of Waropen*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Translation Series, 2.) xv, 384 pp., 77 photos., 2 maps. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1957. Guilders 24.
- M. HIRIYANNA : *Indian philosophical studies, 1*. viii, 149 pp. Mysore : Kavyalaya Publishers, 1957. Rs. 7.50, 12s. 6d.
- IBN KHALDŪN : *Ibn Khaldoun : Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*. Traduite de l'arabe par le Baron de Slane. Nouvelle édition publiée sous la direction de Paul Casanova. Tome quatrième . . . publié par Henri Pérès. [iii], 628 pp. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1956.
- GERHARD KAHLO : *Grundriss der malayischen und indonesischen Sprache*. 72 pp. Leipzig : Otto Harrassowitz, 1957. DM. 4.80.
- MURAD KAMIL (ed. and tr.) : *Amharische Kaiserlieder*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxxii, 4.) [vi], 50 pp. Wiesbaden : Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1957. DM. 10.
- The Kaufmann Haggadah : facsimile edition of MS 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*. (Publications of the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1.) [iv], 108, [i] pp. Budapest : Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957. Sw. fr. 120.
- DAMODAR DHARMANAND KOSAMBI : *An introduction to the study of Indian history*. lix, 384 pp., including 64 photos., map [on endpapers]. Bombay : Popular Book Depot, 1956. Rs. 18/12.
- DAVID MARSHALL LANG : *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) xvi, 333 pp., 4 plates. New York : Columbia University Press ; London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1957. 45s.
- DAVID MARSHALL LANG : *The wisdom of Balahvar : a Christian legend of the Buddha*. (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 20.) 135 pp., front. London : George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. ; New York : The Macmillan Co., 1957. 15s.

- WOLF LESLAU: The phonetic treatment of the Arabic loanwords in Ethiopic. [Offprint from *Word*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1957.] pp. 100-23.
- WOLF LESLAU: To the defense of the Falashas. [Offprint from *Judaism*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1957.] pp. 1-6.
- G. L. LEWIS (tr.): *The balance of truth, by Kātib Chelebi*. (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 19.) 160 pp. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1957. 13s. 6d.
- SACHINDRA KUMAR MATTY: *Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period (cir. A.D. 300-550)*. xviii, 223 pp., map. Calcutta: The World Press Private Ltd., 1957. Rs. 12.50, 21s.
- YALE CANDEE MAXON: *Control of Japanese foreign policy: a study of civil-military rivalry, 1930-1945*. (University of California Publications in Political Science, Vol. 5.) vii, 286 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by Cambridge University Press. 45s.)
- R. O. MEISEZAHL: Die tibetischen Handschriften und Drucke des Linden-Museums in Stuttgart. In *Tribus. Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, Nr. 7, 1957, pp. 1-166. Stuttgart: Museum für Länder- und Völkerkunde, 1957.
- EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ: *The Akan of Ghana: their ancient beliefs*. 164 pp., 54 photos. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1958. 45s.
- JAMES WILLIAM MORLEY: *The Japanese thrust into Siberia, 1918*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) xv, 395 pp. New York: Columbia University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 48s.
- VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT: *The evolution of India*. (The Whidden Lectures, 1957.) ix, 46 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 6s.
- MAURICE PEROCHERON: *Buddha and Buddhism*. Translated by Edmund Stapleton. (Men of Wisdom.) 191 pp., 2 maps [on inside of covers]. New York: Harper and Brothers; London: Longmans, [1957]. 6s.
- WILLIAM POPPER: *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382-1468 A.D. Systematic notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's chronicles of Egypt (continued)*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. xvi.) ix, 123 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. \$2.50.
- WILLIAM POPPER (tr.): *History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A.D. Part III, 1412-1422 A.D. Translated from the Arabic annals of Abū 'l-Mahāsīn ibn Taghrī Birdī*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. xvii.) xii, 176 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. \$3.50.
- SUNIL CHANDRA RAY: *Early history and culture of Kashmir*. xxv, 241 pp., front. (map), 8 plates. [Calcutta: S. C. Ray], 1957. (Obtainable from U. N. Dhur and Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Rs. 20, 35s.)
- LOUIS RENOU: *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes. Tom. III*. (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série in-8°, Fasc. 4.) [iv], 135 pp. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957.
- LINDSAY RIDE: *Robert Morrison, the scholar and the man, by Lindsay Ride, and Illustrated catalogue of the exhibition held at the University of Hong Kong, September fourth to eighteenth 1957, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Robert Morrison's arrival in China*. vii, 48, [ii], 25 pp., including 12 facsimis. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957. HK \$7.50, 12s. 6d.
- ALEXANDER SCHRIEBER: *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. 29 pp. Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957.
- B. SCHRIEBER: *Indonesian sociological studies, part two. Ruler and realm in early Java*. (Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, Vol. 3.) xii, 491 pp., 2 maps. The Hague and Bandung; W. van Hoeve, Ltd., 1957. Guilders 11.50.
- Sifra or Torat kohanim according to Codex Assemani LXVI*. [With a Hebrew introduction by Louis Finkelstein.] [v], 77, ii, [vii] pp., 469 facsimis. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 5717/1956. (Obtainable from Bloch Publishing Co., Inc., New York. \$7.)

- C. G. SIMPSON: *The Turkish language of Soviet Azerbaijan: selections from the Press and from modern authors with a grammatical introduction.* [iii], iii, 124 pp. [London: Central Asian Research Centre, 1957.] 20s.
- G. WILLIAM SKINNER: *Chinese society in Thailand: an analytical history.* xix, 459 pp. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 52s.
- COLIN L. SMITH: *The embassy of Sir William White at Constantinople, 1886-1891.* (Oxford Historical Series. British Series.) xii, 183 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 25s.
- WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH: *Islam in modern history.* xi, 317 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 40s.
- EDGAR SNOW: *Random notes on Red China (1936-1945).* (Chinese Economic and Political Studies. Special Series.) [xiv], 148 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Chinese Economic and Political Studies, Harvard University, 1957. (Distributed by Harvard University Press.)
- G. BRIAN STAPLETON: *The wealth of Nigeria.* xii, 228 pp., map [on endpapers]. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 16s.
- RICHARD STORRY: *The double patriots: a study of Japanese nationalism.* ix, 335 pp. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 25s.
- Studies in linguistics analysis. Special volume of the Philological Society.* vii, 205 pp., 5 plates. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957. 70s.
- K. D. SWAMINATHAN: *The Nāyakas of Ikkāri.* viii, 327 pp., 10 plates, map. Madras: P. Varadachary & Co., 1957. Rs. 10.
- Ten years of Pakistan: 1947-1957.* [vii], 13-360 pp., 36 plates. Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1957. Rs. 2, As. 8.
- PAUL THIEME: *Mitra and Aryaman.* (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 41.) pp. 1-96. New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1957. \$2.
- BENJAMIN E. THOMAS: *Trade routes of Algeria and the Sahara.* (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 8, No. 3.) vi, 165-285 pp., plate. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. \$2.50.
- LAURENCE G. THOMPSON (tr.): *Ta t'ung shu: the one-world philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei.* 300 pp. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 35s.
- SIDNEY TOY: *The strongholds of India.* xvi, 136 pp., 106 photos. London, etc.: William Heinemann Ltd., 1957. 30s.
- A. S. TRITTON: *Materials on Muslim education in the Middle Ages.* xii, 209 pp. London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1957. 35s.
- JAKOB WACKERNAGEL: *Altindische Grammatik. Nachträge zu Bd. II, 1 von Albert Debrunner.* [iii], 96 pp. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957. DM. 14.
- FREDERICK VICTOR WINNETT (ed. and tr.): *Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan.* (Near and Middle East Series.) ix, 209 pp., 10 plates. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 60s.
- FARHAT J. ZIADEH and R. BAYLY WINDER: *An introduction to modern Arabic.* xii, 298 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 30s.
- NICOOLA A. ZIADEH: *Whither North Africa?* [vii], 79 pp., map. Aligarh: Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, 1957.

BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND
AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



VOLUME XXI: PART 3
1958

Published by
THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	PAGE
W. 'ARAFAT : Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the <i>Sira</i>	453
A. S. TRITTON : Sidelights on Muslim history	464
C. J. F. DOWSETT : The Albanian chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš	472
KARL H. MENGES : Some remarks on Oytot morphology	491
H. W. BAILEY : Arya	522
PADMANABH S. JAINI : Buddha's prolongation of life	546
H. F. SIMON : Some remarks on the structure of the verb complex in Standard Chinese	553
JEROME CH'ËN : The Hsien-fêng inflation	578
O. W. WOLTERS : Tāmbraliṅga	587
HENRY McALEAVY : Varieties of <i>hương-hỏa</i> (香火) : a problem of Vietnamese law	608

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

D. L. SNELLGROVE : Note on the <i>Adhyāśayasamcodanasūtra</i>	620
---	-----

REVIEWS

Else Christie Kielland : <i>Geometry in Egyptian art</i> . By T. G. H. JAMES	624
F. Cantera and J. Ma. Millás : <i>Las inscripciones hebraicas de España</i> . By S. L. BIRNBAUM	625
P. Voorhoeve (comp.) : <i>Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands</i> . By J. D. PEARSON	628
Philippe Lippens : <i>Expédition en Arabie centrale</i> . By R. B. SERJEANT	629
A. S. Tritton : <i>Materials on Muslim education in the Middle Ages</i> . By JAMES ROBSON	630
Oleg Grabar : <i>The coinage of the Tūlūnids</i> . By C. M. LANG	631
H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen : <i>Islamic society and the West. Vol. one. Part II.</i> By C. F. BECKINGHAM	632
Wilfred Cantwell Smith : <i>Islam in modern history</i> . By ALBERT HOURANI	633
Richard S. Harrell : <i>The phonology of colloquial Egyptian Arabic</i> . By T. F. MITCHELL	635
Henri Fleisch : <i>L'arabe classique. esquisse d'une structure linguistique</i> . By T. F. MITCHELL	637
Gilbert Lazard : <i>Grammaire du persan contemporain</i> . By R. M. SAVORY	638
David Marshall Lang : <i>The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832</i> . By V. MINORSKY	639
Rudolf Loewenthal : <i>The Turkic languages and literatures of Central Asia : a bibliography</i> . By D. SIEOR	642
Johannes Benzing : <i>Die tungusischen Sprachen : Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik</i> . By D. SIEOR	642
R. C. Mitra : <i>The decline of Buddhism in India</i> . By A. L. BASHAM	643
Sachindra Kumar Maity : <i>Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period</i> . By A. K. WARDER	645
K. D. Swaminathan : <i>The Nāyakas of Ikṣvāki</i> . By J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT	647
K. M. Varma : <i>Nāṭya, nr̥tā and nr̥tya : their meaning and relation</i> . By A. A. BAKE	648
René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz : <i>Oracles and demons of Tibet</i> . By D. L. SNELLGROVE	649
F. W. Thomas : <i>Ancient folk-literature from north-eastern Tibet</i> . By D. L. SNELLGROVE	650
Étienne Balázs : <i>Le Traité juridique du 'Souei-chou'</i> . By D. C. TWITCHETT	651
A. F. P. Hulswé : <i>Remnants of Han law. Vol. I.</i> By D. C. TWITCHETT	652
Herbert Franz Schurmann (tr.) : <i>Economic structure of the Yuan dynasties</i> . By D. C. TWITCHETT	654
A. C. Moule : <i>Quinsai, with other notes on Marco Polo</i> . By D. C. TWITCHETT	656
William Charles White : <i>Bronze culture of ancient China</i> . By S. HOWARD HANSFORD	657
Karl A. Wittfogel : <i>Oriental despotism : a comparative study of total power</i> . By E. G. PULLEYBLANK	657
Nicholas Poppe : <i>The Mongolian monuments in hP aga-ṣa script</i> . By C. R. BAWDEN	660

	PAGE
James William Morley : <i>The Japanese thrust into Siberia, 1918.</i> By RICHARD STORRY	662
Walter F. Vella : <i>Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851.</i> By E. H. S. SIMMONDS	663
W. R. Geddes : <i>Nine Dayak nights.</i> By G. B. MILNER	665
G. B. Milner : <i>Fijian grammar.</i> By R. H. ROBINS	666
A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan : <i>Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. four.</i> By R. A. SNOXALL	666
Saburi O. Biobaku : <i>The Igba and their neighbours, 1842-1872.</i> By J. E. FLINT	667
J. R. Firth : <i>Papers in linguistics, 1934-1951.</i> By W. HAAS	668

SHORT NOTICES

Chaim Rabin : <i>Qumran studies.</i> By S. A. BIRNBAUM	672
Aziz Suryal Atiya : <i>The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai</i>	672
W. E. N. Kensdale : <i>A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria</i>	673
Tor Andrae : <i>Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme</i>	673
Gustave E. von Grunebaum : <i>Kritik und Dichtkunst : Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte.</i>	673
Herbert Penzl : <i>A grammar of Pashto.</i> By ILYA GERSHEVITCH	674
Olaf Hansen : <i>Berliner sogdische Texte II.</i> By ILYA GERSHEVITCH	674
Indo-Iranian Reprints, II-III	674
Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, Nos. I-III	675
Friedrich Weller : <i>Die Legende von Sunakšpa</i>	675
Erich Frauwallner (tr.) : <i>Die Philosophie des Buddhismus.</i> —Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore (ed.) : <i>A source book in Indian philosophy</i>	675
Vibhukumar S. Desai (ed.) : <i>Rāgatatvavidodha : a work on Indian music by Śrinivāsa.</i> By A. A. BAKE	676
Sukumar Bhattacharya : <i>The East India Company and the economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740</i>	676
Ramkrishna Mukherjee : <i>The dynamics of a rural society : a study of the economic structure in Bengal villages</i>	677
Edna Bryner : <i>Thirteen Tibetan tankas.</i> By D. L. SNELLGROVE	677
Shau Wing Chan : <i>A concise English-Chinese dictionary.</i> By W. SIMON	678
Gerhard Kahlo : <i>Grundriss der malayischen und indonesischen Sprache</i>	678
Sir Richard Winstedt : <i>An unabridged English-Malay dictionary.</i> By C. C. BROWN	679
A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlenbeck : <i>Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo.</i> By C. HOOPYKAAS	679
<i>Social implications of industrialization and urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara</i>	
By I. SCHAPERA	680
H. Corbin and others : <i>Conferenze tenute all'Is.M.E.O.</i>	680
Association of British Orientalists : <i>A select list of books on the civilizations of the Orient</i>	680

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

682

Editorial Board

Professor J. Brough, M.A., D.LITT.
(Chairman)

Professor M. Guthrie, PH.D., B.Sc., A.R.S.M.

Miss E. J. A. Henderson, B.A.

Professor W. B. Henning, DR.PHIL., F.E.A.

Professor B. Lewis, B.A., PH.D.

J. D. Pearson, Esq., M.A.

Professor C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D

Professor W. Simon, DR.PHIL., D.LIT., F.R.A.

Editorial Secretary: Miss D. M. Johnson, M.A.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1. Articles, Notes and Communications, and Notices of Books should be submitted in typescript.

Offprints of articles, from Volume XIV onwards, may be purchased from the Editorial Secretary. (A list of offprints available for sale may be obtained from the Editorial Secretary.)

All communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to the Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.

EARLY CRITICS OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE POETRY OF THE *SĪRA*

By W. 'ARAFAT

ALTHOUGH until recently ¹ no study had been undertaken to investigate the poetry included in Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra* with a view to establishing on internal evidence the authenticity of such of it as may be genuine and revealing the spurious character of the forgeries, doubts as to the authenticity of this poetry in general or of certain poems in particular have been expressed by various writers, critics or other persons, since the time of Ibn Ishāq himself. Internal evidence attesting to the spurious character of the different poems varies widely from the immediately obvious, such as ascribing to a Himyarite king lines in simple plain Arabic ² or ascribing to a polytheist a poem allegedly attacking the Prophet and the Muslims which yet speaks of him in reverential terms and of his companions with respect,³ to the more subtle. The purpose of this article, however, is to survey and comment on some of the opinions ⁴ which directly or indirectly stigmatize the poetry of the *Sīra* in whole or in part as spurious.

This is not claimed to be a comprehensive list of all such expressions of doubt,⁵ but a record of the most important of them. Nor do the opinions expressed indicate all the sources from which were drawn the poems which are to be found in the *Sīra* or those which make up the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit. Brought together, however, they provide some interesting 'pointers'.

Ibn Sallām points out ⁶ that when Islam came, the Arabs occupied themselves with other matters to the neglect of poetry, and that when later on they turned to it again, they found they had too little poetry, and therefore tried to supplement it. This statement is all too true. The hundred years or so which followed the triumph of Islam over polytheism were very eventful and many events involved the same tribes who took part in the early struggle. The vast majority of the poetry of this early period must have been lost or overwhelmed by verse composed at a later date on similar or different occasions. Personal

¹ Two theses, one by my friend Dr. M. A. 'Azzām, now of the University of Manchester, on the poetry of the *Sīra* in general, and the other by the present writer which dealt chiefly with the poetry ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit in his *Diwān*, in the *Sīra*, and elsewhere, were submitted to the University of London in 1953. See also A. Guillaume, 'The biography of the Prophet in recent research', *Islamic Quarterly*, 1, 1, 1954, 5-11, and Professor Guillaume's translation of Ibn Ishāq's *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* (O.U.P., 1955), introduction, pp. xxv-xxx. For individual studies by the present writer see *BSOAS*, xvii, 2, 1955, 197-205; xvii, 3, 1955, 416-25; xxi, 1, 1958, 15-30.

² See, e.g., *Sīra* (ed. Wustenfeld), 18, 19, and § 8 below. ³ e.g. *ibid.*, p. 520, l. 6 ff.

⁴ Classical writers are here intended, but mention must be made of the well-known contribution of Dr. Taha Ḥusain, *F'l-adab al-jāhili* (Cairo, 1947), particularly pp. 124 ff.

⁵ Barqūqī, in his edition of the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (Cairo, 1929), quotes al-Aṣma'ī to the effect that 'poems are ascribed to Ḥassān which cannot be by him' (introduction p. (1)). No reference is given and the present writer has been unable to locate this opinion of al-Aṣma'ī in the sources available to him.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, ed. M. M. Shākir, Cairo, 1957, 22, 39-40.

quarrels produced verse which was, deliberately for prestige, or simply accidentally, ascribed to older poets. Story-tellers, further, had to offer the narrative of the early history of Islam complete with poetry. The following list contains examples of all the above.

Of particular importance are the notes of al-'Adawī¹ (see § 13 below), not only because of his early date but also because he points out specific occasions which led to the forgery of certain poems or else to the deliberate fathering of certain others on an earlier author, and in so doing he provides us with evidence for dating certain poems as well as for judgment on poems other than those specifically rejected by him. The very plausible story concerning one poem which slanders Hind, wife of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (see § 13 (f) below), for instance, could be taken as equally applicable to the other poems on the same subject which are found in the *Diwān*² (Hirschfeld, nos. CXXIV, CXXV), which are in the same vein and on the same theme. Internal evidence is overwhelmingly in support of al-'Adawī's story. Similarly the authorship suggested for one poem against Banī Makhzūm (see § 13 (i) and 13 (g) below) should be seriously considered in relation to the comparatively large number of poems against members of the Makhzūm clan.

The stories which he gives to explain the authorship of such poems answer the question which often poses itself in connexion with numerous poems in the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit. Why should Ḥassān, one asks, slander the Banī 'Adiyy b. Ka'b, for example (*Diwān*, no. LXXXV), or the Banī al-'Awwām (nos. CCV and CCVI)? In the case of the latter, at any rate, al-'Adawī may have unwittingly furnished the right answer.

The same stories explain further the statement of Ibn Sallām (see § 9 below) about the Quraish quarrelling among themselves and slandering each other. The quarrels evidently were not only political, but personal too.

Again, although it is on record that certain poems are ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit or alternatively to his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān (e.g. *Diwān*, nos. IX, CXXI, and *Sira*, 1929), it is of interest to learn on such authority as that of Sa'id son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān that 'Abd al-Raḥmān sometimes deliberately ascribed poems to Ḥassān. Even if the process of the deliberate ascribing of poems to Ḥassān began with his own son (say about A.H. 40-5), that is very early indeed, but it may well have started earlier.

To the best of the writer's knowledge, al-'Adawī's notes are now being published for the first time. The opinions listed in this article are arranged as far as possible in chronological order.

¹ Several scholars known as al-'Adawī are mentioned in biographical dictionaries or encountered in history books. al-'Adawī who concerns us here is Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥumaid and biographers are silent about him. He transmitted some of the information ascribed to him in the MS concerned from Ibn Ishāq through two successive authorities, and from Hishām b. 'Urwa, through two other successive authorities, so that he must have flourished in the first half of the third century A.H. See § 13, below.

² *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld (Gibb Memorial Series, XIII), Leyden and London, 1910; roman numerals refer to the numbers of the poems in this edition.

1. Ibn Ishāq himself¹ transmits what may be the earliest recorded doubt. He refers to three lines of poetry which are attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and allegedly directed at ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zibā’rā, one of the chief poets of polytheist Quraish who had fled to Najrān after the occupation of Maccā by the Muslims, exhorting him to return and place his trust in the man from whom he had fled. Lines 2 and 3 taunt him with his defeat as final proof of his inferior powers. Ibn Ishāq quotes Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān, Ḥassān’s grandson, as telling him that Ḥassān directed at Ibn al-Zibā’rā ‘a single line [the first line] to which he added no more’.

It seems clear from the emphatic words of Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān that he was aware of forgeries being fathered on Ḥassān.

2. Ibn Ishāq’s editor, Ibn Hishām, states in his introduction² that he had omitted certain poems recorded by Ibn Ishāq, which he found to be unknown to any authority on poetry. Many of the poems which he did not omit, he rejects as spurious. In doing so, Ibn Hishām generally transmits the opinions of ‘authorities on poetry’,³ sometimes ‘one’ sometimes ‘most’ of them. In certain cases the phrase seems to imply that he took great pains, probably in some cases more than in others, to ascertain the opinions of the largest number of authorities, for he often writes that he did not find any expert on poetry who recognized it (the poem).⁴ Sometimes Ibn Hishām stigmatizes a poem outright as ‘forged’.⁵

The poems ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit could be taken as an example. Altogether 78 poems are found in the *Sīra* attributed to Ḥassān, either by Ibn Ishāq or (in a few cases) by Ibn Hishām. The following table shows the number of those poems which are found both in Ḥassān’s *Dīwāns* and in the *Sīra*, as well as those which are in the *Sīra* only.⁶ The table also shows the number, in each case, of poems which are doubted or for which an alternative author is suggested.

	<i>Poems</i> in the <i>Dīwān</i>	<i>Poems</i> not in the <i>Dīwān</i>	<i>Total</i>
Accepted . . .	39	24	63
Doubted, etc. . .	10	5	15
	—	—	—
Total . . .	49	29	78
	—	—	—

It is noticeable that there are ten poems which are found in the *Dīwān*

¹ *Sīra*, 826. *Dīwān* of Ḥassān, no. OXLII.

² *Sīra*, 4.

³ أهل العلم بالشعر

⁴ ولم أر أحداً من أهل العلم بالشعر يعرفها

⁵ مصنوع e.g. *Sīra*, 14.

⁶ For this purpose poems found in Barçūqī’s edition of the *Dīwān* only have been included as poems not in the *Dīwāns*. This is because there is good reason to believe that they were taken from the *Sīra* by the editor of his source.

and yet are doubted or rejected by Ibn Hishām's authorities. See also § 6 below.

3. One comment which Ibn Hishām makes¹ at the end of Ibn Ishāq's introduction to a poem by Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhair seems of special significance. For he adds, 'This is the most authentic of the poems composed by the men of Badr'.² This comment clearly suggests the presence of general doubt in the mind of Ibn Hishām concerning all the poems on Badr, and, one may assume, concerning other poems as well.

4. In telling the story of the visit of the Tamīm delegation to the Prophet in A.H. 9, and the poetry competition which is supposed to have taken place, Ibn Ishāq quotes one set of poems as those which were recited on that occasion. Immediately afterwards, however, Ibn Hishām quotes an entirely different set of poems on a different authority and presents them as the ones that served the occasion. Ibn 'Asākir quotes yet a third set which contains one entirely different poem.³

5. Al-Wāqidi (d. 207) in his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*⁴ quotes very little verse compared with Ibn Ishāq. For this reason his mention of or hint at prevailing doubts concerning it are of special interest. Such comments as 'I have not seen any of our friends reject it' (i.e. the poem), or 'I have heard my friends confirm it' (i.e. as authentic) often follow the poems he quotes.

6. Ibn Ishāq died almost a century, and Ibn Hishām nearly 30 years, before Ibn Ḥabīb, who collected the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit. It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that Ibn Ḥabīb was actually acquainted with the work of Ibn Ishāq, and possibly with Ibn Hishām's edition. If that was the case, then he must have rejected for one reason or another 29 poems which he did not include in the *Diwān*, and at the same time accepted at least two which Ibn Ishāq attributed to other poets without mentioning Ḥassān, and ten which Ibn Hishām's authorities doubted or in some other way rejected as being by Ḥassān.

Clearly no definite inference can be made regarding these two works alone. This, however, does not mean that there was no probable connexion, viz. that Ibn Ishāq was merely one of a number of sources that were available to Ibn Ḥabīb, many of which were probably living traditions. No doubt a person who attributes to one man a collection of poems as unreasonably varied in style and spirit as that which makes up the *Diwān* of Ḥassān, cannot be credited with very sound critical sense. As in the case of Ibn Hishām, selection must have been dictated by 'authority'. Both men came at a time when more heart-searching was taking place, because more recording was being done.

¹ p. 534.

² هذه أصح أشعار أهل بدر

³ *Sira*, 935-8, Ibn 'Asākir (ed. Badrān), iv, 130 ff., and iii, 255-7. For a full discussion of the incident and the various poems see the article by the present writer in *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 416-26.

⁴ Edited by von Kremer, Calcutta, 1856. See pp. 190, 191, 344, 346.

7. Again, according to a note¹ ascribed to al-Sukkārī, who transmitted Ḥassān's *Diwān* directly from Ibn Ḥabīb, the last 28 poems in the order they appear in Hirschfeld's edition and in the MSS in which the note appears, were not dictated by Ibn Ḥabīb, but were copied from his books by al-Sukkārī. The following reasons make it probable though by no means certain that the omission was deliberate :

(i) The text of the note : ' This is the end of Ḥassān's poetry as dictated by Ibn Ḥabīb. The remainder I copied out of his books ; he did not dictate it '.

(ii) The 28 poems are omitted from the Berlin MS, and this omission may have been deliberate as a result of al-Sukkārī's note.

(iii) The ' grouping ' of the poems, which include all the poems against any Umayyads and against Asad as well as six out of eight poems against Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith. Such omissions could hardly be purely accidental. (See § 13 below.)

Although there is not available consistent information concerning the circumstances of the dictation of the *Diwān*, which must have taken place over a period of time, and although there is, indeed, very little information about Ibn Ḥabīb himself, it is surprising that the two stories told by Yāqūt² in his short biography of Ibn Ḥabīb, both deal with the dictation of Ḥassān's *Diwān*. One story is told on the authority of a certain judge, Abū Ṭāhir, whose presence in the audience caused Ibn Ḥabīb to stop dictating immediately, and to remain silent despite the judge's effort to persuade him to resume the dictation. The judge testified to his wide knowledge and truthfulness. The other story concerns Tha'lab who came to Ibn Ḥabīb on hearing that he was dictating the poetry of Ḥassān. Again Ibn Ḥabīb stopped dictating as soon as he realized that Tha'lab was present. Tha'lab went away, returned later, and coaxed Ibn Ḥabīb, who resumed the dictation. The story ends with the comment that Ibn Ḥabīb did not sit in the Great Mosque.

Now stopping his dictation on discovering learned men in his audience, and refraining from sitting in the Great Mosque may have been due to natural shyness, or may have been an expression of respect for the distinguished visitors. However, natural shyness would have had a more drastic effect, and respect would have commanded compliance. Indeed one wonders if this shyness or reserve was not the result of inner doubts as to what he was dictating.

8. Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī (d. 231), in his *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*³ has the following to say about Ibn Ishāq and the poetry which he included in his *Sira*. ' One of those who corrupted and adulterated poetry and transmitted all kinds

¹ The text of the note is as follows :

هذا آخر شعر حسان في الإملاء عن ابن حبيب وهذا الباقي كتبته من كتبه لم يمل

The note appears in the following MSS which the writer has seen or of which he possesses a photographic copy : B.M. MS Ad. 19,539 ; Paris MS Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. 1432 ; and Istanbul, Ahmet III, 118. See *Diwān*, ed. Hirschfeld, n. to no. 601, p. 110. al-Sukkārī (d. 275) transmitted the poems from Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245) who collected the *Diwān*.

² *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (Gibb Memorial Series, vi), vi, 473-6.

³ p. 9.

of worthless verse was Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār People then accepted such poetry on his authority. He used to excuse himself by saying, "I know nothing about poetry. It is brought to me and I transmit it", but that was no excuse for him. He included in the *Sīra*¹ poems by men who never wrote any poetry at all, and poems by women too. He even went as far as 'Ād and Thamūd, and recorded many poems by them which were not poetry but mere words put together and provided with rhymes. Could he not have asked himself who had transmitted this poetry and who had handed it down through thousands of years when God, exalted and blessed be He, says, "And He destroyed the first 'Ād, and Thamūd, and left none remaining".²

A little further on³ a line from the *Sīra*⁴ is quoted and condemned, and further reference is made to the absurdity of ascribing poetry to 'Ād and Thamūd. The poetry in question is described as 'weak, corrupt . . . of poor construction and lacking in pleasantness'.

Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 154), is then quoted as saying that even in his own day the language of Ḥimyar and the dialect of farthest Yaman was not the same as his own and his people's Arabic, how more widely different it must have been in the days of 'Ād and Thamūd? Moreover, witness the extreme weakness of the verse structure. He then continues, 'had poetry been [of] the same [grade] as was forged for Ibn Ishāq and as has been transmitted by the *ṣaḥāfiyyūn*,⁵ there would have been no need for it, nor would it have indicated learning'.

It is perhaps fair to mention here that Ibn Ishāq himself sometimes introduces poems by such expressions as 'they assert', or 'they allege', or 'as they say'.⁶ Again, Ibn Hishām finds more than one occasion to remark that what Ibn Ishāq had quoted [presumably] as poetry was *Saj'* and not poetry.⁷ In certain cases Ibn Hishām remarks that the version given by Ibn Ishāq is faulty and himself supplies a correct version on the authority of his experts.⁸ However, Ibn Ishāq has been accused of bad faith. (See § 13 (g) below.)

9. On Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ibn Sallām writes: 'More poetry was fathered on him than on anybody else. When the Quraish quarrelled among themselves and slandered each other, they ascribed to him a great deal of poetry which it is impossible to sift'.⁹

10. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 378) writes on Ibn Ishāq,¹⁰ 'It is said that poems used

¹ The plural form is used in the Arabic.

² Qur'ān LIII, 50-1. Other verses quoted are: VI, 45; LXIX, 8; XXV, 38; XIV, 9.

³ p. 11.

⁴ See *Sīra*, p. 6.

⁵ *Ṣaḥāfiyy*: 'One who makes mistakes in reading MSS (*ṣuḥuf*)' (*Qāmūs*) or 'One who transmits error by muddling letters when reading MSS' (*Lisān*). They were condemned by scholars as being ready to copy information from books, i.e. without checking it with a recognized teacher.

⁶ e.g. *Sīra*, 89, 418, 419.

⁷ e.g. *ibid.*, 134, where a verse version of the *Saj'* is also given by Ibn Hishām.

⁸ e.g. 533.

⁹ *op. cit.*, 179. See, for example, 12 (c) and 13 (i-j) below.

¹⁰ *al-Fihrist* (Cairo, A.H. 1348), 136.

to be forged and brought to him with a request to include them in his book on the *Sira*. He did so, and thus included in his book such poetry as made him a scandal among rhapsodists'.

11. Yāqūt (d. A.D. 1229) in his biography of Ibn Ishāq, writes¹: 'Poems were forged for Muḥammad b. Ishāq which he included in the books on *Maghāzī*, so that he became a scandal among narrators and rhapsodists'. (See also § 13 (g) below.)

Various authors have found occasion to reject or to report the rejection of the authenticity of individual poems or lines. The following are examples.

12. (a) Ibn Sallām,² commenting on the poem³ ascribed to Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Prophet, says that it had been added to and 'made longer'. In reply to a question, he could not tell al-Aṣma'ī where the authentic part ended.

Ibn Hishām, who quotes 81 lines of it, comments that that was as much as he found authentic, and that even that is rejected in the greatest part by authority. His comment gives point to that of Ibn Sallām. This poem as it stands is one of the longest in the *Sira*, and the evident conclusion of both Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sallām is that it has been augmented at different times.

(b) Ibn Sallām⁴ also rejects a line ascribed to 'Abbās b. Mirdās.

(c) He also quotes⁵ two lines of slander and says they are usually ascribed to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith⁶ slandering Ḥassān b. Thābit. 'The truth', says Ibn Sallām on the authority of a learned person from Madīna, 'is that the lines were composed by Qudāma b. Mūsa b. 'Umar b. Qudāma b. Maẓ'ūn of the tribe of Jumāḥ, who ascribed them to Abū Sufyān'. The Quraish, says Ibn Sallām, quote the lines among their poetry and direct them against the Anṣār as a reply to Ḥassān.

The lines contain nothing that could indicate either the author or the victim. It is important to notice, however, that the suggested author belongs to the third generation after Qudāma b. Maẓ'ūn the Companion of the Prophet. (See § 13 below.)

13. Notes rejecting Ḥassān's authorship of several poems are found in a valuable MS⁷ of the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, copied from a MS dated A.H. 255 which had been read through with al-'Adawī and which contains very useful notes by him not found in any of the other MSS known to the present writer or, apparently, to the editors of the printed *Diwāns*. The relevant notes are given below in the order of their appearance in this MS.

¹ op. cit., vi, 409.

² op. cit., 204.

³ *Sira*, 172-6.

⁴ op. cit., 11. See also *Sira*, 6.

⁵ op. cit., 208-9.

⁶ Cousin of the Prophet. He opposed Islam and was said to have taken a leading part in the battle of slander against the Muslims until he embraced Islam just before the occupation of Mecca. *Sira*, 461, 607, etc.

⁷ Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2534. I have been able to obtain a photostat copy of this and another MS also in Istanbul (Ahmet III, 2613) with the kind help of the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts of the Arab League, Cairo.

(a) A short elegy on 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa¹ appears on p. 35. It was not transmitted by Ibn Ḥabīb, as the 'editor' of this MS remarks, and therefore, does not appear in the other MSS or the printed *Diwāns*.² al-'Adawī remarks, 'It is said to be a forgery'.

(b) In a note on the poem in 'ل', on pp. 49-50 (Hirschfeld, no. xix), al-'Adawī ascribes it to Anas b. Ṣirma the Anṣārī.

A similar note appears in another Istanbul MS (Ahmet III, No. 2613) on the authority of Ibn al-Furāt³ ascribing the poem to Ṣirma b. Abī Anas the Anṣārī. The note does not appear in the London and Paris MSS which are identical with this one.

Ibn Ishāq⁴ ascribes the poem to Abū Qais Ṣirma b. Abī Anas.

(c) A note introducing a poem against Abū Lahab (MS, p. 56; Hirschfeld, no. ccxvii) quotes Khālid b. Ilyās b. Sakhr b. Abī Jahm b. Hudhaifa⁵ as follows: 'This poem on Abū Lahab is not by Ḥassān . . . Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān told me that these lines were not by Ḥassān but were among the forgeries that were fathered on him'.

(d) The introduction to the poem Hirschfeld, no. lvi (MS, p. 80) includes two lines against Ṣafwān b. Umayya⁶ ascribed to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith. al-'Adawī is quoted in the MS as asserting that Abū Sufyān did not attack Ṣafwān, and that the lines were by 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwairith who died a Christian.⁷

Unfortunately al-'Adawī does not explain why the lines were ascribed to 'Uthmān or on what occasion they were composed.

(e) Two elegies on the Prophet appear on pp. 84^L and 85^R of the MS. Neither of them is to be found in the other MSS of the *Diwān* or in the printed editions, though the first appears in Barqūqī's edition, p. 164, and in the *Sīra*, p. 1025. al-'Adawī states that he thought both were forgeries.

It should be remarked here that the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit contains only two elegies on the death of the Prophet and yet one finds no less than eight on the death of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. The *Sīra* contains two more elegies on the Prophet, and Barqūqī's edition of the *Diwān* four more, including the two in the *Sīra*, from where doubtless they were taken.

¹ A Madinese companion of the Prophet, who had established a reputation as a poet before Islam. He was killed at the Battle of Mu'ta, A.H. 8.

² One line appears in Barqūqī's edition, p. 71.

³ Ibn al-Furāt and his son transmitted the *Diwān* of Ḥassān from al-Sukkārī who transmitted it from Ibn Ḥabīb. The *Diwān* was also transmitted from al-Sukkārī via al-Sīrafi.

⁴ *Sīra*, 350.

⁵ Khālid b. Ilyās or Iyās al-'Adawī, a Madinese *ra'wī* and traditionist. Among those who transmitted his '*riwāya*' was al-Wāqidī. As a traditionist he is not generally considered highly trustworthy (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 80-1).

⁶ Son of Umayya b. Khalaf, of the clan of Jumah. His father Umayya was killed at Badr, and he himself continued in his opposition to the Prophet until after the Conquest of Mecca. See *Sīra*, 640, 472, etc.

⁷ According to Ibn Ishāq he was one of four Quraashites who, shortly before Islam, rejected idolatry and went out in search of the 'Ḥanifiyya'. 'Uthmān became a Christian and joined the Byzantine Emperor (*Sīra*, 143-4).

(f) In a note on the margin of p. 109 in the MS, concerning a poem against Hind, wife of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and mother of Mu'āwīya (Hirschfeld, no. CCXXIV), al-'Adawī says on the ultimate authority of Khālid b. Ilyās (see n. 5, p. 460) that Khālid asked Sa'id b. Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān about the truth concerning those lines. Sa'id replied, 'It was not Ḥassān who composed them, but 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Ḥassān], who ascribed them to Ḥassān. That was when Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya, may God curse him, ordered al-Akḥṭal to slander the Anṣār'.

(g) Among the poems found in this MS and not in the others or in the printed *Diwāns*, and which evidently did not form part of Ibn Ḥabīb's collection, a short poem of three lines slandering the tribe of Makhzūm appears on pp. 115^L-116^B. al-'Adawī rejects the lines as 'not known to be by Ḥassān'. He argues, further, that the tribe of Makhzūm were so well-known (i.e. regarding their descent, which is the theme of the attack) that they were above slander, the grandmother of the Prophet being a woman from Makhzūm. He adds that he had heard from various people that Ibrāhīm b. Hishām of Makhzūm¹ had sent someone who tied a rope round the neck of Ibn Ishāq and in this manner expelled him from the Prophet's Mosque. Ibn Ishāq then included these lines, which were a forgery, in his *Maghāzī*. al-'Adawī then comments that much of the poetry which Ibn Ishāq included in the *Maghāzī* was spurious. The lines, he said, were not transmitted by other authorities but were taken from the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Ishāq.

The lines are not found in the *Sīra*, and may have been among the verse omitted by Ibn Hishām.

(h) A note introducing the poem Hirschfeld, no. LXXXVI, and suggesting Sa'd b. al-Ḥuṣayn of the Khazraj as a probable alternative author is found in the printed *Diwāns* and in the MSS available for the purpose of this study (p. 144 in the MS now being considered). *Aghānī* and Ibn 'Asākir² ascribe the poem to Bashīr b. Sa'd.³

(i) On the poem Hirschfeld, no. CXXIX, introduced in the *Diwān* as a slander against al-Walid b. al-Mughīra of Makhzūm, al-'Adawī comments (MS, p. 159^L) that the poem was actually a forgery by Yahyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubair during his battle of slander with Ibrāhīm b. Hishām.¹

(j) al-'Adawī credits an unknown member of the family of al-Zubair with yet another poem (Hirschfeld, no. CCVIII) slandering the family of 'Auf and claiming that they were not really Qurashites, but descended from Taghlib.

¹ Ibrāhīm b. Hishām of Makhzūm was a governor of Madīna for Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, whose maternal uncle he was. On the death of Hishām, his successor al-Walid b. Yazīd, who had a grudge against him, ordered both him and his brother Muḥammad b. Hishām to be tortured and put to death. In doing this he was abetted by Ibrāhīm's enemy, Yahyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubair. *Aghānī* (I, 144, and XIV, 159) describes Ibrāhīm as vain, arrogant, and not of a placid disposition.

² *Aghānī* (Būlāq, 1868), XIV, 125; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, III, 262.

³ An Anṣārī of the Khazraj tribe and one of the earliest converts. He was present at the second 'Aqaba meeting with the Prophet, and after the death of the Prophet he was the only Anṣārī to support the claim of the Qurashites to the Caliphate in the historic meeting in the *saqifa* of the Banī Sā'ida.

In a note following the poem, he states (MS, pp. 175^L–176) that the poem was the result of slander directed against the family of al-Zubair by the family of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf 'who were knowledgeable in genealogy'. When the poem was recited to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf, he commented, 'they did their worst against us, but at any rate they could not exclude us from the Arabs'.

It should be noted that this 'Abd al-'Azīz who made the comment belongs, according to the above genealogy, to the fourth generation after 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf the Companion of the Prophet.

(k) Concerning the poem Hirschfeld, no. CLXXXVII, al-'Adawī (MS, p. 187^B) states that the author was 'Amr b. Shaqīq b. Salāmān of al-Ḥārith b. Murra. The author of the *Aghānī*¹ suggests four possible authors including Ḥassān and the said 'Amr b. Shaqīq.

14. al-Mubarrad (d. 285) quoting the line²

سالت هذيل رسول الله فاحشة ضللت هذيل بماسالت ولم تصب

comments that the word سالت in that form was not Ḥassān's dialect. It would be right to conclude that al-Mubarrad intended to reject the whole line as not by Ḥassān. This opinion from a philologist like al-Mubarrad is of obvious value.

15. al-Ḥuṣṣī (d. A.H. 413 or 453), in his *Zahr al-ādāb*,³ quotes the poem ascribed by Ibn Hishām⁴ to Qatīla, sister of al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith who was executed by the Prophet after the battle of Badr. He then adds, 'I have heard a man of learning cast doubt on the lines of Qatīla d. of al-Ḥārith, and say that they were forged'.

The lines purport to be partly an elegy on al-Naḍr, but mainly a mild rebuke addressed to the Prophet for not sparing his life. This is in itself an argument against the authenticity of the lines. It is to be noticed, however, that it is Ibn Hishām and not Ibn Ishāq who quotes the poem in the *Sīra*. It is also noticeable that Ibn Ishāq states⁵ that al-Naḍr was executed in al-Ṣafrā', 'according to report',⁶ while Ibn Hishām, in a note immediately after states that the place of execution was al-Uthail. This is the place mentioned in the poem (l. 1).

Ibn Sallām quotes Ibn Ju'duba⁷ who rejects altogether the report that al-Naḍr was executed after Badr. According to him he was wounded and taken captive. It was not easy to treat his wounds, and he refused to eat and drink so long as he remained in captivity, with the result that he died.

¹ *Aghānī*, XIV, 130.

² *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 288. See also *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Barqūqī, 87.

³ On the margin of *al-'Iqd* (Cairo, A.H. 1293), 28–9.

⁴ *Sīra*, 539.

⁵ *ibid.*, 508.

⁶ فيها يذكرون.

⁷ See Ibn Sallām, op. cit., 213–14. Ibn Ju'duba was Yazīd b. 'Iyād, a pupil of al-Zuhri, 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, Zaid b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain, and others. Opinions quoted by Ibn Ḥajar indicate that he did not command much respect as a traditionist. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 44–8.

16. In quoting one of the elegies on 'Uthmān b. 'Affān by Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ibn al-Athīr (d. A.H. 630) remarks¹ concerning line 3²

بل ليت شعري وليت الطير تخبرني ما كان شأن علي وابن عَفَّانَا

that it was added to the poem by the Syrians. The line contains a broad hint at 'Alī's guilt.

Often another author or authors are suggested for poems ascribed to the poets of the *Sira*. Two instances have already been mentioned in § 13 above. The following are further examples.

17. No less than 30 poems, parts of poems, or single lines are ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit (in the *Dīwāns*, the *Sira*, and elsewhere) as well as to others. One or two examples may suffice here. Poem no. xxxviii in Ḥassān's *Dīwān* is ascribed to Ṣafīyya d. of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the *Sira*.³ Poem no. xix is ascribed to Abū Qais Ṣirma,⁴ and poem no. cxiii is ascribed to Ḥanzala b. al-Rabī' as an exhortation to Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān.⁵

18. Reports of a 'forgery in the making' are sometimes found. A story is told in the *Aghānī*⁶ of an attempt at fathering prepared lines on Ḥassān b. Thābit or another poet contemporary with the Prophet. The story concerns Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, grandson of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām of Makhzūm who made himself notorious by his enmity to the Prophet, and who disgraced himself by fleeing at the Battle of Badr leaving his brother Abū Jahl on the battlefield.⁷ Abū Bakr offered someone 4,000 dirhams if he would claim that he heard Ḥassān b. Thābit recite to the Prophet four lines of poetry which he had ready. The person concerned refused to tell a lie involving the Prophet himself, but offered to say instead that he had heard the lines from 'Āisha. Abū Bakr would accept no alternative, so they parted. Sometime later Abū Bakr sent for the man and asked him to compose certain lines and ascribe them to his own father. When the lines were ready, however, Abū Bakr asked the man to ascribe them instead to Ibn al-Zibā'rā. 'Consequently the lines are still to be found in authors' books attributed to Ibn al-Zibā'rā.'⁸

19. Equally relevant is the habit of the author of the 'Book of Ṣiffīn' of introducing various poems with the words 'put in the mouth of...'.⁹

¹ *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg (Brill, 1867), iii, 151.

² *Dīwān*, no. xx, l. 3.

³ *Sira*, 636. ⁴ *ibid.*, 350. See § 13 above. ⁵ *Kiṭāb Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn (Cairo, 1946), 110.

⁶ *Aghānī*, i, 31. ⁷ *Sira*, 450 ff.

⁸ See, for example, Ibn Sallām, *op. cit.*, 200-1.

⁹ e.g. *Kiṭāb Ṣiffīn*, 27, 28, etc.

SIDELIGHTS ON MUSLIM HISTORY

By A. S. TRITTON

A 'MIRROR for magistrates' entitled 'The manners of kings and advice to them' (*adab al-mulūk wa-nasā'ihum*) precedes in MS Or. 9446 of the British Museum the *suḥbat al-mulūk* (commonly called *kitāb al-tāj*) which is ascribed to Jāḥiẓ. As the former names Saladin, the ascription to Jāḥiẓ, if meant to apply to it, is wrong. Each section begins with a line or two, 'The prudent king will do this, will not do that', followed by one or more examples from history. Many of them are known from other sources and often agree word for word with them. Among these are the embassy of Bāqillānī to the Emperor (f.9b; Sam'ānī, *ansāb*, 62a), the faithful watcher of the Sahliya dam on the Diyala (f.28a; *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, III, 69), the defeat of Tughril Beg, Ilghāzī, and others by the Georgians in 514/1120 (f.47b; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 398), 'Uthmān b. Ḥuwairith, the Emperor, and the bad interpreter (f.20b; Balādhurī, *ansāb*, ivB, 126), to name only a few. Some are summaries, at times clumsy, of longer reports; of these are the expedition of Ibn Ṭūlūn to Tarsus in 264/878 (f.49a; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 220), the capture of Qal'at Ja'bar by Nūr al-dīn in 564/1169 (48b; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 220), 'Aḍud al-dawla on the pay of the army (23a; *Eclipse*, III, 45), and the refusal of Asfār b. Kardūyah to help a man to qualify as a witness (42a; *Eclipse*, III, 64).

Some agree in general with other accounts but add details which may well be authentic. Marwān II, when all hope was lost, advised 'Abd al-ḥamīd his secretary to join the Abbasids who would value his skill and in whose service he might do something for Marwān (32a; Ṭabari, III, 26). The secretary refused to leave his master. There was a plan for Marwān to flee to Asia Minor (11b). In 129/747 a so-called army from Medina attacked the Khawārij near Mecca but was defeated and a fugitive, who wanted to say to a slave girl 'Shut the door' (*ighliqi 'l-bāb*) could only stammer 'ghāq bāq' (23a; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 297). A spy told Hārūn al-Rashīd that he had seen Yaḥyā b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusainī in coarse woollen clothes with followers who pretended not to know him and a pass provided by Faḍl al-Barmakī who had befriended him. The informer was given 1,000 dinars and servants beat him as he left the palace to make it appear that the caliph was displeased with him. This was before Yaḥyā rebelled in Adherbaijān and Faḍl was in command of the army sent against him. (17a; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 83, 85; Jahshiyārī, *wuzarā*, 189). Ṭāhir was appointed governor of Khorasān in 205/820; this is mostly a bad summary but it adds that Ṭāhir bribed a secretary to forge a letter from Ghassān resigning the governorship (32b; Ṭabari, III, 1041).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Umari of Yemen was promised immunity but was sent in chains to Ma'mūn (212/827). The governor then sent for Ibrāhīm al-Ḥimyarī (Ibrāhīm b. abī Ja'far al-Manākhi) who refused to obey the

summons so the governor set out to besiege his inaccessible fort but was attacked in a defile and defeated (27a; Ṭabarī, III, 1099; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 287; Kay, *History of Yaman* 221). Mankajūr had rebelled in 224/839, had surrendered to Bughā, and been committed to the charge of Ītāḥ. Ītāḥ envied Bughā so flogged Mankajūr till he confessed to having made gifts to Bughā and his secretary. Ītāḥ reported this to the caliph. Investigation proved that both men had refused the offered gifts so Ītāḥ was snubbed (30a; Ṭabarī, III, 1302). The caliph Mu'tamid wanted to go to Egypt in 269/883 because Muwaffaq monopolized the power; Ibn Ṭūlūn thought of inviting him but was dissuaded (10a; Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 276). There was strife between Ikhshīd and Saif al-dawla in 333/945 but Ikhshīd made peace, much to the disgust of his officers, explaining that war was not profitable. He married the daughter of Saif al-dawla (44a).

In connexion with the rebellion against Nūḥ the Sāmānid the MS tells of what happened (334/946) before the events recorded in Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 344. 'Imād al-dawla wrote to Nūḥ accusing Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥtāj of being extravagant and unreliable and offered to take over his provinces for ten years and pay 100,000 dinars more. Nūḥ accepted and put the brothers and friends of Ibn Muḥtāj in prison while 'Imād al-dawla procrastinated gracefully and wrote to Ibn Muḥtāj warning him against Nūḥ. Ibn Muḥtāj, fortified by the promise of support from 'Imād al-dawla, invited Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Nūḥ's uncle, from Mosul and himself left Rayy which was at once seized by Rukn al-dawla, alerted by his brother (21a). Alp Arslān captured Faḍluyah who was taken to Istakhr where the governor cast him into an oubliette and told the guards to kill him at the first sign of disturbance. Faḍluyah gave the names of 60 Shabānkāreh, who were as tough as himself, as holding treasure of his. They denied this and cursed him so savagely as to convince the guards that they were his enemies. Faḍluyah, speaking in a strange tongue with a few Persian words, told them to pay up gradually in small sums till all suspicion was allayed and then to attack the castle. As soon as the guards heard the noise of the attack, they killed him and threw his head to the Shabānkāreh who lost heart and were all slain (48a; Ibn al-Athīr, X, 49; 'Alī b. Nāṣir, *akḥbār al-dawla al-saljūqiya*, 42¹). This was in 464/1072.

The judge of Isfahan (500/1107) was in league with the Bāṭinīs under Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-malik b. 'Aṭṭāsh and secured the death of Sa'd b. Muḥammad the wazīr and the imprisonment of many others as Bāṭinīs but was himself killed by a Bāṭinī and his plots exposed (30b; Ibn al-Athīr, X, 299, 331). Shams al-khilāfa (504/1111) regretted plotting with the Franks, was pardoned but later put to death by Afḍal (22b), or was killed by his own troops (Ibn al-Athīr, X, 337); perhaps the two stories are complementary.

In 570/1175 Ghāzī of Mosul sent an army to Syria under his brother Mas'ūd with the lords of Mardīn and Ḥiṣn Kaifa while most of Saladin's troops were in

¹ Professor Lambton kindly called my attention to *akḥbār al-dawla al-saljūqiya*

Egypt; Saladin temporized, offering to surrender Damascus. Mas'ūd advanced slowly taking 13 days to pass the Euphrates and his allies deserted him. He sent two envoys to Saladin who detained the first and put off meeting the second by spending a long time in the bath. Thus troops from Egypt had time to arrive (45b; Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 278). After the capture of Aleppo in 579/1183 Mas'ūd of Mosul sent ambassadors to Saladin but negotiations broke down over the allegiance due from neighbouring lords. The ambassadors took Saladin's politeness for weakness and made extravagant demands (19b; Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 330).

Fakhr al-dīn Shaddād, lord of Ani, asked the hand of the daughter of 'Izz al-dīn Salduq (Ṣaltuq) of Erzerum but was refused and she married another. Shaddād waited and then wrote to Salduq, 'I cannot hold Ani so come buy it from me; otherwise I must give it to the Georgians'. He also wrote to the king of the Abkhazes, 'Salduq has agreed to take over Ani so come first or I must surrender it to him'. Dimitri the king came at once, reached the town, defeated the army of Salduq, and captured him. He stayed a prisoner till he was ransomed (47a). Salduq was twice captured by Georgians, in 548/1153 and in 556/1161 when he was ransomed by his sister (Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 126, 185).

Some of the examples have no parallels elsewhere so far as I can discover. 'Umar b. Khaṭṭāb made Mughīra b. Shu'ba governor over the Magians who disliked him and complained of his tyranny so 'Umar dismissed him. The Magians feared that he might be reappointed so their chief promised them to prevent this. He collected from them 100,000 dirhams and said, 'I will go and tell the caliph that he embezzled money from the treasury and deposited it with me'. He went to 'Umar with his tale. 'Umar asked Mughīra, 'What do you say to this?' 'He lies; it was 200,000; it was care for my family and other wants that made me do this'. 'Umar said to the Persian, 'What do you say? By God, I will believe you'. The Persian admitted that he had received nothing from Mughīra. 'Umar then asked Mughīra his object in saying what he did. 'The scoundrel was lying and I wanted to put him to shame' (25b). A Muslim killed a Christian and Abū Yūsuf was ready to condemn the murderer but anonymous verses circulated: You do wrong who kill a Muslim for an unbeliever; the just is not as the unjust. No divine or poet in Baghdad or its neighbourhood did wrong to religion by putting a Muslim to death for an infidel. Lament and weep, my brothers, for your religion. Be patient, reward is for the patient (13b). 'Umair b. Yaqtīn, governor of Basra for Hārūn al-Rashīd, was a tyrant. Sa'īd al-Jawharī did not fawn upon him so he accused him of praising the Barmakīs. Sa'īd appealed to the judge Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh who became the secret witness to a talk between Sa'īd and the governor and then reported to the caliph. The governor was dismissed, flogged, and had his head and beard shaved (13a; Sa'īd is named in *kitāb al-aghānī*, XVIII, 73). Malik Shah demanded 30,000 dinars from Nāṣir al-dawla Aḥmad b. Marwān who told the envoy, 'You shall have an answer when you are rested'. He was taken to the bath and then all its contents were offered to

him as a gift but were refused. Four days later the same thing happened but on a grander scale with the same refusal. A third offer, still more luxurious, was also refused. The envoy then said, 'I came on my lord's business and to accept gifts would look as if I came for my own profit'. Nāṣir al-dawla then showed him the prosperity of the land and said, 'Should I risk my land for a paltry sum? As soon as you arrived, I gathered the 30,000; take it to Malik Shah and keep him away from my land'. The envoy then accepted what had been offered to him (27a; Ibn Khaldūn speaks only of a gift to Tughril, iv, 315). Mufarrij b. Jarrāḥ with Yemenite troops prepared to attack the Fatimid garrison of Tiberias; the governor moved out to meet the assailants and created the impression that he was about to use poisoned arrows so the attack was called off (47a; Yemenite troops may mean Syrians who claimed descent from Qaḥṭān; circa 370/980).

When Saladin prepared to attack Ramla, he reviewed the amirs and troops at Birkat al-Jubb. Afterwards the amirs gathered at the door of headquarters and asked the chamberlain to tell the sultan that each one of them had brought to the review more than his due contingent so they did not wish any cash levy till after the sultan's return victorious from the campaign. Saladin took this to be a refusal to pay and, in spite of repeated protests by the chamberlain, insisted on the levy. The amirs were furious and went away; 'Ain al-dawla al-Yārūqī left Saladin's service and went to Damascus by way of Aila and another followed him. The campaign started and the ministry levied on the amirs the needed quota and collected it from their fiefs. Their stewards sent the news to them so they were enraged, their resolution failed, and defeat followed (23b; pilgrims and armies started from Jubb, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 18). When in Damascus Saladin often rode under a certain walnut tree so a Bāṭinī hid in the branches and, when the sultan was directly underneath, threw himself upon him. God protected the sultan for the Bāṭinī fell on the horse's rump, could not maintain his position, but fell to the ground helpless and the guards killed him (5a).

Qatāda sent to Mukaththir the amir of Mecca asking for help against Sālīm of Medina (c. 600/1201) and Muḥammad b. Mukaththir asked his father to give Yanbu' to Qatāda as a reinforcement; the amir thought to himself, 'If my son goes to Qatāda, he will marry his daughter and the father-in-law will bribe my son's followers till he can ask their help against him. Qatāda will ask leave to build the fort of Yanbu', which has been denied him, and will give Muḥammad the task of making all the sharīfs of the Banū Ḥasan swear allegiance to him (Qatāda). If these plans succeed, Qatāda will take the government from me'. Mukaththir sent Muḥammad to help Qatāda, forbade him to marry his daughter, warned him against letting the fort at Yanbu' be rebuilt, and charged him earnestly not to allow any of the sharīfs of the Banū Ḥasan take the oath (11a).

The Banū 'Abd al-mu'min trained their subjects in Marrakesh not to think of the business of government nor to discuss it but to stick to their trades.

They appointed inspectors to patrol the shops and give heed to every individual ; those who neglected their business and gossiped about what did not concern them were flogged publicly in the bazar (40a). The appointment of Ibrāhīm al-Šūlī, a man of letters who knew nothing of accounting, to be minister of finance (*diwān al-kharāj*) is condemned as absurd (28b ; Tabari, III, 1379, gives him *zimām al-nafaqāt*, control of expenditure). Ibn al-Furāt desired as tax-gatherer one who believed neither in God nor the Judgment. The wrists and ankles of a man were tied and he was tortured by being hauled up by a rope and then allowed to drop. Something happened and he fell on the man superintending the torture and killed him (28a). This is a tale of a plan which misfired. After the defeat and death of Ibn Zubair, Ḥajjāj reported to the caliph in Damascus, taking with him a friend who accused him to the caliph of injustice and brutality. Ḥajjāj was at once appointed governor of Iraq and ascribed his promotion to the good offices of this so-called friend (18a ; *Anon. Chron.*, ed. Ahlwardt, 166 ; *al-'iqd al-farīd* (1928), I, 199). There are tales of suffering innocence righted by just rulers, of punishment made to fit the crime, and of royal generosity. One may be worth telling. A blind man criticized Kāfūr but was treated kindly by him ; the blind man's thanks took this form, 'There are only three good negroes, Luqmān, Bilāl, and Kāfūr' (40b ; a similar tale, *Mustaṭraf*, I, 237).

Some of the stories are not accurate, for various reasons. That the Šulaihi held Zabīd during the cold weather and retired to the hills during the heat when the Najāhi took over the town while the revenue was divided between them and the land enjoyed peace is a rationalization of the fact that the town changed its master frequently (26b). It is said that Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Sarakhsī deserted Ismā'il the Sāmānid, joined Ḥusain (? Ḥasan) b. 'Alī in Rayy, and led an army against the Sāmānid. Šu'lūk, the Sāmānid general, expressed doubts about the fidelity of al-Sarakhsī in the hearing of a spy and allowed him to escape and report to Ḥusain who called off the war (46b). It seems impossible to reconcile this with another account. Al-Sarakhsī deserted Ismā'il, wrote to Rayy after the townsfolk had killed Muḥammad b. Zaid, and was accepted as ruler ; Ismā'il defeated him and drove him out of Rayy, 298/911. (Ibn al-Kathīr, XI, 95.) Mu'izz al-dawla sent an army under Takīn against the two sons of Hamdān who were defeated and fled, abandoning their camp ; the successful army scattered to plunder so the Hamdānids returned to the attack and won a victory. Takīn just escaped (43b). If Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 350 and *Eclipse*, II, 109 refer to this event, Takīn was captured by a coalition of Mu'izz al-dawla and Nāṣir al-dawla b. Hamdān, blinded by the latter, and handed over to Mu'izz al-dawla 335/947. A prudent king will keep a sharp eye on all who come in and go out of his capital. Neglect of this precaution led to the loss of Jerusalem. Christians had been allowed into the Holy Sepulchre only in small parties, one leaving before another entered. But the rulers became careless, the church was crowded with Christians who suddenly drew their weapons and mastered the city (34a ; apparently the capture in 492/1099). The next contradicts the

accepted story. When the Fatimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid died, Saladin was commanded to read the sermon in the name of the Abbasid Mustafī. The Breaking of the Fast approached and he feared trouble at the place of prayer when the black flags were seen (567/1171). He decided that Abu 'l-barakāt Muḥammad b. Muwaffaq should go first with an Abbasid flag flying to the place of prayer which was guarded by soldiers. Saladin explained to Nūr al-dīn that if the mob objected and made trouble, the blame could be laid on Abu 'l-barakāt who might be disowned. Saladin and his followers went to the service in fear but Abu 'l-barakāt rode his donkey, girded with his sword and his attendants round him in the sight of the whole congregation. Neither hand nor tongue moved in protest (39b; the change took place on the first Friday in Muḥarram, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 242).

The interest of many of the stories is social. The Emperor sent to Mu'āwiya a very tall man and a strong man. Qais b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda was fetched; he looked at the tall man, took off his own trousers and threw them to him; when he put them on, they reached nearly to his armpits. Qais then repeated two lines of verse, which said that the garment was his and did not belong to 'Ād. Ibn al-Ḥanafiya overcame the strong man (39a; a milder form of the Qais story with the verses occurs in *kitāb al-ma'ārif*, 289, but Ibn al-Ḥanafiya is not mentioned). Ibn Tūlūn was moved by the complaint of a peasant to say to an overbearing official, 'Villages are like gardens; the peasants are like trees in them and you want to kill the trees and yet gather the fruit' (26b). Aḥmad b. abī Khālid heard Ma'mūn complain of 'Amr b. Mas'ada and told him of it. 'Amr made his excuses to the caliph who rebuked Aḥmad for his failure to respect a private conversation. Aḥmad defended himself by saying that 'Amr was a first class man who should be on the best of terms with his lord. He was forgiven (33a). Ma'mūn proposed to have Mu'āwiya cursed publicly but Yaḥyā b. Aktham dissuaded him: 'People, especially Khorasan, will not stand it. Disaffection does not matter so long as it is not penalized openly; government should not be ostentatious of its preference for any one party' (39b). The same caliph proposed to appoint Yaḥyā judge in the capital but bade him keep it secret. Yaḥyā let out that he was to be judge in Basra and the caliph was annoyed. Yaḥyā excused himself: 'When there is a secret, rumour is busy and one tale is likely to be correct; I gave people something to talk about so there were no rumours' (33a). A Turkmen complained to 'Aḍud al-dawla that his daughter had been raped. The sultan called for a sword, held the sheath in his hand, gave the blade to the Turkmen and told him to sheath it. Whenever the man brought the blade near the sheath, the sultan moved it away; he then explained the parable, 'the daughter must have consented'. If the man wished to kill the assailant, he should kill the daughter also. The sultan paid the bride price from the treasury (42b). Bachkam, *amīr al-umārā* in Baghdad, confessed that he was not himself learned but he liked to have around him the chief of every craft, the leader in every excellence and the first in every branch of knowledge (37b). In Spain the Ḥājib Maṣṣūr wanted to convert a *waqf* to his

own use and provide a substitute ; the lawyers would not allow it and, though Maṣṣūr was at first furious, he finally accepted their ruling with good grace (36b). Muṭṭadī imprisoned a soldier for some offence and next day a prisoner was impaled so it was assumed that this soldier was the victim. A courtier ventured to remonstrate with the caliph because the punishment was out of all proportion to the offence. He was told to see for himself that the soldier was alive in the gaol ; the victim was one for whom the sacred law ordained this penalty (11b). The tale is told twice of commanders who refused to fight when they learnt that their opponents had more men who were ready to fight to the death than they had ; the numbers were 6 and 5 in one case and 200 and 0 in the other (43a, 44a). A man complained to Muṭṭadī that a Turkish official had seized his land so the caliph ordered the Turk to be produced in court. The Turk declared that the land was his and in his possession so the lawyers said that the land belonged to the occupier and the claimant must produce evidence to the contrary. But the caliph said, ' It is not like this ; I judge from what I know that he is a new convert to Islam and has no right of inheritance ; he cannot own such land except by investiture, purchase, or heritage from a wife. He has not inherited it from a wife ; let him bring a diploma of investiture or a receipt for the purchase ; otherwise I must give the land to the plaintiff '. All marvelled at the insight of the caliph (42a). Afḍal, the Fatimid wazīr, wanted to buy jewels and was advised that he could get all he wanted if he paid the market price and asked no questions (38a). During his term of office there was a famine so he took a census of the mills and their daily requirements and sold the caliph's grain to them at a reasonable price besides arranging for some free distribution to the poor (37b).

When trade was slack in Aden Saif al-Islām (presumably Abu 'l-fawāris Tughtakīn the brother of Saladin) bought the merchandise of visiting traders at a small profit to them and kept the goods till it was convenient to sell them (38a). There are three tales about Saladin. He had toothache so sent for a barber-surgeon. The sultan lay down and the practitioner pulled out a sound tooth. Saladin said, ' Well done ! now pull out the bad one '. The barber was given a handsome present to compensate for his fright at having caused the sultan unnecessary pain (3a). He went to the bath and then wanted clean clothes but all his garments were locked in boxes and the man with the keys had gone home (29b). Ibn abi 'l-'Aish criticized Shāfi'ī in a commentary on al-Qudūri thus provoking strife. Saladin had the offending book washed clean in the mosque but protected the writer (36a). Shihāb al-dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī in an address delivered in Baghdad said that Ibn Muljam was not an infidel. In the tumult which followed he was protected by Najāh, the servant of the caliph Nāṣir, but was then banished to Wāsiṭ. Divines of Isfahan, Trans-Oxiana, and Syria agreed with him ; Ibn Muljam was a great sinner (34b). A ruler should not have two spiritual advisers or there will be strife. A debate was arranged between Ibn al-Jawzī and Jamāl al-dīn Wāthiq b. Faḍlān who said that he would argue with his opponent according to his worth.

'Is a call by the Creator like a call by a creature or not? If you say it is like, you contradict God's declaration that nothing is like Him; if you say it is not like, how can that to which nothing is like have anything in common with that to which much is like?' Ibn al-Jawzī asked to be excused from the debate but the audience said that only the impotent and defeated could be excused so he made them witnesses to his defeat. The caliph sent a servant to announce that, if any Ḥanbalī discussed this problem, he would have his head cut off and his carcass thrown into the Tigris (35a).

Mu'izz b. Bādīs wanted helpers from the east so he summoned 'Abd al-kāfi, a Jewish secretary, and a doctor giving each of them 1,000 dinars (20b). Porcelain bowls which could be bent when filled with boiling water were on sale in Alexandria (38a). A Frank told this tale; a knight took to heart a reprimand so fixed the butt of his spear in a wall and killed himself by running upon the point (24a). A Frank king, wishing to capture Sicily, put a gold coin in the middle of a carpet and asked his generals to pick it up without treading on the carpet. He had to show them how to roll up the carpet and so reach the coin (49a). Also told of Muḥammad 'Alī and the Wahhābīs.

As Saladin was named so often in this book, the story of his appointment as wazīr in Egypt may be added as an example of the uncertainty prevailing about events. After the death of Shirkūh the caliph al-'Ādid asked who would be a fit successor. The post was offered to Maḥmūd al-Ḥārimī who had wanted it but declined it and advised the selection of Saladin; he also advised Saladin to accept. He was appointed and the amirs of Nūr al-dīn left Egypt (*kitāb al-raḥdatain*, I, 173). No names are given but there were intrigues to persuade the caliph to appoint Saladin. Some amirs were discontented and 'Isā al-Hakkārī persuaded first Masḥūb al-Hakkārī and then 'Ain al-dawla al-Yārūqī, Ināl, and Maḥmūd al-Ḥārimī to recognize Saladin. Qarāqūsh is not mentioned (Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 226 f.). The reason for the appointment was that Saladin was a weak man (Ibn al-Athīr and *kitāb al-raḥdatain*). The amirs of Nūr al-dīn agreed on Saladin of their own accord (Al-'Imād in *kitāb al-raḥdatain*). Several amirs wanted the post and were ready to disobey when Saladin was chosen but 'Isā al-Hakkārī won them over (Abu 'l-Fidā, year 564). Qarāqūsh was made major domo (Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 228). 'Isā and Qarāqūsh agreed on Saladin (*kitāb al-raḥdatain*, I, 192, 194; *al-uns al-jatīl* 487). Qarāqūsh is called variously amir, eunuch, and lawyer eunuch.

THE ALBANIAN CHRONICLE OF MXIT'AR GOŠ

By C. J. F. DOWSETT

THE land of the *Atuank'* or Caucasian Albania, whose geography and customs already attracted the attention of Strabo and Pliny, represents the easternmost part of the Armenian sphere of influence. The historical events which took place in this region were described by the ancient Armenian historians P'awstos Biwzandaçi, Łazar P'arpeçi, Ehišē Vardapet, Movsēs Xorenaci, etc., and their works were subsequently drawn upon by Movsēs Kałankatuaçi or Dasxuranci for the compilation called the *History of the Atuank'*¹ which remains our principal source of information on the country down to the tenth century. For the history of events down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we are indebted to Armenian historians such as Vardan Arewelçi and Kirakos Ganjakeçi, and Arab historians such as Ibn al-Athīr and al-İsfahānī, while the *History of the Atuank'*² of Esay Hasan-Jalaleanc, Catholicos of Albania from 1701 to 1727, brings us down to modern times. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the bishop Makar Barxutareanc composed a history³ based on these sources which is unfortunately marred by many inaccuracies and faulty geographical identifications. One of the sources for the history of Albania which has until now remained in the obscurity of its original language, although of interest to students of the Seljuk period, is a small chronicle by Mxit'ar Goš, and it is to this opuscle that the following pages are devoted.

After the downfall of the Bagratid kingdom of Armenia and the consequent shifting of the principal Armenian literary centre to Cilicia, a group of writers, which might be called the Albanian School of Armenian literature, came into being in the Eastern regions. The principal writers of this school were Dawit', son of Alawik, of Ganjak (d. 1140); Mxit'ar Goš himself (c. 1130–1213); two of Mxit'ar's pupils, Vardan Arewelçi and Vanakan Vardapet; and Vanakan's pupil, Kirakos Ganjakeçi. Most of what we know of Mxit'ar Goš is found in the *Concise history*⁴ of Kirakos, who, as we have seen, was his spiritual grandson. Mxit'ar was born at Ganjak, and although the exact date

¹ *Patmut'wn Atuanic*, ed. Šahnazarean, Paris, 1860; ed. Emin, Moscow, 1860, reprinted Tiflis, 1912; translated by K. Patkanov [Patkanean], *Istoriya Agvan*, St. Petersburg, 1861.

² *Patmut'wn Atuanic*, translated by M. Brosset, 'Histoire d'Aghovanie . . .', *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg, II, 1876, 191–220.

³ *Patmut'wn Atuanic*, Valaršapat, 1902 (vol. I), Tiflis, 1907 (vol. II).

⁴ *Hamarōt patmut'wn*, Venice, 1865, 106–13, 237–43. The details which follow are taken from here; see also the summary by R.P. J. Mécérian, S.J., 'Bulletin arménologique (premier cahier)', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* (Beyrouth), XXVII, 10, 1947–8, 205–7, and B. M. Arutyunyan [Yarut'iwnian] (ed.), *Армянский судебник Мхитаря Гюша*, Erevan, 1964, pp. xui–xviii.

of his birth is not known, he is said to have died 'at a great age' in 1213, which is usually interpreted as putting the date of his birth between 1130 and 1140. After studying under the vardapet Yovhannēs of Tawuš and earning the title of vardapet himself, he went to Cilicia in search of further knowledge. On his way back he visited Erzerum (Karin), where he made the acquaintance of the exiled Prince K'urd 'and was loved by him as by a father'. In Ganjak he attracted many pupils, but was afterwards oppressed by the Turks at the instigation of the Catholicos of Albania, Step'annos III (c. 1155-95), and went to Xaçēn, where he enjoyed the protection of Vaxtang, prince of Hat'erk'; after some years, Prince K'urd, honoured by Queen T'amara of Georgia (1184-1213), returned to his domains at Kayen and Mahkanaberd, whereupon Mxit'ar sought his protection and settled in the monastery of Getik in the canton of Kayen in or after 1184. Here he stayed for some time (Kirakos: *yolov žamanaks*), until an earthquake destroyed the monastery, whereupon 'with the aid of Vaxtang of Xaçēn, lord of Hat'erk',¹ and his brothers Grigor, Grigoris, Xoydan, and Vasak, and other pious princes, the sons of K'urd, Dawit' and Sadun, and also their sister, whose name was Arzu Xat'un, wife of Vaxtang of Hat'erk'', Mxit'ar built the monastery of Nor Getik. He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1196/7, and in 1213 died in the monastery of which he was the founder.

The chief work of Mxit'ar Goš is the *Datastanagirk'*, probably composed in the year 1184.² The two principal manuscripts of this work are No. 1237 of the Mekhitarist monastery of San Lazzaro, Venice, and No. 8 of the Uniate monastery of Our Lady of Bzommar in the Lebanon.³ It is at the end of the former that we find the pages containing what I have called the Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš. After a colophon on pp. 591-2 comprising prayers for 'the God-loving prince of princes Vaxtang and his wife Arzu Xat'un' and the 'miserable scribe', we read on p. 593: 'Glory to Our Saviour Jesus and with Him the Father and the Holy Ghost, Who caused us here to interrupt the Book of Laws; for although we said before when writing the short colophon "Here ends the Book of Laws", it was not the end of it; rather we decided to make a pause, writing ourselves as much as possible, but not so as to hinder others who might wish to write and add thereto. Although in the year in which we began we wrote down all the laws which had been established, the writing of this memorial was delayed by reason of the persecutions, domestic and not foreign, which came upon us, we have considered it also essential to include the list of the Catholicos of the Albanians in order to combine those we [already]

¹ J. Mécérian, op. cit., 207, assumes the existence of two Vaxtang, the one prince of Xaçēn, the other prince of Hat'erk'; but it seems clear from this passage in Kirakos, and in the colophons of Mxit'ar Goš in the *Datastanagirk'*, that these are one person.

² 633 A; see G. Yovsep'ean, *Yiṣatakarank' jetagraç*, Anthelias, 1951, 507-8, for printed text of colophon; J. Mécérian, loc. cit., p. 212 [36], for a French translation of part of the colophon.

³ For a description of these and other MSS of the *Datastanagirk'*, see J. Mécérian, loc. cit., 208-28.

have now with all these [that follow] . . .'. From here to p. 630, where the manuscript suddenly stops, we have the pages which form the 'Albanian Chronicle' of Mxit'ar Goš, the translation of which follows below.¹ In the fourth colophon of the Bzommar manuscript (fols. 253v-255v) containing a dedication to the Catholicos of Cilicia, Grigor IV. Tlay (1173-94) we find a reference to this passage as follows: 'We have written with the Book of Laws in our copy (*i mern yaurinak*) a brief chronicle which we consider unsuitable to be written here also. . . . We began the list of patriarchs from the end of the History of the Albanians [of Movsēs Dasxurançi] to the one [Albania] now has, together with other matters as far as we heard and saw them (*zayl zirs ork'an luak' ew tesak'*) . . .'.²

Both these memorials appear to be written by Mxit'ar Goš, and the mention of his 'own copy' containing the 'list of patriarchs' would seem to support Ališan's view that the Venice MS No. 1237 was the author's own,³ though, as Mécérian points out,⁴ this need not have been written by Mxit'ar's own hand as Ališan supposed, but by a scribe acting on his instructions. Vardan Haçuni⁵ rejects Ališan's view that Venice 1237 was the original *Datastanagirk'*, but interprets the various colophons as pointing to the existence of an original copy written by Mxit'ar and now lost, a copy made of this and dedicated to the Catholicos of Cilicia (Bzommar 8), a third dedicated to Step'annos, Catholicos of Albania, now lost, and a fourth dedicated to Vaxtang, prince of Xaçēn (Venice 1237). The authenticity of the colophons in the two manuscripts quoted above has been denied by N. Akinean as part of an attempt to prove the improbable thesis that Mxit'ar was not the author of the *Datastanagirk'*, a thesis successfully refuted by J. Mécérian; it is impossible to believe in the forger of A.D. 1190 (23 years before Mxit'ar's death) postulated by Dr. Akinean.⁶ It is not my aim here to re-examine the whole question of the inter-relationships of the manuscripts of the *Datastanagirk'*, a work that can be undertaken only by a scholar who has had all the relevant manuscripts at his disposal. I would only suggest that a single personality links the two passages above translated and that it seems reasonable to suppose the person to have been the author himself rather than a scribe. Our chronicle is thus found in a manuscript whose antiquity is undoubted (Mécérian⁷ dates it at c. 1200, in the lifetime of Mxit'ar Goš) and an allusion is made to it in another ancient manuscript, which Mécérian assumes to have been copied in the first quarter of the thirteenth century on the original copy dedicated to the Catholicos of Cilicia.⁸ Although these two manuscripts have three colophons in common,

¹ The Armenian text is printed in Ț. Ališan, *Hayapatum, patmut'wēn Hayoc*, Venice, 1901, II, pp. 276-8 (extract 282), pp. 338-53 (extract 292).

² This translation is made on notes taken in Bzommar in 1954; J. Mécérian, who summarizes the passage in French (loc. cit., 213), seems to have interpreted it slightly differently.

³ loc. cit. above.

⁴ loc. cit., 217.

⁵ *Bazmavēp*, 1942, 4-9; cf. Mécérian, loc. cit., 228-9.

⁶ *Akōs*, Beyrouth, 1944, fasc. 1-3; see Mécérian, 229, 233.

⁷ loc. cit., 216.

⁸ loc. cit., 214.

the fourth colophon of each, from which the above translations are made, differs; the chronicle is contained only in Venice MS No. 1237, but what is more natural than that the copy of the *Datastanagirk'* dedicated to Prince Vaxtang of Xaçën should carry an appendix on recent Albanian history, but that this should be omitted from the copy destined for Cilicia and subsequent copies written in Cilicia? ¹

After a reference to the *History of the Albanians* by Movsēs Dasxurançi (Kałankatuaci), the chronicle begins with a list of the patriarchs of the country containing indications of dates not found elsewhere and possibly taken from patriarchal or monastic records long lost to us. Hereafter the chronicle deals with events in Albania, i.e. the 'other matters as far as we heard and saw them', from about 1130 to 1162, where it breaks off abruptly. At this period most of Armenia and Albania was in the hands of foreigners, for though Armenian rulers had survived in Siwnik', Sasun, and Tašir-Joraget, the Kurdish Shaddādids ruled at Dwin and Ani and the Shah i Armen, from their capital at Khlat', exerted authority over Erzingan, Erzerum, and Kars. In Albania, Xaçën, part of the old province of Arçax, had preserved its independence, and we know that it was partly at the request of one of its rulers, Prince Vaxtang, that Mxit'ar composed his Lawbook. Mxit'ar's birthplace, the town of Ganjak, had been in the hands of the Shaddādids from 970 to 1075, when it was taken from them by the Seljuk Malik Shāh.² In 1093 the sultan Barkyāruḡ gave it to his brother Muḥammad, who became sultan in 1105, and during the reign of Sandjar (1118-57) Ganjak, as capital of Arrān, was nominally subject to him, but more directly to the sultans of Iraq. At the time of the earthquake in 1139 Ḳarā Sonḡur was emir of Ādharbaidjān and Arrān at Ganjak; he was succeeded on his death in 1140/1 by Djāwli, who died in 1146, and after him Rawādī is mentioned as ruler of Arrān. All this is known from Arab sources, but the present Armenian chronicle supplies us with interesting details of the affairs of Ganjak, perhaps witnessed by Mxit'ar himself, and information concerning such personages as Xuhtuḡ, Čawli (Djāwli), P'axradin (Fakhr al-dīn 'Abdu 'l-Raḥmān), Irhiš (? Arghūsh), Rōvadi (Rawādī), Čaxr-šāh (Djaghri-šāh), etc., which is not to my knowledge to be found elsewhere. The end of the chronicle as we now have it, however, that is the part which deals with the Georgian capture of Ani and Dwin, is sketchy and disappointing, and in the case of the battle of Gag, chronologically inaccurate.

THE ALBANIAN CHRONICLE OF MXIT'AR GOŠ

We have considered it essential also to include the list of the Catholicoi of the Albanians in order to combine those we [already] have now with all these [that follow]. We shall write them down firstly in accordance with this

¹ i.e. MS arménien No. 177 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, dated A.D. 1231, MS No. 1738 of San Lazzaro, Venice, dated A.D. 1238; see Mécérian, loc. cit., 218-25.

² See V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, Cambridge, 1953, 25; this work is invaluable for the history of Ganjak and Ani under the Shaddādids and for the whole period with which our chronicle deals.

principle, and secondly, so that whosoever may be inclined to write a history continuing the history written by Movsēs Dasxurançi,¹ who gives a full account of the House of Albania, may conveniently take the list of patriarchs from here, for he will not find all their names in his [Movsēs'] History, but only those about whom he wrote. For from that time until the present nobody has written, and should somebody come forward, this list will be very necessary. We shall now give the list.

*List of the patriarchs of the Albanians established after the Lord Elišay
who came from Jerusalem*²

1. St. Šup'xališoy.
2. Matt'ē.
3. Sahak.
4. Karēn.³
5. Pand.
6. Lazar. He built Lazarapat in Belamējk' and the holy⁴ church of Pantaleon, and built [it] after an awe-inspiring vision.⁵

And from St. Elišay to St. Grigor [there passed] 300 years.⁶ And then the Albanians asked the Armenians for St. Grigoris, consecrated patriarch at the age of 15 and killed by the barbarians, as Catholicos.⁷ It was the 101st

¹ The author of the *History of the Aluank'* is more commonly known as Movsēs Kalankatuāçi, although Mxit'ar Goš's pupil Vanakan Vardapet also is said by L. Ališan (*Hayapatum, patmičk'* . . . *Hayoç*, Venice, 1901, 175) to attribute the work to a Movsēs of the village of Dasxurēn. Ališan assumes that there were thus two Movsēs, while Manandean (*Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1897, 22) dismisses the surname Kalankatuāçi as an invention of later writers misled by a faulty interpretation of the text and prefers to call the author Moses of Uti. N. Akinean (*Handels Amsorea*, 1953, 1-3, p. 29) assumes that we have to deal with only one author, whose real name is Movsēs Dasxurançi. There is, however, no need to reject the name *Kalankatuāçi*; by assuming, as Professor W. B. Henning first suggested to me, that this refers to the name of Movsēs' monastery in Kalankatk' while *Dasxurançi* refers to his native village, we can take Movsēs Kalankatuāçi and Dasxurançi to be one and the same person. Mxit'ar Goš himself is referred to as Ganjakeçi from the place of his birth, Getkaci from the name of his monastery, and Goš (i.e. 'beardless') by virtue of a physical peculiarity (see *Nor batgirk' haykazeen lezu*, Venice, 1836-7, I, 15).

² See Mos. Kał., I.6, ed. Emin, 7-9.

³ The greater part of this list has been taken from Mos. Kał., III.23; here, however, the latter has Movsēs in place of Karēn.

⁴ The MS has $\eta \tilde{\upsilon} \mu$ = $\eta \text{ un} \cdot \mu \mu$ not $\eta \text{ n} \mu$ as in Ališan, *Hayapatum, patmu'wēn Hayoç*, II, 339.

⁵ This information is not in Mos. Kał. L. Inčičean, *Storagru'wēn hin Hayastaneayç*, Venice, 1822, the principal work on Armenian geography, knows no Belamējk' or Lazarapat.

⁶ An anonymous chronicle of the thirteenth century (V. A. Yakobean (ed.), *Manr zamana-kagru't'yunner* . . ., I, Erevan, 1951, p. 23) calculates 266 years between St. Thaddaeus (Elisaeus' predecessor) and St. Gregory. The usually accepted date of the conversion of Armenia is c. 300, N. Adontz's date of 288 (in 'Les vestiges d'un ancien culte en Arménie', *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Bruxelles, 1936, 513) being based upon ingenious but unconvincing arguments.

⁷ cf. Mos. Kał., I.14 (after P'awstos Biwzandaci, III.6, Movsēs Xorenaçi, III.3). Mos. Kał., III.23, ed. Emin, 274, mentions Grigoris immediately after Elišay, thus following the order in which they appear in his Book I, whereas Mxit'ar Goš places Šup'xališoy and five others before Grigoris. Kirakos Ganjakeçi, VIII, ed. Venice, 1865, p. 98, has noted this discrepancy: 'Then [after Elišay] Šup'hališoy became bishop; concerning the chronological position of this man, however, we are in some doubt, for he who wrote the *History of the Aluank'* puts this name in

year of Rome [A.D. 348].¹ And these are those who became patriarchs in Čoł :

Zak'area.²

Dawit'.

St. Yohan.

Eremeay.

But in the year in which the Armenian era began [11 July 552–10 July 553], they transferred the seat of the catholicosate to Partaw, and established as Catholicos Lord Abas, who held office for 23 years.³ And it was a custom of the ancients to write the address⁴ of a letter in this manner : ' From the Catholicos of Albania, Lp'nik, and Čoł . . . '.

Lord Viroy, 33 years, a holy man resplendent with virtue. Year 75 of the Armenian era [23 June 626–22 June 627].⁵

the days of Vačagan the Pious, and this is supported by the laws promulgated by King Vačagan and all the bishops of Albania, and he [Mos. Kał., I.26] writes thus : " I, Vačagan, king of Albania, and Šup'hališoy, archbishop of Partaw " ; and after this there is no other mention of the name in the list of bishops, but we have set it down as we found it ' [presumably in Mxit'ar Goš]. The canons of King Vačagan in which Šup'hališoy had a hand were drawn up some time after the accession of Balāsh (Arm. Valaršak) in Persia (484) ; see Mos. Kał., I.17, ed. Ėmin, 35. He is further mentioned at Mos. Kał., I.23, p. 61, as Vačagan's senior archbishop (*awag episkoposapet*) at the time of the discovery of Grigoris' relics ; Kirakos knows this (loc. cit.), but still follows the order given in Mxit'ar Goš.

¹ i.e., the 101st year of the *saeculum novum*, the 1101st year of Rome = A.D. 348 ; see E. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne technique et historique*, Paris, 1859, 49. P'awstos Biwzandaçi (III.6), Movsēs Xorenaci (III.3), and Movsēs Kalankatuaci (I.14), relating the martyrdom of Grigoris, assign no date thereto. Xorenaci specifies, however, that it was King Trdat III who appointed him to the see of Albania and that his death at the hands of Sanatruk took place upon Trdat's death (c. 330). It is after Grigoris' martyrdom that Sanatruk is said (M.X., III.9, P.B., III.7) to attack Armenia while Xosrov II Kotak (c. 330–40) is king and Grigoris' father Vrt'anēs is catholicos (c. 333–42). If we can trust these details, the date 348 is too late for Grigoris' martyrdom, although it does coincide with the probable date of the death of his younger brother Yusik, Catholicos of Armenia (343–8 ; see M.X., III.11, 14), at the hands of Tiran or Tigran VII.

² In Mos. Kał., III.23, p. 275, Zak'area is preceded by a certain Grigor, in place of whom Kirakos (loc. cit.), like Mxit'ar Goš, has St. Grigoris.

³ See Mos. Kał., II.4, III.23. Movsēs gives 44 years as the term of Abas' office, Kirakos, 14 ; Y. Ačařean, *Bazmavēp*, 370–4, calculates his dates as 552–96, and K. Basmadjian [Pasmačean], 'Chronologie de l'histoire d'Arménie', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XIX, 1914, 386–9, quoted as an appendix by J. de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, Paris, 1919, 367, as 552–94. A fresh attempt will be made below to determine the approximate dates of the patriarchs of Albania from the evidence of the present passage and corresponding passages in Movsēs Kalankatuaci and Kirakos, but in view of the many discrepancies and the fact that the length of their terms of office is given usually in round figures, the results are rarely entirely trustworthy.

⁴ The MS and Ališan's text both have *patrisak*-, but this is a corruption of *patruak* 'address' (see M.K., III.23, ed. Šahnazarean, vol. II, p. 72 ; Ėmin's edition, p. 275, has a corrupt form *paruak*).

⁵ Mos. Kał., 34 years, Kirakos, 33 years ; Ačařean and Basmadjian, 596–630. These sources will henceforth be referred to as M.K., Kir., A., and B. respectively, and Mxit'ar Goš as M.G. The dates in the Armenian era given by M.G. here and below seem to refer to the date of the death of the patriarch they follow and the date of the succession of the patriarch whose name they precede ; here, however, the date of 75 A = 23.6.626–22.6.627 is too early for Viroy's death, for we know that he returned from captivity in Persia upon the death of Chosroes II in A.D. 628 (M.K., II.14).

Lord Zak'area, a holy and pure man, 17 years.¹

Lord Yohan, 25 years.²

Lord Uxtanēs, 12 years.³

Lord EHzazar, 6 years. He was elected by God to the primacy. Year 137 of the Armenian era [7 June 688–6 June 689].⁴

Lord Nersēs, 15 years. He was a follower of the heresy of Chalcedon.⁵

Lord Simēovn, 1½ years.⁶

Lord Mik'ayēl, 35 years. Year 190 of the Armenian era [25 May 741–24 May 742].⁷

Lord Anastas, 4 years.⁸

Lord Yusēp', 15 years.⁹

Lord Dawit', 4 years.¹⁰

Another Lord Dawit', 9 years. Year 225 of the Armenian era [16 May 776–15 May 777].¹¹

Lord Matt'ē, 1½ years.¹²

Lord Movsēs, 1½ years.¹³

Lord Aharon, 2 years.¹⁴

Lord Solomon, ½ year.¹⁵

Lord T'ēodoros, 4 years. Year 234 of the Armenian era [14 May 785–13 May 786].¹⁶

Lord Solomon, 11 years.¹⁷

Lord Yovhannēs, 25 years.¹⁸

Lord Movsēs, ½ year.¹⁹

¹ M.K., Kir., 15 years; A., 630–47, B., 630–45.

² M.K. ed S., 25, ed. E., 27 years, Kir., 25; A., 647–72, B., 645–70.

³ M.K., Kir., 12 years; A., 672–84, B., 670–82; but M.K., II.38, 39, implies that his successor EHzazar was patriarch already in 681, perhaps even 680.

⁴ M.K., Kir., 6; A., 684–90 (wrong), B., 682–8. M.G.'s date must be that of Nersēs' succession.

⁵ M.K., Kir., 17; B., 688–700, but 688–704 would be better; cf. M.K., III.3, 7, 8.

⁶ M.K., Kir., 1½ years; B., 700–2; better, 704–6; cf. M.K., III.7, 12.

⁷ M.K. ed S., 35, ed. E., 37, Kir., 35; B., 702–37; better, 706–41; cf. M.K. III.13. Again M.G.'s date refers to the year of his death.

⁸ M.K., Kir., 4; B., 737–41; better, 742–6.

⁹ M.K., Kir., 17; B., 741–58, but this is definitely inaccurate. M.K., III.23, ed. E., p. 276, says 'in his fifth year the 200th year of the Armenian era was completed (or fulfilled: *lçaw*)'. This wording is strange, but taking it to mean that the end of 200 A = 21.5.752 and the beginning of 201 A = 22.5.752 occurred in the course of the patriarch's fifth year, we can assume that his first year saw the beginning of 197 A = 23.5.748 and that his dates are 748–63.

¹⁰ M.K., Kir., 4; B. (whose dates seem inaccurate down to Movsēs, below, n. 19), 758–62. Apparently 763–7.

¹¹ M.K., Kir., 9; B., 762–71. 767–76, M.G.'s date coinciding with the death of the patriarch.

¹² M.K., Kir., 1½; B., 771–3. 776–8.

¹³ M.K., Kir., 2; B., 773–4. 778–80.

¹⁴ M.K., Kir., 2; B., 774–6. 780–2.

¹⁵ M.K., ½, Kir., 3; B. 776–76. 782.

¹⁶ M.K., Kir., 4; B., 777–81. Apparently 782–6, M.G.'s date again coinciding with that of the patriarch's death.

¹⁷ M.K. ed S., Kir., 11½, M.K. ed. E., 11; B., 782–94. 786–97.

¹⁸ M.K., Kir., 25; B., 794–819. 797–822. ¹⁹ M.K., Kir., ½; B., 820–20. 822.

Lord Dawit', 28 years.¹

Lord Yovsēp', 22 years. Year 327 of the Armenian era [21 April 878–20 April 879].²

Lord Samuēl, 15 years.³

Lord Yovnan, 8 years.⁴

Lord Simēon, 21 years.⁵

Lord Dawit', 35 years. Year 378 of the Armenian era [8 April 929–7 April 930].⁶

Lord Sahak, 25 years.⁷

Lord Gagik, 10 years.⁸

Lord Dawit', 6 years.⁹

Lord Petros, 12 years.¹⁰ He abdicated from the see in his lifetime and designated Lord Movsēs, monk of P'arisis,¹¹ as his successor. And after Movsēs, the man of God Lord Markos succeeded to the patriarchal see.

¹ M.K., Kir., 28; B., 820–48. 822–50.

² M.K., Kir., 25; B., 848–73. M.K. ed. Ē., p. 277 (ed. S., *om.*), informs us that the 300th year of the Armenian era was completed in his third year, which therefore saw the beginning of 301 A = 27.4.852, his first year being 849/50, which agrees with the calculated date of the death of his predecessor. If he held office for 25 years, then his dates were 850–75; if for 22 years, 850–72. One cannot reconcile M.G.'s date of 327 A = 878/9 as the date of his death with M.K.'s information or our own calculations hitherto, but since his successor is said by M.G. to have held office for 15 years until 893, the date may yet be correct.

³ M.K., Kir., 17; B., 873–88. Apparently 872–87 or 875–90 (if 15 years is correct), or 872–89 or 875–92 (if 17 years is correct); it is, however, probable that he held office until 893 (see below, n. 4).

⁴ M.K. (Yovhan), Kir. (Yunan), 8½ years; B., 888–96. Apparently between 887–96 and 892–901. We are informed by M.K. ed. Ē., 277, that he profited by the captivity of Gēorg II, Catholicos of Armenia, to have himself consecrated patriarch of Albania. Elsewhere (III.21, ed. Ē., 268–9) M.K. dates Gēorg's captivity as commencing in 342 A (inc. 17.4.893) and indicates that he was released in 894 (four years before the year in which I Nawasard fell on Easter Sunday, i.e. A.D. 898); cf. Asohk, III.3, tr. Macler, 104–9, and other refs. in R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 403. Yovhan could not therefore have become patriarch before 893, and must have held office c. 893–902.

⁵ M.K., 21, Kir., 25; B., 896–917. 902–23.

⁶ M.K., 6, Kir., '5 years, the year 378 of the Armenian era'; B. 917–23. M.G.'s figure of 35 is fantastic, and since Kir. seems to have borrowed his information directly from M.G., it is probably a mistake for 5. If M.K.'s figure of 6 years is taken to be correct, the year 378 fits perfectly: 923–9.

⁷ M.K. ed. S., Kir., 18, M.K. ed. Ē., 19; B., 923–41. M.G.'s figure of 25 is excessive. If 18 is correct, then 929–47; if 19, then 929–48, which agrees better with the dates of his successor.

⁸ M.K., Kir., 14; B., 941–58. M.K. ed. Ē., 278, says that 400 A was completed in his fourth year, therefore 401 A (inc. 2.4.952) began in his fourth year, and 398 A (inc. 3.4.949) in his first year. M.G.'s figure of 10 years seems too short; if one accepts the figure 14, then 948–62.

⁹ M.K. lists before this one another Dawit' (VI, B., 961–8) holding office for seven years, apparently, therefore, 962–9. Dawit' VII (M.K., Kir., 6 years; B., 968–74) was, however, according to M.K., consecrated by Anania, Catholicos of Armenia, who died in 414 A (inc. 30.3.965) according to Asohk, II.8, or 415 A (inc. 30.3.966) according to Matt'ēos Ufhayeci, I.20. A.D. 967 is thus the latest possible date for Dawit' VII's succession and the death of Dawit' VI. Therefore, Dawit' VI from 962 to 967, Dawit' VII from 967 to 973.

¹⁰ M.K. (ed. S., Penelag, ed. Ē., Petros), 18 years, Kir., 16; B., 974–90. Taking M.K.'s figure of 18 as correct, 973–91.

¹¹ M.K., 6 years; B., 990–6. 991–7. M.K.'s list of Albanian patriarchs in III.23 comes to an end with Movsēs. Kir. omits this patriarch and connects the abbey of P'arisis with Petros.

And after him, Lord Yovsēp'.

And then another Lord Markos.

And after him, Lord Step'annos.

And then Lord Yovhannēs.¹

And then Lord Step'annos was called to the catholicosate in the days of his youth, and he held the office of patriarch for 1½ years.² Then after his death the province of Albania remained without a patriarch for 8 years,³ and there was no bishop in it. During this period they took those dedicated to the priesthood to another province (*gawar*) to be consecrated. And the chrism diminished to such an extent that they baptised the children with ordinary water, and anointed some with common vinegar. After 8 years had passed, however, in the year 588 of the Armenian era [15 Feb 1139–14 Feb 1140], a holy bishop Sahak⁴ from the house of the holy patriarch Lord Grigoris, Catholicos of Armenia, came from Armenia at his command to the cantons of Albania following the request and enterprise of Grigor Vardapet of our country, who was the pupil of the glorious and famous Dawit' Vardapet.⁵ Now when Lord Sahak came to this land of Albania, he convened everyone in the house of King Abas Bagratuni, son of King Kiwrikē,⁶ who

¹ Kir. also includes Markos and the following four patriarchs in his list without indication of the length of their rule. B. gives the following dates: Markos I, 996–? Yovsep' III, 1038; Markos II, ?–1077; Step'annos I, 1077–1103; Yovhannēs V, 1103–30.

² Kir., '1½ years; he died in the days of his youth'; B., 1130–2. If the see of Albania remained vacant for 8 years after the death of Step'annos until 1139 (see below, p. 481, n. 8), he must have died in 1131, having succeeded in 1129.

³ i.e. from 1131 to 11.6.1139 (see below, p. 481, n. 8).

⁴ In his account of these events, Kirakos, ed. Venice, 1865, 101, wrongly states the period during which Albania remained without a patriarch as 25 years, but nevertheless gives details not in M.G. He mentions Sahak as bishop of Karin, and mentions a Grigor Vardapet, son of T'ok'aker (see also *ibid.*, 66), as one of the signatories of the letter sent to the Catholicos of Armenia; he gives the new patriarch's original name as Gagik and says that he was renamed Grigorēs upon his election 'after the name of the Catholicos of Armenia', i.e. Grigor III (B., 1113–66). He says that 12 other bishops were consecrated at the same time, whereas M.G., whose account is valuable for the generally more detailed description it gives of the election, mentions only two.

⁵ i.e. Dawit', son of Alawik, of Ganjak, author of an important *Book of canons*, edited recently by A. Abrahamian, 'Dawit' Alvay ordu kanonner', *Ējmiacin*, Sept. 1952–March 1953; cf. J. Mécérian, *op. cit.*, 184–201, and Kirakos, 66.

⁶ Abas and Dawit', but not Step'annos (mentioned below, p. 481, n. 2, as a bishop), are named as the sons of Kiwrikē (I, 1048–c. 1090; cf. Y. Manandean, *K'nnakan tesut'yun hay zolovrdi patmut'yan*, III, Erevan, 1952, p. 74), king of Lori, by Kirakos, p. 72: 'And Kiwrikē Bagratuni, who was from the town of Lori, having opposed the Georgians all his life, kept his fatherland intact. But after his death his sons Dawit' and Abas were deceived by the Georgians and rose and went from the house of their fathers to the Persians, and received from them as a heritage Tawuš and Macnaberd and other places; then, after some days, the Persians took back Tawuš, and they dwelt in Macnaberd'. Cf. also Vardan, *LXI*, p. 106: 'This Kiwrikē was the son of Dawit', the son of Gurgēn, the son of Ašot' Ołormae [king of Armenia 953–77]; his [Kiwrikē's] father, who lies buried in Sanahin, built Loṛē and 12 other fortresses. His [Dawit's] grandsons Abas and Dawit', oppressed by the Georgians, go to the lords of Rān (Arrān) and take each a fortress and live in tribulation . . .'. Cf. L. Movsesian, 'Histoire des rois Kurikian de Lori', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, VII, 2, 1927, 235; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 521.

assembled all before him in the fortress called Tawuṣ,¹ where the holy men and bishops had assembled: King Dawit', brother of King Abas; Lord Step'annos, son of Kiwrikē, their brother²; Sargis Vardapet, the pupil of Dawit' Vardapet³; Grigor, Archbishop of Ganjak; Bishop Sahak, pupil of Sargis Vardapet; Step'annos, bishop of the canton of Kolt' and the town of Šamk'or⁴; Sargis, bishop of Šamiramajor⁵; Manuel, bishop of Kabr⁶; Father Sargis of Xamši Vank'⁷; and the chief[s] of the assembly were Lord Sahak, court bishop of the Catholicos of Armenia, and Sargis, the ascetic and blessed vardapet. And thus, with great ceremony and solemn devotion, they consecrated as Catholicos of Albania Grigor, paternal nephew of Lord Step'annos, [late] Catholicos of Albania. And when they consecrated him, Grigor also was in the days of his youth, being the son of Gēorg and the nephew of Varjak [and] grandson of Karapet. And the date of the assembly coincided with the day of Pentecost and the Descent of the Holy Spirit, in the month of Trē.⁸ Then after this the delegates each set out home. Then again on the Feast of the Transfiguration⁹ all assembled in the fortress which is called Kat'otikosi K'ar (Catholicos's Stone)—the same aforementioned bishops and vardapets and holy fathers, and other vardapets and priests in greater numbers than before. On this day they consecrated two more bishops and blessed the holy chrism, and in large and plentiful consignments they distributed it to all towns. And thus they celebrated the spiritual feast until the day of the [Feast of] the [Exaltation of the] Holy Cross,¹⁰ rejoicing together to the glory of God.

In the month of Areg, on the 18th day of the month, during the night from Friday to Saturday, on the day of the Feast of St. George,¹¹ the fury of the wrath

¹ In pr. Uti; see H. Hübschmann, 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen', *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 353; Ľ. Inčičean, *Storagru'ion hin Hayastaneayc*, Venice, 1822, 349-51. Tawuṣ is called 'the canton of the Sewordik' by Vardan, LI, p. 92. Situated to the south of the Hasan-su according to Ľ. Ališan (ref. *apud* Hübschmann, loc. cit.).

² See above p. 480, n. 6.

³ See above p. 480, n. 5.

⁴ The fact that Kolt' and Šamk'or formed one diocese confirms Hübschmann's supposition ('Ortsnamen', 351) that Kolt' was the northernmost canton of pr. Arçax bordering on the canton of Šakašēn in Uti ('Ortsnamen', 352) in which lay Šamk'or and Ganjak.

⁵ Šamiramajor (Semiramis Valley)—the form may be added to Hübschmann, 'Ortsnamen', 458—is possibly connected with the Berd Šamiramay (Semiramis Fortrees) mentioned by Vardan, LVI, p. 100, in the canton of P'arisos in Arçax (Hübschmann, *ibid.*).

⁶ gen. *Kabroy*. Not known; † hardly Karbi in pr. Ayarat (T'ovma Mecobeci, *Palmut'ion Lank Tamuray* . . ., Paris, 1860, 18-19: *Ararat—Karbi—Kotayk'—Bjni*; V. A. Yakobean, *Manr ħamanakagrut'yunner* [Minor chronicles], Erevan, 1956, II, 534: *T'avrež—Naxčuan—Karbi—Bjni—Garni—Tiflis*; *idem*, I, 119: *Karbi—T'avrež—Sult'ania*). Inčičean, loc. cit., 528, mentions a river Karbi in Siwnik'.

⁷ A monastery in the town of Miap'or (Kirakos, 90), between Arçax-Gardman and L. Sevan (Hübschmann, 'Ortsnamen', 453; Inčičean, loc. cit., 528).

⁸ In A.D. 1139 Whit-Sunday fell on 11 June, i.e. 27 Trē 588 A.

⁹ 30 July 1139.

¹⁰ 17 September 1139.

¹¹ Saturday, 30 September 1139. This earthquake is also described by Kirakos (101) who mentions that Grigor Vardapet was killed therein. Samuēl Aneci (ed. Venice, 1893, 132) gives 17 Areg, i.e. Friday, 29 September. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, XL51, gives the year as 534 H (inc. 28 August 1139) and the number of killed as 230,000, including two sons of Karā Sonkur; 'Imād al-dīn al-Isfahānī, ed. Houtsma (*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, II, Leide, 1889, p. 190) gives the date (wrongly) as 533 H (inc. 8 September 1138) and the number of casualties as 300,000.

of God fell upon the world; the violence of the earth and powerful destruction stirred with terrible tremors and reached this land of Albania, in accordance with that which is written: 'Who moves this our nether [world] from its foundations, and the pillars thereof tremble' ¹; and in accordance with another [passage]: 'Who looks at the earth and makes it tremble' ². By this earthquake much was ruined in many places [towns] in the cantons of P'arisos ³ and Xaçen, ⁴ as in the fields and mountains; thereby was the capital Ganjak ⁵ also dashed into Hell, swallowing up its inhabitants; for on all sides of its surface it hugged them to its bosom, and in the mountain regions many fortresses and villages were demolished together with monasteries and churches, which crumbled upon the heads of their inhabitants, and innumerable persons were killed by the destruction of the buildings and towers. And that came to pass in the year 588 of the Armenian era.

And in the same days in which the earthquake took place, the King of Georgia, he who was called Demetrē, son of King Dawit', ⁶ rose with many troops and came to the province of Arān; he came to the capital Ganjak under the leadership of his general Iwanē, and they behaved in a merciless and bestial fashion and fell upon the survivors and put them all to the sword or [reduced them to] slavery. Although they saw that the town, which had been a handsome city, had suddenly turned into an inferno—for piles of gold and mounds of human bones were all heaped up together—they had no thought of taking mercy upon it, but dug up and carried away the gold and silver treasure, and by flaying and torturing they tormented [the people] more cruelly than the earthquake itself. And during the earthquake our illuminating vardapets Sargis and Grigor were translated to Christ by the fury of the disaster. When some days had passed, however, a certain emir of the Arabs, who was called by name Xara[s]ngur [Kārā-Sonkur], who in accordance with the Persian language was named 'ruler of the universe' (*tiezerakal*), ⁷ rose from the land of the Persians and came to this province of Arān and began to rebuild and fortify

¹ Job ix, 6.

² Ps. ciii, 32 (A.V. Ps. civ, 32).

³ Said to be the same as K'ustip'afnēs in pr. Arçax; see İnđičean, 309–10, Hubschmann, p. 350, n. 2, M.K., III.23, ed. Ē., 278, Juanšēr, *Vraç patmuš'um*, Venice, 1884, 32, Vardan, LVII, p. 100, Kirakos, 101. M. Barxutarsanç, *Patmuš'um Aluanic*, I, mentions P'arisos as the name of a fortress (p. 155), a monastery (p. 193), a town (p. 178), and a canton in Arçax (p. 182), and places the town on his map to the north-east of L. Sevan at 40° 28' N., 63° 25' E. (= 40° 28' N., 45° 46' E. on Lynch's map, just south of Karabulakh), therefore on a route between Naxiçewan, Kambiçan, and Iora as Juanšēr, loc. cit., indicates.

⁴ Late name of part of pr. Arçax, forming at this time a small independent Armenian principality; the earliest references to Xaçen are of the tenth century; see Hubschmann, 267, 349, İnđičean, 304.

⁵ Ganjak, in canton of Aršakašēn, at this time the capital of the Seljuk province of Arrān. It is said by Mos. Kal. III.20, ed. Ēmin, 285, to have been built by 'Xazr Patgos', i.e. Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Maryād, who died in 842/3; a later, though not a more correct date, is given in a (probably fourteenth century) list of dates: 'In the year 295 A (A.D. 846/7) Ganjak was built' (V. A. Yakobean, [Minor chronicles], I, 391). See V. V. Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article 'Gandja', ed. 1936; İnđičean, 310–12, Hubschmann, 350, 416.

⁶ Demetrē I (1125–55/6), son of David IV the Builder (1089–1125). Kirakos, 102, adds that the Georgian king carried away the gates of the city to Georgia.

⁷ See below, p.483, n. 1.

this country, rebuilt the ruined walls of the town of Ganjak and established peace within its borders. Then he turned against the province under the rule of the King of the Georgians to avenge his own province which had been laid waste at their hands, for previously Ganjak and its confines had been under his rule. He marched into the land of Georgia a first and then a second time and terrified them and made them tremble, captured their fortified places and subjected them, and returned thence by way of the mountainous region of Gelam; then he passed across the river Araxes, arrived at the border [or into the region: *šahmann*] of Atrpatakan and there quit this life in the year 589 of the Armenian era [15 February 1140–13 February 1141].¹

The satrap (*šahap*) of the town of Ganjak, who was one of his [Karā-Sonkur's] appointed servitors named Xuhtuht,² revolted against the sultan³, grew bold and daringly undertook [a campaign] beyond the borders of his principate; and he rose from Ganjak with a great army and came to the mountainous region of Hadaheray, and coming to the fortress which is called Kat'olikosi K'ar [Catholicos's Stone] and the one near it, called Karapetanç K'ar [Guides' Stone], he besieged them both for many days, and capturing them with great trouble, he laid them waste by demolition and fire. And the holy churches were trampled underfoot by the wicked until Kat'olikosi K'ar was totally destroyed and ruined in the year 591 of the Armenian era [14 February 1142–13 February 1143]. And afterwards he ruled for some days in rebellion. After this, however, there came from Persia a general named Čawli⁴ who commanded the army up to the gate of Ganjak where Xuhtuht had rebelled, and beseiging the town for one month, he took it; and seizing Xuhtuht, he put out his eyes, and he made all submit to him in the year 592 [14 February 1143–13 February 1144].

In the same year the Lord Bishop Step'annos, son of King Kiwrikē, died in the fortress which is called Xalinčak'ar [Xalinč Stone]. And Čawli, growing arrogant, turned against the regions of Xaçēn and captured all its fortresses, demolished the churches and burned down the monasteries, killed the nobles and took the soldiers prisoner, and in various ways destroyed all by sword and imprisonment⁵; and then he went and returned again to the land of the Persians. Then in the next year [1144/5] he came again to this province of Aran and speedily marched to the fortress of Tawuš in which King Abas had fortified himself, and with a great effort he besieged the fortress a long time

¹ On the atabek Karā-Sonkur, emir of Ādharbaidjān and Arrān, see Barthold, loc. cit. According to al-Isfahānī, p. 190, he died in Ardabil in 535 H (1140/1). Professor Henning suggests that *tiezarakal* points to his rank of *jāndār*, misunderstood by the Armenian as *jihāndār*.

² This might possibly be a corruption of an Armenian form of *Ḳutluk*.

³ See below, p. 485, n. 1.

⁴ On the career of Djāwli al-Toghriḷi, see Ibn al-Aḥḡir, xl.52, 77; al-Isfahānī, 161, 165, 175, 183, 191–3, 199–204, 213.

⁵ cf. Samuēl Aneqi, 132: 'In 592 A (inc. 14.2.1143) Čōli took the fortress of Xaçēn by trickery, having gained the confidence of the princes by means of an oath, and he destroyed the land by famine and the sword and enslavement, whereby priests and holy gospels and monks were trampled underfoot by the infidels'.

and finally took it; King Abas, however, passed over to the King of the Georgians in the year 594 [13 February 1145–12 February 1146].¹ In the same year King Dawit', son of Kiwrikē, was translated to Christ in the fortress called Macnabert, and his son Kiwrikē ruled in his stead.² And Čawli went to Xaçēn, Tanjik',³ and Adaxay a second time, for the fortresses he took on the first occasion did not remain in his hands, for when they had remained thus [in his possession] for a brief period, some of the nobles, who had been hiding in forest caves, re-took their fortresses and rebelled again against the Tačiks. Angered by this, Čawli marched against them seeking revenge; he was not able to capture the fortresses, however, but he completely laid waste the whole province. He also burned down the holy monastery called Dadui Vank',⁴ founded by the apostle, and then made for the land of the Medes, and rebelling against the sultan, was killed near the town of Zangan, dying a cruel death, in the year 595 of the Armenian era [13 February 1146–12 February 1147].⁵

And a certain other emir called P'axradin, of a great house and noble race, took command of the army of Čawli and simultaneously of the cantons which were under his authority. And at the command of the sultan, he came to this province of Āran and took possession of it all; but since he harboured ill will towards the King of Georgia and threatened to lay waste all the cantons under his authority, because of this terror and threat, the holy metropolitan monasteries (*mayrak'alak' vanoreaysn*), desperate with fear and trusting only in prayer, asked God for the salvation of all believers. God immediately heeded their prayers and took away the life of P'axradin after he had ruled for a few days over Ganjak by assassination at the sword of an emir called Xazbēk, who was of the house of the sultan; he killed him, and it was the year 596 [13 February 1147–12 February 1148], the year of Rome 367, and the year 536 of the Persians⁶; and the Emperor of the Greeks was Mixayēl, son of Kalužan, grandson of Alek's; the King of Georgia was Demetrē, son of Dawit', grandson

¹ The account of Samuēl Aneci, p. 133, differs: 'In 594 A (1145/6) King Demetrē killed the great Iwanē. And in the same year Čōli amirapet came and besieged Tayuš [Tawuš] for 40 days and finally took it, taking away King Abas without harming him'.

² cf. Kirakos, 72.

³ Mos. Kat. II.50, ed. Ėmin, 223, mentions this Tanjik' in Arçax; cf. Hübschmann, 473, to which list one may also add Tanjijor in Tarōn (colophon of 1104 in G. Yovsep'ean, *Yřata-karanner* . . ., 290) and Tanjap'arax in Siwnik' (colophon of 1393 in Xaçikean, [Colophons of fourteenth century Armenian MSS], Erevan, 1950, 606; see Inčičean, 300).

⁴ 'At the foot of the Mraw mountain near the r. Terter' (Ališan, *Hayapatum, patmut'iwn Hayoc*, II, p. 345, n. 1); see Barxutareanç, *Patmut'iwn Ahumç*, 56.

⁵ Al-İsfahānī, 204, gives the date of Djāwli's death at Zandjān as Djumādā I 541 H (9 October–7 November 1146).

⁶ P'axradin is the amir Fakhr al-din 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Tughairk (?) who is said by al-İsfahānī (pp. 213–14) to attempt to take possession of Armenia and Arrān on the death of Djāwli. He is found by the sultan Mas'ūd to be plotting against him with Būzābeh (M.G. Bzap'ay) and 'Abbās, wālī of Raiy, and the sultan sends him to Arrān, commissioning Khāss-bek b. Balankiri (M.G. Xazbēk) and İldegiz (M.G. Eltkuz) to assassinate him; see Hamdu'llāh Mustawfi-l-Kāzwinī, *T'a'rikh-i-guzida*, ed. E. G. Browne, Gibb Memorial, XIV, I, p. 467. Our author's mention of his unpopularity in Arrān is an interesting detail. Al-İsfahānī also indicates that Fakhr al-din was preparing to attack Georgia when he was assassinated (p. 217) and

of Gëorg Bagratuni; and the sultan of Persia was Masud, son of Mahmet, grandson of Mlek'sah.¹

The emir of P'ars (Fars) and Xuzastan, who was called Bzap'ay, hearing of the murder of P'axradin and learning that it was at the behest of the sultan, drew up an army and marched against him, intending to throw him from power. And Xazbëk took his army and marched to the aid of the sultan, and there was a furious battle, and the armies destroyed each other; in the battle Bzap'ay was killed, and there was great confusion.²

After this there came a certain emir named Īrliš,³ who without any command from the sultan thought to take possession of Ganjak. The chiefs (*glxawork'*) of the town learned of this and would not receive him into the town, and angered by their contempt, he went up into the mountain regions and assembled those who by revolt had become the rebel chieftains of the T'urk'man; and with their aid he brought much destruction upon the mountain regions, and dividing up the province (*gavar*) among them, he brought not a little danger [upon Ganjak] and intended in this way to besiege the town. And the townspeople asked the King of Georgia, whose name was Demetrë, for help, for his daughter had previously been the wife of the sultan, [she] whose name was Ruzugan, and as payment for her (*varjan*) he had given them Ganjak. For this reason the King of Georgia sent an army and Īrliš, put to flight, returned to the Persian regions. And after this the sultan Masud sent a certain emir named Rōvadi⁴ as satrap of the town of Ganjak; when he arrived, he intended to avenge the destruction of the province by the T'urk'man, but was not able to quell them; for he was great by neither birth nor power, for which reason the chieftains of the T'urk'man despised him and showed him much rebellion, and the fortresses of the province would not all submit to him. And he went that the assassination took place in Dhū'l-Qa'da 541 H (8 April 1147), which does fall in the Armenian year 596 (inc. 13 February 1147). The other indications of the date do not synchronize. Alīšan, loc. cit. p. 345, n. 4, rightly takes the year of Rome to refer to the 367th year of the second 500-year period of the second millennium (cf. Dulaurier, *Chronologie* . . ., 49), i.e. the Varronian year 1867, but this corresponds to A.D. 1114. The 536th year of the Persians, i.e. 536 H, is A.D. 1141/2.

¹ The rulers referred to are Manuel (not Michael) I Comnenus (1143–80), son of John II or Kalo-Ioannes, grandson of Alexius I; Demetrë I (1125–55), son of David IV, grandson of Giorgi II; Mas'ūd (1134–52), son of Muhammad I, grandson of Malik-ghāh I. Mas'ūd was the fourth Seljuk sultan of Iraq, the sultan of sultans being his uncle Sandjar (1118–56), but the latter's influence hardly exceeded the limits of Khorassan (Lane Poole, *The Mohammadan dynasties*, tr. Barthold, p. 125, n. 2). It was Mas'ūd who held sway over Arrān, Ādharbaidjān, and Armenia and who, shortly after his accession, appointed his nephew Dā'ūd governor over these lands with his capital at Tabriz (Kazwīnī, pp. 464–5).

² Būzābeh, i.e. Buz-apa (Henning), lord of Fārs and Khūzistān (Ibn al-Athīr, xi.78), seized Iṣfahān and was defeated at Hamadān in 541 H (1146/7); cf. al-Iṣfahānī, 219–20, Kazwīnī, 467.

³ Īrliš represents the Turkish name written in Arab sources, e.g. Ibn al-Athīr and al-Iṣfahānī, as ارغش or ارغش. Is this one perhaps the amīr Aghūsh (أغوش; ? for * ارغوش Arghūsh) who was removed in 549 H (1154/5) from Ardabīl by Ildegiz and Nuṣrat al-dīn Arslān-ābeh (i.e. Arslan-apa), 'the two lords of Ādharbaidjān' (al-Iṣfahānī, 242–3)?

⁴ Rāwādī, a cousin of Khāṣṣ-bek b. Balankirī, is mentioned briefly by al-Iṣfahānī, 232, as a ruler of Arrān deposed by Ildegiz (see below, p. 487, n. 5).

and besieged them, but could capture none of them; and the T'urk'man laid waste the plains and mountain regions on a large scale, because of which he grew angry and rose and took much booty from the T'urk'man and made them even more inimical towards him. Afterwards he made peace and became friends with them, and took his wife from their midst¹ and gave his sister in marriage to Azadin, lord of Herk'an Berd²; and thus did he bring peace to the province [*gawar*].

After this, the son of Dar (*ordi Darin*) called Tawlan ['Falcon'], prince of the land of Čaraberd and its fortress, grew proud and made to take possession of Aran, whereupon there came to him a certain son of the sultan named Čaxr-šah,³ who took him and his father-in-law prince Grigor, son of Vasak, lord of Xawaxan Berd⁴; he had come to him so that he might through him wreak vengeance upon Hasan, son of Desm (*ordi Desmoy*), because of his brother Smpat whom he [Hasan] had killed in the fruitless battle they had fought against each other; and for such reasons they gave their daughters in marriage to infidels (*aylazgik*). And for this reason Grigor had grown bold and came to his son-in-law Tawlan, and Tawlan went with them and camped in the mountain called Kaycoy Cař near Herk'an Berd. Previously Rövadi had become the son-in-law of Gurbulay, a T'urk'man chieftain, whom Tawlan summoned to submit to the sultan,⁵ him and the others with him, called the Tutak'eank'⁶; and they camped in the mountain called Diwaxoř [Devil's Stable] and would not obey him. Consequently a war broke out, and the army of Tawlan was defeated and Tawlan himself was killed; they killed also Grigor and other nobles with him. Christians of the province buried him there, and after a year had passed, they took him and brought him to the monastery called Ganjasar,⁷ which was the burial place of his ancestors, and

¹ i.e. the daughter of Gurbulay.

² The Turkman Azadin ('Izz al-din) is otherwise unknown. Is Herk'an Berd a 'fortress of Herk' (Heret', Hert')? The annotator of Kirakos, 90, suggests that the author's *Herg gawar* is Heret' in Albania and should be written Herk'. Inčičean, 525, says he does not know whether Herg was in Armenia or Albania; but a colophon of 1417 reads: '... a native of the gawar Herg in the province of Aran, from the town of Bardawa (Partaw), from the village called Paris (nom. Parik'?)' (Xačikēan, [Colophons of fifteenth century Armenian MSS], I, Erevan, 1955, 205).

³ Djağhri ḡāh b. Mahmūd, son of Mahmūd II of Iraq (1118-31) and brother of Muḥammad II of Iraq (1153-9), is mentioned in connexion with the revolt of Sulaimān ḡāh, Ildegiz, and Aralān-ābeh against Muḥammad II in 549 H (1154/5) and is said to have been at the time with the atabek Āyāz in Ādharbaidjān (al-Isfahānī, 243-4; cf. Kāzwini, 469).

⁴ cf. Kirakos, 146: 'in the monastery called Ganjasar, opposite Xōxana-berd'; a colophon of A.D. 1232: 'the monastery called Hawaptuk . . . in the province of Aroax, opposite the fortress called Xawxanberd' (Yovsep'ean, loc. cit., 882); Ališan, loc. cit., p. 347, n. 3, says it is 'now called also T'arxan-qale, on top of a hill near Ganjasar monastery, at the foot of which are the ruins of a village and large houses called *Darpasner* ["Palaces"]'.

⁵ This is the translation of the text as it stands (. . . *Gurbulayin, glawori t'urk'mani miroy, zor kočēr Tawlan : mazandut'iwon sultanin* . . .). It makes better sense, however, if the text is amended to . . . *t'urk'mani miroy, or kočēr zTawlan* . . . 'a Turkman, who summoned Tawlan', since Gurbulay is the loyalist, Tawlan the rebel.

⁶ The Tutak'eank', men or descendants of Tutak', seem otherwise unknown.

⁷ cf. Inčičean, loc. cit., 314.

buried him there. They seized Čaxr-šah and took him to Rōvadi in the town of Ganjak, and considering him a false and deceitful person, they mocked him and toured the town with him amid much scorn, and then released him. And he went to the T'urk'mans whom Rōvadi had previously looted, and they rejoiced together and summoned all the Turks (*T'urk'k'*) of the Mountain of Gelam,¹ and they honoured him as a king; and he drew up an army and came and divided all the mountain cantons among them, and he himself came with a large army and besieged the town of Ganjak. Rōvadi sent to the King of Georgia and asked him for military aid, and he sent him a large army; and Čaxr-šah heard of this and fled south of Perozapat, which is now called Partaw, and stayed among the rebel T'urk'mans.

After this, a certain Sewunč,² servant of T'apakarlan, who was stationed in the fortress called Čarek,³ bore a grudge against Rōvadi for having previously besieged him in his fortress, and in league with some persons of the town of Ganjak, he went to Eltkuz, who was lord of the town and canton of Naxčawan⁴; and he called him and brought him with him and besieged the town of Ganjak and took it after a month, on the day of illumination, the Epiphany of Our Lord [6 January], by the will of the townspeople. And Rōvadi, when he learned the will of the town, voluntarily surrendered the town to him; but when Eltkuz came to the gate of the town, the citizens said: 'If you do not destroy our enemy Čaxr-šah, we will not submit to you'. Because of this, he immediately went and caught him and hanged him on a tree, and then came and took the town, as we have said. Rōvadi went to his native canton near the town of Belapat.⁵ But since Eltkuz had a wife from among the sultan's women, after the death of Masud he made Aslan-šah, who was the son of the wife he himself had, king, and took for himself the rank of atabeg (*at'abak'*), for he had killed Xazbēk, the atabeg of the sons of the sultan, in their rivalry. Because of this, he took possession of the kingdom of Persia,⁶ grew strong and suppressed all the

¹ i.e. the present Gegamskii xrbet, west of L. Sevan; cf. Inčibean, 264.

² This Sewunč (*sevinj*) 'joy' and his master seem otherwise unknown.

³ Fortress in north-east of Arçax, beside the Shamkhor çhai; cf. M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, I, 210; Kirakos, 88, 129; Inčibean, 536; Yovhannisak Careçi (sixteenth century) '... they scattered over the plains and mountains of Ganča, Bartay (Barda'a), Ĵaraberd (Čarabērd), Varanda, and Dizak, from the river called Dizak in Čarek' down to the Araxes' (Yakobean, [Minor chronicles], II, 242). See also V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, Cambridge, 1953, 24, 33.

⁴ Šhams al-dīn Ildegiz (ایلدگن); for his biography, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article 'Ildegiz'. The events here described took place between 1147/8 and 1155 when Ildegiz was more than the mere 'lord of the town and canton of Naxijewan'. In 543 H (1148/9) he is referred to by Ibn al-Athīr (XI.87) as the ruler of Gandja, Arrān, and Kaysar, and in 549 H (1154/5) al-İsfahānī (243) calls him one of the two rulers of Ādharbaidjān. There is no mention of his having killed Djağhri šāh who, according to al-İsfahānī (ibid.), was reconciled with, and then put under arrest by, his brother Muhammad II in 549 H.

⁵ cf. al-İsfahānī, 232, where Ildegiz is said to return to Ādharbaidjān and Arrān and take it from Rawādi.

⁶ Ildegiz's wife was the widow of Toghrul I, sultan of Iraq (1132-3), and the mother of Arslān šāh (1161-77). It was not upon the death of Mas'ūd II that Ildegiz made his stepson sultan of Iraq, but upon the deposition of Sulaimān šāh (1159-61). Samu'el Aneçi, 133, shows greater confusion, and says that Ildegiz killed his son to become sultan in his stead. Muhammad II

great princes and subjected many and completely destroyed the rebel chiefs of the T'urk'mans; and he pacified the troubles of the land of Āran, and the savage race of Ismaelites were appeased, and the looting which they often perpetrated in the land of Albania ceased. However, the war with the King of Georgia and with the princes of Xaçēn was not at an end, for they came on one occasion by stealth and took the fortress of Haru, and put all to the sword.

And when Demetrē, the King of Georgia, died, his son Dawit' reigned in his stead, a well-intentioned man, especially towards the princes of Armenia who were under his authority. He greatly honoured the satrap of the city of Tiflis, Vasak, son of prince Vahram and his brothers, called K'urd and Sargis, and showed such benevolence as to send for the King Kiwrikē, son of King Dawit' Bagratuni, and promise to return to him his patrimony which his ancestors had taken from him; and thus he sent him back with presents, and arranged a meeting. He intended to convene a council and learn the truth about the faith and thus honour orthodoxy. When they learned of such a desire, the princes of Georgia became jealous, above all the family called the Ōrbēleank', and giving him a deadly drug to drink, they killed King Dawit', and a great and prolonged mourning fell upon the land of Georgia and Armenia; and they made Giorgi his brother king in his stead.¹

When he became king, Giorgi made to seize Prince Vasak, for he bore him a grudge, for when he was governor of the town he did not honour him as much as his brother Dawit', and would not serve and obey him; other princes of Georgia also speaking ill of him [*or*: (Giorgi) speaking ill of him to other princes of Georgia], Vasak fled with his brothers and went to T'iodupolis [Theodosiopolis] which is now called the town of Karin. And the emir named Saltux received him with joy and honour, for when Saltux was captured by the Georgian army whilst he besieged the town of Ani and was brought before King Demetrē in Tiflis, Vasak did him many services²; because of this, he

(1153-60) had Khāṣṣ-bek Arslān b. Balankirī assassinated in 548 H (A.D. 1153/4), but his agent was not Ildegiz (cf. al-Isfahānī, 230-1, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, 'Histoire des atabecs de Mosul', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, II, 1, p. 187). It is well known that Ildegiz became 'the virtual ruler of the Seldjuk empire' (*Enc. Islam*). He is said, along with Saltuk and the Shah i Armen, by Vardan (LXXXII, p. 124) to have been friendly towards Christians and to have brought prosperity to the country, though Y. Manandean (*K'nnakan tesu'yun hay zolorōdi patmut'yan*, Erevan, 1952, part III, p. 106) treats this statement with some reserve, saying that Xosrov of Ganjak was martyred at his command in 1167, and Yovsēp' of Dwin in 1170.

¹ Dawit' III reigned for less than a year between 1155/6 and 1156/7 and was succeeded by Giorgi III (1156/7-84). See Vardan (LXXIV, p. 126), who does not mention Vasak: 'And Dawit' died after one month; some say he was betrayed by Smbat and Iwanē Ōrbēleank' for having put T'urkaš in their place, they having come to an agreement with Gēorg, brother of Dawit', whereby he would make them generals'.

² 'Izz al-dīn Saltuk b. 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Kāsim of Erzerum was taken prisoner after an encounter with the Georgians in 603 A (inc. 11.2.1154) according to Samuēl Aneqi, 134, in 548 H (inc. 29.3.1153) according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, XI.125-6, in 549 H (inc. 18.3.1154) according to al-Fārīkī (in H. F. Amedroz, *History of Damascus . . . by Ibn al-Kalānīsī*, Beyrouth, 1908, 328). Both Mxit'ar and al-Fārīkī name the Georgian king as Demetrē (1125-55/6), so that later datings at 1160 (e.g. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, XI.185: 556 H; Mixayēl Asori, ed. Jerusalem, 1871, 441-2: 1471 Seleucid era) are wrong and probably confused with the date of Giorgi's capture of Ani. Apart from Mxit'ar, no one mentions the rôle played by Vasak.

honoured them with gifts and granted them authority over many villages. And having been there for some months, Vasak died, and was buried in the church called Astuacacin (Mother of God) in the town. And his standard and clarion and authority were given to his brother called K'urd,¹ and he remained there in great esteem.

And Giorgi, when he was firmly established as King, performed many feats of bravery, invading many regions and defeating many cantons in battle, and he took the town of Ani a first and a second time, summoning [*or*: summoned by] the bishop Barsel and his brothers, the sons of the Magistros Hasan. And then they opposed him, and would not deliver the town into his hands; and he took the town by force and ordered it to be plundered, and he stripped naked all the men of the army and all the women, priests, and monks, and put them to shame for their opposition,² and appointing a satrap³ and an army for the town, he went off. And the town, being oppressed by enemy raids, they begged him to put it in the hands of the previous lord, who was a Persian by race⁴; and handed from one to another, the town and canton had no peace. Then he gave it to his general Iwanē, but there was no peace until he returned it to its previous rulers.⁵

And Eltkuz, who was prince of the whole kingdom of Persia, having witnessed these things and all his [Giorgi's] strength, had previously drawn up his army

¹ Mxit'ar Goš is said by Kirakos (xi, p. 107) to have been welcomed at Erzerum by a prince K'urd who had been expelled by the Georgian king; see above, p. 473. He and the K'urd of the present passage are surely identical (as Ališan, loc. cit., p. 351, n. 1).

² Giorgi took Ani in 1161 and 1174, but the two phases mentioned by Mxit'ar probably refer to (a) the first capture of Ani in 1161, and (b) the revolt of the priests and the arrival and defeat of the Shah i Armen. Vardan (LXXIV, p. 126) indicates a lapse of 50 days between the two events; cf. also Samuēl Aneçi, 137. Al-Fāriki (loc. cit., 361) mentions the rôle of the priests of Ani in revolting against the Shaddādid Fadlūn b. Manūdjihr (Vardan: P'at'lun), but does not mention the subsequent revolt of the bishop Barsel, etc., against Giorgi; it is possible that it was they who appealed to the Shah i Armen to drive off the Georgian king. The priests referred to in al-Fāriki are those mentioned here by Mxit'ar, hardly the Shanshe Dadian of the Georgian Chronicle (as V. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 89, n. 1; see this work for the eyewitness account of the capture of Ani by the kādī Burhān al-dīn); the bishop Barsel is mentioned by Vardan (LXVI, p. 130) as bishop of Ani in 623 A (inc. 6.2.1174). Ibn al-Aṭḥir (xi.184) gives the date of the capture of Ani as Sha'bān 556 ʔ (26.7-23.8.1161), Vardan and Samuēl Aneçi (loc. cit.) as 610 A (inc. 9.2.1161). As to the particular form of punishment meted out by Giorgi, Ibn al-Aṭḥir (xi.188-9) says it was inflicted by the Georgian king upon the Muslim women after his capture of Dwin in 557 ʔ (inc. 21.12.1161).

³ i.e. Sadun (Vardan, p. 126), Sa'dūn (al-Fāriki, loc. cit., 361). He was suspected of plotting rebellion because of his fortification of Ani and divested of his office; he went over to Ildegiz, but was captured by the erist'av of Šak'i and put to death, 4,000 'Persians' dying with him. Sargis Zak'area was appointed governor of Tiflis in his place (Vardan, *ibid.*).

⁴ i.e. Fadlūn, more likely a Kurd; see above, n. 2, and Minorsky, *Studies* . . . , 2, 5, 88.

⁵ The Georgian general was Iwanē Ōrbēli (Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, I, 1, p. 387), called Yvān by Burhān al-dīn (Minorsky, op. cit., 89). The enemy raids refer to those of Arslān ḡāh whom Ildegiz, after his defeat at Gag (below, p. 490, n. 1), urged to besiege Ani; the attacks lasted for four years, until Giorgi surrendered the town (Vardan, LXXIV, p. 127). Al-Fāriki (loc. cit., 364) says the Georgians suffered a heavy defeat in 559 (inc. 30.11.1163) and that 'towards the end of the year Ildegiz gave Ani to the amīr Shāhanghāh, brother of the amirs Shaddād and Fadlūn, sons of Manūdjihr, who had been its rulers'; see Minorsky, loc. cit., 96.

and come to encamp on the plain near the fortress called Gag, and he burned the convent in the name of St. Sargis; and a great scourge fell upon his army and many were killed by serpents. And King Giorgi, assembling many forces, came and camped opposite him and prepared to do battle. But his general Iwanē, son of Smbat Xalagučean, secretly informed the atabeg and sultan, for he was in league with them and blinded by bribes; and in the night before the day arranged for the battle, they fled in secret, leaving their tents behind them¹; they did not, however, abandon their evil intentions towards the Christians. Suddenly arriving within the confines of Ani, they captured the villages of Ašnak and T'alın,² and took and burned the fortresses and all the men and women and children with them; and they captured many and sold them in misery to distant tribes. King Giorgi, however, suddenly arrived with a few men in the town of Dwin, and remained a long time in the [territory] of the Persians, and taking much booty, he destroyed also the house . . .³

¹ On the fortress of Gag (Kāk), see Vardan, pp. 119, 127, 145, Inčičean, 513, Minorsky, loc. cit., 99–100. Ildegiz's attack on Gag took place *after* Giorgi's attack on Dwin (see Vardan, p. 127, al-Kalānisi, 361). Samuēl Aneqi, who mentions the serpents, gives the date as 612 A (inc. 9.2.1163). There is an account in Ibn al-Athīr, xi.189, of the treachery of a certain Georgian who helped Ildegiz to victory during an encounter in Safar 558 (9.1.–6.2.1163), but no name is given. Vardan, lxxvi. pp. 129–30, relates how, after Giorgi's capture of Ani in 1174, his spasalar Iwanē, threatened by the sultan, intended to surrender the town, but was prevented from so doing by the inhabitants; possibly Mxit'ar has confused the two events. *Xalagučean* may be a corruption of **Mzargrjean* = Georgian *Mzargrdzeli*; on the Georgian Longimani, see Minorsky, loc. cit., 102–3.

² Both in the canton Aragacot in pr. Ayrarat; see Inčičean, 508, 441–42, Samuēl Aneqi, 138.

³ Ibn al-Athīr dates the attack on Dwin at Sha'bān 557 H (16.7–13.8.1162), adding that the Georgians took many prisoners, stripped the women naked, and burned the principal mosque and others. Al-Fāriki (loc. cit., 361) gives the same month and year and says that they demolished the minaret which Kurti b. al-Ahdab had built with the skulls of Georgians killed during a previous encounter, i.e. at Garni in 579 A (inc. 17.2.1180); see Vardan, lxxi, p. 123; Minorsky, *Studies* . . ., 85–6. Ališan, loc. cit., 353, reads the last phrase as *ew ziunn* . . . *Ormzdi* . . ., but the manuscript is here illegible, with the naked eye, at least, and a 'house of Ormizd' is certainly not what one expects.

SOME REMARKS ON OYROT MORPHOLOGY

By KARL H. MENGES

IN view of the scarcity of publications on the Turkic languages of the Soviet Union, especially the Turkic languages of Siberia, every contribution to this subject is highly welcome. One of these is C. G. Simpson's *Some features of the morphology of the Oïrot (Gorno-Altai) language* (issued by the Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group), 1955, which, in 68 pp. of typescript, tries to give the essentials of Oyrot morphology, being based, as the author says, mainly on Dyrenkova's Oyrot grammar (Грамматика ойротского языка, Moscow, 1940, 302 pp.) and Baskakov's grammatical sketch of the Oyrot language in the little Oyrot dictionary, published by himself and T. M. Toščakova.

The booklet consists of the following sections: Foreword; Introduction (1 ff.), containing also a sketch of the phonology; Word formation (4 ff.); The noun (11 ff.); The pronouns and associated forms (16 ff.); The post-position (24 ff.); The verb (28 ff.); Bibliography (68). The material is presented in a descriptive way, therein not differing from the above-quoted studies by Dyrenkova and Baskakov.

Without discussing here the greater or lesser merits of descriptive grammatical work, considered by some linguists as the *solum salutare* of modern linguistics, I should say that, in a number of instances, grammatical facts cannot be adequately represented without at least an occasional excursus into comparative and historical linguistics, and moreover, for practical reasons, the Western reader would probably benefit more if he had been given a number of parallels or examples from Osman-Turkish (Turkey-Turkish) with which the Western student is usually familiar before starting his studies in Turkology. But even without that, the publication has, I repeat, its definite merits.

In the following, I shall make a few remarks in order to clarify certain points.

For the Introduction, it would have been very useful if the author had made a few concise statements on the habitat of the Oyrots, and quoted some important literature on them, such as e.g. Pallas, Castrén, Verbickij, Radloff, Potanin, Katanov et al.

The author seems to overrate the 'fossilised grammatical forms and vocabulary' (p. i) of the Oyrot language; for it is, among the Siberian Turkic languages, no exception, either as a particularly archaic or as a particularly recent form of Turkic. Bang has time and again warned against the alleged archaism of Yakut and other Siberian Turkic languages, and Bang's statement can well be extended to all Siberian Turkic languages, which show, in their essential difference from common-Turkic, innovations of recent origin, mainly on the basis of the Turkicization of Samoyedic (and perhaps Yenisey-Ostyak) languages, rather than archaic Turkic features. Along with that,

Mr. Simpson also overestimates 'the forces of attrition which have simplified the Turkish of Turkey' (ibid.). Which are the results of the forces of attrition in Osman (Turkey)-Turkish? That language, in its older as well as its modern form, has preserved, under the cover of an enormous lexical *Überfremdung*, all the essential and typical phonological features of common-Turkic—the sound-harmony—as well as the morphological and syntactical ones: both the nominal and the verbal inflections have preserved all features typical of common and ancient Turkic. Compare with this e.g. the dissolution of the sound-harmony in Özbek and a few other Turkic languages, and some features of change and decay in the nominal inflection in Özbek, which, in some city dialects, shows morphological coincidence of the genitive and the accusative, a complete abolition of the pronominal declension, and furthermore, in the syntax, a vigorous irruption of the Indo-European subordinative, conjunctive sentence structure. The latter is occasionally found in Osman Turkish too, but it never came to dominate the syntactical system as it does in Özbek or certain other Turkic languages. But 'forces of attrition', such as dominate the Indo-European languages of Central and Western Europe and reach their extreme in modern English, are in this sense unknown to the entire historical development of Turkic. Considering merely the morphology of modern Osman Turkish, we still find a nominal declension with six cases (or eight, if we include the equative in *-dža/-dža* and the comitative in *-la/-la*), while ancient Uyğur has only one case more, the instrumental in *-yn/-in*; Osman Turkish has preserved the difference between nominal and pronominal declension; in the morphology of the verb, it has practically all the ancient Turkic verbal nouns serving as expression of tense, and, in addition, an extremely rich development of the verbal composition, much of which to be regarded as innovation. The great majority of the Indo-European languages of Europe (excluding, of course, Eastern Europe) have, on the contrary, preserved none of the ancient declensions, and in the verbal morphology most of the ancient categories have fallen a prey to attrition or to complete destruction: a voice, the medio-passive, has disappeared, and so have many of the old tenses (particularly in Germanic), while of the moods, for the sake of syntactical subordination, the subjunctive has in some form survived, even in modern English. In the sense of chronological classification, Oyrot may well be put alongside such Central Asiatic Turkic languages as Qazaq-Qaraqalpaq, Qyrgyz, and New Uyğur, but certainly not beside (City-) Özbek.¹

The term *горно-алтайский язык*, which was introduced by the Soviet scholars in the place of the designation *Oyrot*, used at an earlier period (namely when that Autonomous District was created), may well be rendered in English as 'High-Altai' or similarly.

Throughout the booklet, the official Cyrillic orthography is used (here replaced by roman transcription).

¹ I have read S. Je. Maľov's article on archaic and recent Turkic languages, published a few years ago in the *Izv. ANSSSR*, and disagree on all major points.

The sound rendered as дъ in the Cyrillic is not equivalent to that rendered by *c* in the modern orthography of Turkey-Turkish, as said on p. 1, but is a palatalized *d* (i.e. *č*), which has developed from ancient and common-Turkic *j*- in initial position. This sound is typical of the north-eastern Oyrot dialects such as Telent and is, without doubt, a transitional step in the development to *dž*-, while those of the south, such as the dialect of the Altay-Kiži, have preserved the original *j*-. In some Oyrot dialects, e.g. that of Elikmonar, the *č*- has become voiceless, *t'*-, marking thus the transition of *j*- to *č*-, which is typical of Šor (farther north-east) and the entire Abaqan ('Xaqas') group and the two Ufañxay or Tuba (Tuva) languages, Soyon and Karayās. After 1947, the literary Oyrot language, according to Simpson (p. 1, n. 1), seems to have adopted the form with *j*-, i.e. that of the conservative southern dialects, which show, in this respect, the greatest divergence from all the other South Siberian Turkic languages.

The diagrams on consonant mutation (assimilations and dissimilations, p. 3) lack a section on suffixal *-b/p*, for which there are a few examples on p. 7 under suffixes *-ma* and *-maq* (where together with *bas-paq* also *čertpe* and *uqpaq* are to be expected).

The chapter on word formation (4 ff.) occasionally exhibits the weaknesses inherent in a purely descriptive treatment of a language; here it would at times have been useful to add comparative or historical material. Thus, there is no suffix *-u* (and *-u-la*) in Turkic which designates quantity. Simpson's examples are: *üč* 'three', *üč-ü* 'team of three, trio'; if it is not simply the form of the poss. 3rd pers. *üč-ü* (and *üč-ü-la*) 'his (her) three' > 'the three (of them)', it will be the collective or distributive numeral *üč-ü* < *üč-ä-gü/üč-ä-ü* (and *üč-ä-gü-lä*, etc.) 'trini'; three together'. The Oyrot language has the tendency to shorten long vowels, also those arising from contraction; e.g. the suffix *-tyγ/-lig* of the adnominal nouns becomes *-lū/-lū/-lu/-lū*: common-Turkic *taγ-tyγ* 'mountainous' may thus appear as *tūhū, tūlu, tulu*. This tendency is already sufficiently marked in Radloff's texts. The diminutive suffix *-čayās* is compounded from *-čaq* + *-aš* (or *-ač*) and should therefore be placed after *-čaq* (p. 4).

The suffix *-u* (p. 8) designates the action as such, not always or necessarily 'the result of action'; as it is from *-yγ*, its length, *-ū*, has been shortened here as in the further derivative with *-čy*: *-ū-čy*.

It is incorrect to say, in this connexion, 'when the verbal stem ends in a vowel, this vowel may be changed to *-u*: *sura* "to ask", *suru* "question"'; in fact, the final vowel of the verbal stem undergoes contraction with that *-ū* and afterwards shortening to *u*: *suru* < *surū* < *sura-u* < *sura-γ*. On the other hand, *suru* might also have originated from **sur-yγ*, from the shorter stem *sur-* = Osm. *sor-*, and not from the longer, originally iterative, stem in *-a*, *sora-/sura-*. The suffix *-čy* (p. 8) 'result of action', occurs only after the medial verbal stem in *-n-*. On p. 8, in division II.2, examples for the suffix *-γān* would have been welcome. *Uda-, udayan* is a loanword from Mongolian,

the Turkic corresponding form being *uza-*, implying a different meaning, however. There is no immediate derivation of *talqan* 'meal, flour' (not: 'ground'!) from *tala-* 'to grind'; *kōč-* is to be read, second line from bottom, instead of the misprint *kōj-*, 'to wander', and, in the last line, there is no suffix *-dyq*, but *-lyq*, of denominal nouns, *turuštyq* being from *tur-uš* ' (action of) standing' + *-lyq*; the author seems to derive it from the co-operative aspect *tur-uš-*, probably misled by the south-western (Osman, Āzarī, Türkmen) suffix of the verbal noun, *nomen perfecti*, in *-dyq/-dik*. *Tarān* 'millet' (p. 7, bottom) is not from *tara-* 'to scatter', but from *tary-* 'to sow': *tary-yan* > *tarān*. It is very doubtful whether *qaranty* (p. 7, last line) 'thawed patch of earth on snow covered surface' is from a verbal stem **qara-* 'to become black'; as far as is known, *qara* is a strictly nominal base and never occurs in verbal function, so that *qara-* 'to see, look' will underly this form, *qaranty* originally meaning 'the spots, places, where the earth is seen'; but popular etymology might well connect this word with *qara* 'black': 'black spots on the white, snowy surface of the earth', the Russian expression for which being actually derived from the word for 'black': черноты, f. pl. On p. 10: the suffix of inchoative denominal verbs is simply *-r-*; if a noun ends in a consonant, *a* as well as *y* may be used as 'connecting vowel': *ḍany-r-* 'to become new', *quba-r-* (p. 9) 'to become yellowish, pale', *qara-r-* 'to become black', and *aγ-ar-* 'to become white', *kōg-ör-* 'to become blue'; similarly, with the same *-r-*, enlarged by the suffix *-qa-* > *-r-qa-*, which has an iterative and/or intensive meaning: *ḍāna-r-qa-* 'to become proud', from *ḍān* < *jaγan* 'great; big, huge', *baj-yr-qa-* 'to vaunt one's riches', from *baj* 'rich', cf. Lit. Soyot *bajjyr-ya* 'id.', *bitirgā-* 'to vaunt one's knowledge', with a more complicated formation, < **baj-yγ-yr-ya-* and **bil-ig-ir-gā-*, i.e. they are derived from a deverbal noun *baj-y-γ*, *bil-ig*.

In this as well as in the subsequent chapters, a distinction is always made between nouns and adjectives, as in most treatises on the grammar of a Turkic language. But both are nouns, *nomina*, and in Turkic there is no morphological differentiation of these two categories.

From the examples of the declension it arises clearly that the last syllable never undergoes labial harmony—at any rate in the 'literary language'—while there is always labial attraction.

The irruption of the nominal declension into the pronominal one in the case of nouns with possessive suffixes is noteworthy; it takes place in the dat. sg. (p. 15), where beside the suffixes *-ym-a*, *-yη-a*, *-yn-a* there are also *-ym-ya*, *-yη-ya*, *-yn-ya*, which are typical e.g. of New Uyγur and Özbek (with the exception of the Qypčaq dialects). These latter forms are not original, as Simpson thinks, but innovations of very recent times, not yet occurring in Radloff's texts except rarely, e.g. *pojy-ya* I, 77, 612 'unto himself' instead of the regular and usual *pojyna* (e.g. 78, 648 and *passim*). If this form is no misprint and was correctly noted down by Radloff himself, it shows this development in an incipient state. Similarly, we find an innovation due to the

influence of the nominal declension in the alternate datives *boyo* (not quoted by Dyrenkova!) and *oyo* (p. 16) of the demonstratives *bu* (*pu*) and *ol*, used beside the contracted forms *bō* and *ō*, which regularly resulted from older *buna* (*muna*) and *ona*, as known from Uyğur and Osman Turkish. Without doubt, this innovation first took place in the dative of the pronoun *ol*, and *boyo* was formed in analogy with that. Since the nominative of the latter has the form *bu*, it is not possible to regard it as a form parallel to that of the Utañxay languages, *po*, *bo*, or even as a survival in Oyrot of the ancient alternate nom. sg. *bo*, which is now attested in the Uyğur texts written in Brāhmī script (cf. A. v. Gabain, 'Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII', *Abhandl. der deutschen Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1954), i.e. at least for a certain group of Uyğur dialects. Nevertheless, the dative of the demonstrative *bu*, *bo* in the Uyğur of the Brāhmī texts is *muna*, and in Tuba, e.g. in Literary Soyon, *mañā* and *mā*, i.e. the true equivalents of the ancient forms. Innovations of the type *boyo*, *oyo* are also the datives of the personal pronouns *māgā*, *sāgā*, occurring beside *mā*, *mā* and *sā*, *sā* (p. 21).

The demonstrative of the remote 3rd person *tu* (p. 17) is due either to Mongolian influence—in Literary Mongolian the *obliquus* stem of *tāra* 'that (one)' is *tegü-n-* > Xalxa *tū-n-*—or to a more recent borrowing from Russian (*to-*, *ro*). It can be compounded with *ol* in *tuol* (p. 17).

The verbal derivatives *mynajt-*, *anajt-* 'to act this, that way' are hardly derived, as Simpson thinks (p. 17), from the *casus comparativus* *myndyj* 'like this', etc., plus *et-* 'to do', but, as the vocalism shows, from *myna* + *et-*, etc., forms which in Oyrot do not seem to be still in use, while *mynajyp*, *anajyp*, *qanajyp* (pp. 17, 19), in the gerund in *-(y)p*, 'doing so' > 'thus; so; in this, that, way', seem to exhibit a further reduction by the loss of *t/d*. Parallel forms occur in Qazaq-Qaraqalpaq (cf. e.g. Menges, *Qaraqalpaq grammar*. 1: *Phonology*, p. 65 ff.).

The vocalism of the personal interrogative *kām* 'who?' (p. 17) is influenced by Mong. *ken*, Xalxa *xe(ŋ)* 'id.'

The sentence *qokxozto qančazynčy äyt ärtap-ät?* (p. 18) is to be translated: 'which year of his stay in the kolxoz is he in?', but not: 'which year was he in the kolkhoz?'

Interesting forms are those of the predicative possessive pronoun *māniji* 'mine', *sāniji* 'thine, yours', with the contracted forms *mānij*, *mānī*, *sānij*, *sānī*, etc. (p. 20); as in Oyrot *ȳ* is avoided, only the contracted form *onij* exists besides *onijjy* 'his, hers'. This suffix consists of the combination of those of the genitive *-nyñ* and the *nomen locativum* *-qy*, *-nyñ-qy*, later > *-niji*, etc.

The pronoun 'self' and the reflexive of the 3rd person is rendered by the noun *boj* (p. 21), Anc. Turk. and Kāšyari *bođ* 'person, figure', as in all South Siberian Turkic languages: Šor and the Abaqan languages *pos*, Utañxay (Tuba and Karayās) *pot*; South Samoyedic Kamaš *bos* 'id.' has been borrowed from the Abaqan languages.

With the personal pronouns the *casus comparativus* in *-dyj* (< *täg*) is quite

common and might well have been added by Simpson on p. 21: *mān-dij*, *sān-dij*, *on-dij*, pl. *bis-tij*, *slār-dij*, and *olardij* 'like me, you, etc.' (also omitted by Dyrenkova, *Gramm.*, § 51, p. 93).

Genuine pronouns for 'all; every' are lacking in most Turkic languages and are either substituted for by borrowings or by petrified expressions consisting of certain cases or gerunds. The latter are especially favoured by the Siberian Turkic languages; good examples are here *ončo(zy)* 'all' (p. 22), the *cas. aequat.* of *ol*, and *bastyra(zy)* 'all, everybody; the whole' (p. 22), the gerund in *-a* of *bas-tyr-* 'to cause to press, push', cf. e.g. Karayās *tōdd(zi)* 'all' < *tūgā-d-a* 'exhausting, completing', Soyōñ *kobōj*, (>) *kōj*, Karayās *kōbāj*, (Castrén) *kōfej* 'many, much' < *kob-d-jā* '(being) many, much'.

The 'concessive forms' (p. 23) do not imply concessivity, against Simpson, while concessivity is expressed only in conjunction with the form of the *verbum conditionale* in *-sa*.

The subdivision of the postpositions (pp. 24 ff.) is not arranged in accordance with one and the same principle. The term 'postposition proper' is probably meant to convey 'genuine, original, primary, postposition', as against secondary postpositions, but in common-Altaic, not only in Turkic, a great difficulty consists in the lack of strict distinction between case-forming elements which have not yet become case-suffixes but still survive as enclitics, e.g. *-dag*, *-dag-in*, *-dža*, *-la* (varying much in all of the Turkic languages, old or modern), and postpositions such as *tāg* (*dāg*) and *tāg-i*, *ilā* (*ynan/inān*), *birlā* (> *-byla/-bilā*), also in Oyrot of *Proben*, 1), *učun/üčün*, et al. Further, some enclitics do not seem to be derivable from either nominal or verbal bases and are thus etymologically on a par with case suffixes, while some other enclitics and all postpositions can be derived from either nominal or verbal bases; therefore, the ultimate criterion for status as primary or secondary postposition is its morphological and syntactical usage within a given language.

For the time being, it would seem best either to abandon the differentiation between primary and secondary postpositions and maintain merely that between enclitical and postpositional elements, or to distinguish between primary and secondary postpositions in an historical sense only, not in a morphological one, and thus classify the common-Turkic stock as primary, the particular formations having originated in a single (and historically later) Turkic language as secondary. No classification of the postpositions is given by Räsänen in his recent 'Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen', *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki), xxi, 1957 (256 pp.).

The two first 'postpositions proper', *dār* and *tōñ*, are certainly secondary ones, since *dār* is < *jaq-ar*, nom. aor. of *ja-q-*, 'approaching', and *tōñ* is contraction of *tobā-n*, the old instrumental of *tōba* 'top, peak, upper part'; its usage as postposition in the meaning of 'to, towards' is due to contamination with *taban/taman* 'id.', as still found e.g. in Qazaq.

The original common-Turkic rule, according to which a number of primary postpositions (as *üčün* 'for', *tāg* 'as, like') and all of the nominal postpositions

(*alt*, *ara*, *ič*, *dan*, *orto*, etc.) govern the *indefinitus obliquus* of a noun and the genitive of a personal and demonstrative pronoun, is generally still valid, but a number of secondary postpositions exhibit some vacillations in their syntax. Thus, *dār* 'to, toward' governs the *indefinitus*, but its usage has been extended even to the personal pronoun: *bis dār* 'to, toward us', *slār dār* 'toward you'. If the governed noun is in the possessive 3rd pers., it may have the following form: *ajyhm dār* 'toward his village (tent camp)', beside suffix zero after the possessive: *kün badyzy dār* 'toward sunset, west'. This form may well be considered an accusative (as is done by Simpson, but it may also be the *obliquus* stem form of the possessive 3rd pers., which appears in the nominal declensions (where it has been preserved) in several modern Turkic languages, among them, as said above, in Osman Turkish. In the latter case, the postposition *dār* would have developed into an enclitic case element (like the aequative *-ča/-dža*, the comparative *-dyj*), which ultimately would become a real case-suffix. The same is seen in the example with *tön*: *sol danyñ tön* 'to his left'. Dyrenkova's note, p. 217, top, that in the northern dialects of Oyrot the forms *-dān/-dōn/-dōn/-tān/-tōn/-tōn* occur, is important here, since it indicates the transition of this postposition to a true case-element subject to the rules of sound-harmony.

It is difficult to determine the case function in the following instances. In ancient and common-Turkic, the pronouns have no *casus indefinitus*. The suffixless case is always found in the function of subject, hence it is a true nominative in the Indo-European sense. However, examples such as *bis dār*, *slār dār*, *ol dār* 'toward him (her)', *slār tön* 'to you' exhibit a divergence from the above rule of common-Turkic insofar as here the suffixless case is a true *indefinitus obliquus* as in the nominal category, being certainly due to analogy with the latter. The suffixless use of the demonstratives may be equally due to such analogy, yet it is also possible to consider the demonstrative, in expressions of the type *bu tön* 'hither, сюда', *ol tön* 'thither, туда', 'to him, her', as being in appositional ('adjectival') function in front of a noun, with the original meaning: 'to, toward this, that, side'. This would mean that in these instances the noun *tömän* < *töbä-n* has not become an auxiliary noun, i.e. assumed the function of a postposition, but has remained an independent, primary noun. Nevertheless, for considerations of the presumable evolution from noun to auxiliary noun (in this case, the postposition), I would rather be in favour of the first explanation.

The preponderant usage of the definite genitive before *sajyn* 'each' would point to the nominal, not the verbal nature of its form, which can be analysed in either way: as instrumental of *saj* 'number' or as gerund in *-n* of *saj-* 'to count, estimate'; Orxon, Uyğur *saju* 'id.' is clearly a gerund in *-u* of *saj-*; in Yakut, *ājy* (< **sā-j-y*, gerund) functions as postposition and can implicitly be used in dative relations, but also as above in Oyrot, cf. *kün džyl ājy* 'at any time', *kün ājy* 'daily', *yj ājy* 'each month' (Böhtlingk, *Wörterbuch*, p. 7). The common-Altaic root is **sā-*, **sā* 'to believe, think, count, estimate, esteem; number, figure'.

A number of verbal gerunds are used in the function of pre- or postpositions, such as *ozo* < *oz-a* 'arriving earlier' (cf. Kāš. *oz-* 'to be, come, arrive, earlier', *oza* 'earlier; earlier time'), *ōtkirā* 'across, through' (the genitive in the example given by Simpson (p. 26) is not correct, since the causative *ōt-kir-* requires a direct object, as found in Dyrenkova's example, p. 220: *dalaṇdardy ōtkirā* 'across the steppes'). Whether *ala*, c. abl., 'after, since', a synonym of *bāri*, is actually < *al-a*, as both Dyrenkova and Simpson assume, may be doubted; it might well have originated from *ary*, correlative to *bāri*, c. abl., plus the emphatic enclitic *-la/-lā*: **ary-la* > **arla* > **alla* > *ala*. Postpositions such as *ōškō*, *bašqa* 'other', *turqumyna*, *šylyu* and *üzāri* are not at all of the same type (p. 27), i.e. of verbal origin. As in the other Turkic languages, *ōškō* and *bašqa*, petrified datives, govern the ablative, *turqumyna*, dat. possess. 3rd pers., the genitive, like *šylyu*, and *üzāri*, according to Dyrenkova, the dative.

In treating the verb (pp. 28 ff.), Simpson follows, on the whole, the same arrangement as Dyrenkova: I, verbal stem; II, non-conjugated forms; III, conjugated forms of the verb—fortunately without characterizing as the most outstanding feature of the verbal stem (as Dyrenkova does, p. 121, top) its ability to form the negative, as if aspects (including the *genera verbi*), all the verbal nouns (including the participles and gerunds), and the various forms of verbal composition did not play any rôle.

The 'modal modifiers' (p. 28 f.) are the suffixes for the aspects, comprising also those of the *genera verbi*, there being no morphological difference between these two; to them the negative, too, belongs, as in all Turkic languages, while the other Altaic languages have different ways of negative expression. While in the great majority of the Turkic languages the suffix of the negative aspect requires that the stress hits the preceding syllable—a fact which points to the originally independent nature of the negative suffix (cf. Bang, 'Das negative Verbum der Türkischen Sprachen', *Abhandl. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1923, p. 116; Menges, *Oriens*, ix, 1956, p. 130, last paragraph)—Dyrenkova states, p. 40 top, that this very syllable is stressed. Simpson does not pay any attention to this problem, probably because it is mainly one of phonology.

Nothing is said about the order of the suffixes that build up the complete verbal expression, although in Oyrot it does not differ from that of the other Turkic languages: base/root + aspect suffixes (the negative suffix always standing after the other aspect suffixes) + *nomen verbale* suffix + personal elements (either pronouns or possessive suffixes).

As to the passive, Simpson might have mentioned that the morphological expression of the passive, as in all Siberian Turkic languages, is often omitted, especially if the verbal noun in *-yan* is used; although this statement, too, does not exclusively pertain to morphology. The passive can also be expressed by the causative, as stated by Dyrenkova (§ 82, p. 130), not only, however, when the verb has two causative suffixes (as she believes); this will be illustrated by examples. This fact has not been given enough attention in Turkic studies.

For the passivic function of a causative, the suffix *-t-* is used. It is found in the Uyğur translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, a relatively late Uyğur text; elsewhere it has been noted but sporadically: for Ča atay by Brockelmann, *Gramm.*, p. 210, § 151m, for Qaraqalpaq, e.g. by Baskakov, Каракалпакский язык, II, p. 341. In Altaic, it is common in Tungus, which uses one and the same suffix, *-(u)w-* in Evenki, for both causative and passive; however, Evenki (as well as Lamut) prefers a double suffix for the causative, as e.g. *-w-kān-*, *-w-kāč-*, etc. In Uralic, there exists the same suffix in Lappic, on which we have a substantial piece of research by W. Schlachter, 'Lappische Passivsyntax', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxv, 179-208 (reviewed by Menges in *Oriens*, ix, 1956, 128 f.), continued in *UAJb.*, xxvi and xxix (cf. also the additional 'Bemerkungen zur Kausativ- und Passiv-Funktion des finno-ugrischen *t*-suffixes' by W. Krause in *UAJb.*, xxviii, 174-81). In Lappic, too, the passive in *-t-* has developed from a causative. Examples from Oyrot (Dyrenkova, § 82, p. 130): *tāmir kižān tatqa diđirtip* (two causative suffixes: *di-dir-t-*) *üzüldi* 'the iron fetters broke, corroded by rust', literally 'having been eaten up by rust' < 'having had the rust (in dative, as remote object) eat up (scil. themselves)', and *qyrdyñ qyrynañ şüryanıya bastıyıp azyıp-bolbo-dybyş* '(op)pressed by the storm (< having had the storm [remote object] [op]press [scil. ourselves; direct object]) we could not pass the mountain crest'. This type of construction may well show the way in which the passive originated in the Altaic languages. The causativic-translativic expression approaches that of the 'passive verb' of Caucasian languages, Basque, and Sumerian.

The reflexive is much more a medial aspect, and two of the three examples given are clearly medial; one of them, *dunym-* 'to wash (oneself)' has the medial suffix attached twice: < *juw-yn-ym-*; the medial meaning of the simple medial aspect in *du-n-* < *juw-ym-* has evidently been forgotten or effaced.

As has been said elsewhere (cf. Bouda, *UAJb.*, xxv, 161 ff.; Menges, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1953, No. 3/4, 210, and *Oriens*, ix, 1956, 127), the term 'converb' for the non-attributive and non-adnominal nominal forms of the verb is neither correct nor practical. I would not say that the gerund 'normally has the same subject as that of the main verb or the verb to which it is subordinate' (p. 30), since in all Altaic languages the change of subject is a very common phenomenon. A number of examples are listed under the two gerunds in *-a* and *-(y)p* (pp. 31, 32) which would have been better adduced in the relevant chapter on the verbal composition. In a number of instances, it is difficult to recognize a verbal composition, especially as the sources or the various literary languages do not indicate any clear distinction. Thus, the modern orthographies do not use any marks such as hyphens; Dyrenkova does not either. Among the examples given on p. 33, top, the following: *tudumyp(-)alala* 'taking' (misprinted тудуным) and *danyp kälädälä* are clear verbal compositions. In the former, *alala* has aspectual function, perfectivizing; in the latter, *kälädälä* the function of modality, 'when we are coming back,

on our way back'; *kalädälä* itself is a contracted compound < *kela-jat-ala* 'coming along', with a durative/progressive meaning. The gerund in *-ala/-älä* is from the *ger. praes.* in *-a* + the emphasizing element *-la*, cf. e.g. Teleut *parala* (*Proben*, I, 87, 65) beside *dürüblä* (ibid., 64) < *jürü-p* + *-lä* 'going, walking, being on the way'. Observations on the stress in these forms would be valuable. The gerund in *-ala/-älä* is not to be connected, as done by Räsänen, 'Morphologie', p. 189, with the gerund in *-yaly/-gäli*, for phonological as well as semantic reasons.

Instead of the suffix *-yač/-gäč* of the *ger. perfecti*, in modern Oyrat only *-yažyn/-gäžin* occurs, likewise in Radloff's *Proben*, I, and designates the action immediately preceding that expressed by the main verb. It may, therefore, in a given context, also be considered futuric (so Dyrenkova, § 90, p. 140, who generalizes this; Simpson's expression 'moment of time' (p. 35) avoids this mistake). In its meaning, the form often approaches that of the conditional, especially when used in the negative, but it is not identical with it, as Simpson seems to assume. Since as a single consonant, non-geminated *-č-* remains unvoiced in intervocalic position, *-yažyn* cannot be directly analysed as the instrumental in *-yn* of the common-Turkic *gerundium perfecti* *-yač*, but an alternative form in *-š* is to be assumed as intermediary: **-yaš-yn* > *-yažyn*. In a number of Turkic languages there are cases, always sporadic, of alternation of final *-č/-š*, cf. Osm. *a-yač*, Uyğur *y-yač* 'tree' (< **a-yač*, i.e. an augmentative in *-yač* of **a* < proto-Altaic **pa* 'tree' = Ural, e.g. Hungar. *fâ*, Ostjak *pa*, Yurak Samoyed *pâ* [Lehtisalo, *Jurak-Sam. Wb.*, p. 371] 'tree; wood'; in Turkic, ablaut *a : y* in *y* 'vegetable, plant', usually occurring in the Uyğur hendiadys *y taryγ* 'vegetation'), Oyr. *a-yaš*, Oyr., Lebed *a-γyš* 'tree'; likewise in the diminutive *qula-yaš* 'little ear' < *qulaq-ač*, in *qysqaš* 'pliers' < *qys-qač*, Teleut *dylaṇaš* 'naked' < *jalaṇ-ač* (Lebed *jyläč* 'id. '); *qytyš* 'sword' < *qylyč*. According to Räsänen, 'Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen', *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki), xv, 1949, 183, those sporadic cases occur in Qoman, Āzarī, Ūzbek, Oyrat, Teleut, and Tuba (i.e., as it seems, the Jyš-Kiži dialect). The forms in *-yažyn* are not mentioned in Räsänen's 'Morphologie', p. 189 f. where only the forms in *-yač* and *-yat* are listed. Apparently, *-yač* and *-yaš* are the results of particular reductions occurring in much used and older forms, also in suffixes; in this case from an older **-yan-ča*, **-yat-ča*, the *casus aequativus* of the *nomen verbale* in *-yan* or *-yat*, beside which a *nomen verbale terminativum* in *-yanča*, etc. exists in Oyrat (with the meaning of 'until, before, ere, prior to, etc.', cf. Dyrenkova, § 86, pp. 137 ff.), the plain aequative in *-ča* of the *nomen perfecti* in *-yan*, which for semantic reasons preserved its full form intact. Instead of the plain instrumental of *-yač*, *-yažyn*, in the Soyon (Tuba, Tuva, Tyva) language the form *-yaštyn/-gäštyn* occurs, consisting of *-yač* with the suffix of the ancient locative in *-t* and that of the lative-instrumental in *-yn*, the latter having undergone velarization of the *-n*, so that the two suffixes in combination become identical with the suffix of the genitive.

The characterization of the participle (p. 35 f.) is mainly a functional (syntactical) one, but in general it is adequately worded. Morphologically, no differentiation is made between the various forms of the verbal nouns. Nothing like special suffixes of gerunds or participles or verbal adjectives—so typical of the Indo-European verb—exists in Turkic. The situation is rather of an order which permits a classification of verbal nouns used in adverbial position—gerunds—and those used in adnominal position—participles. Besides, there exist a few verbal nouns usually occurring as independent nouns and assuming themselves case suffixes. One of those is the participle in *-yalaq/-gäldäk* 'before, prior to' (an example on p. 36), not specially mentioned by either Simpson or Dyrenkova. The form in *-yalaq* might well be explained as a *partic. perfecti* (pass.) in *-q/-k* of an iterative action expressed by the suffixes *-qa-la/-kä-lä-*, which designate the gradually proceeding, slow action (intermissive aspect ?); therefore, the *partic. pf. (pass.)* has, as in Abaqan and Tuva-Karağas, the basic meaning of 'not yet . . .', the unachieved action, but whose achievement is to be expected at any moment or, at least, very soon. This suffix might be identical with the suffix *-ya-* occurring in verbs designating the beginning or intensity of an action (Räsänen, 'Morphologie', p. 165 f.) plus *-la-*; for the latter, the verbal derivative suffix *-la-*, is not exclusively denominal, but, attached to a verbal stem, it has an iterative meaning. On the other hand, the suffix *-yala-* might be closely related with Uyğur *-qal/-käl-*, which designates the imminent or immediately expected action (not quoted by Räsänen, 'Morphologie'; cf. A. v. Gabain, *Altürkische Gramm.*, § 259, p. 132, where erroneously considered as verbal compound with *qal-* or *käl-*, although Uyğur, in contradistinction to modern Turkic languages, especially those of Siberia, does not suppress the vocalic gerundial suffix of the main [first] verb in verbal compositions) and to which the suffix *-a-*, possessing, like deverbal *-la-*, iterative function, is attached. As a productive verbal aspect suffix, *-yala-* does not occur in any Siberian Turkic language, but in an iterative, repetitive function, only the suffix *-qula/-külä-* is used. Concerning the verbal noun in *-yalaq* (p. 41), it might have been said that it is rarely used with regard to persons; in such cases, the verbal noun in *-yan* of the negative aspect is substituted (Dyrenkova, p. 153, bottom).

A few of the participles possess a time connotation and serve, in composition with the enclitically attached personal pronouns, as equivalent of an Indo-European conjugated tense.

In so far as the verbal noun in *-ar/-yr* has a tense connotation—as 'participle' or *verbum finitum* (on the latter cf. *infra*)—it is simply that of an aorist or a kind of a 'timeless tense', as described for the Tungus languages (especially by Charles de Harlez for Manchu, *Manuel de la langue mandchoue*, art. 88, 3, p. 46; for Evenki-Tungus by Menges, *Language*, xix, 1943, 243 ff.; for Čaytatay by Brockelmann, *Gramm.*, § 180 ff., esp. § 181 f., p. 234 f.; for Osman Turkish by Deny, loc. cit., p. 402 f., and Ljubimov in the Gordlevskij volume, pp. 163 ff., where also reference to Gordlevskij's Osman grammar).

This is true for Turkic as well as for Tungus, although the aorist may well be rendered, on occasion, by the *futurum* of languages such as modern English and Russian. This would be so in cases where this tense points ahead; but Dyrenkova and other scholars who maintain a futuristic tense connotation are misled by their own interpretation operating, it seems to me, on the basis of their Indo-European tense concepts. (Also cf. e.g. Deny's careful statement on the aorist of Osman Turkish in his *Grammaire*, § 630, p. 402 f.). The verbal noun in *-ar/-yr*, when used appositionally, is a *nomen verbae actoris*: *uçar quş* 'the bird which flies, the flying bird', *adâr* 'the one who does, makes; who habitually, or as of necessity, does, makes', etc. (cf. Dyrenkova, p. 147, bottom).

In the same way, the verbal noun in *-atan/-âtân* (p. 39) < *-attan/-âtân* (thus in Radloff's texts) < *-a-tur-yan*, although formally containing no aoristic suffixes, is essentially aoristic; since one of the shades of its meaning (that of the action which is to take place or is expected with certainty) points to the future, as all optative or imperative forms, it may have to be translated in such cases with an English or Russian future.

The verbal noun in *-yadyj/-gädij// -ydyj/-gidij*, < *-yan-däg* or *-yu-däg* respectively, i.e. a *nomen perfecti* in *-yan* (or *-yu* resp.) + a suffix of postposition (or comparative case resp.) *-däg*, used as a new verbal noun (often occurring in adnominal, participial function), may, as any verbal noun in theory, also form the basis of a 'conjugated' scheme, by attaching to itself, for this purpose, the possessive suffixes (not the personal suffixes, as the author p. 40, says): *kälgädij-im*, *kälgädij-in*, *kälgädij*, etc., 'it is possible, probable, that I come', etc. The uncertainty, indistinctness of the action thus pictured should be reproduced in the translation. Thus, the example in which this form occurs as predicate-noun, *ottyn körünüp-datqany bistän darym kilometr bol-yodyj boldy* 'the fire was visible a b o u t half a kilometre away from us' has been translated by Simpson without 'about', so that it amounts to a definite statement.

The form in *-ydyj* is the older one and occurs in the *Грамматика алтайского языка* written by members of the Altai Missions (Kazañ, 1869, 289 pp.). It is identical with the suffix *-yu-dek* of Čayataj, New Uyğur (and Taranči), and Özbek. In modern Oyrot, it is increasingly being replaced by the form in *-yadyj* (< *-yan-deg*) which, according to Dyrenkova, § 95, p. 152, is exclusively used in some Oyrot publications. On the Čayataj form in *-yu-dek* and this form in *-yadyj* cf. Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 247 f., and Menges 'Das Čayatajische in der persischen Darstellung von Mirzā Mahdī Xān', *Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit. in Mainz, Abhandl. der Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl.*, Jahrg. 1956, No. 9, pp. 82 ff. The suffix of the *nomen perfecti* *-yan/-gän* may occasionally exhibit loss of its final when suffixes are attached which have consonants (also *liquida*) as initials; thus, when 'conjugated', it may appear as *-ya-män/-ya-man*, *-ya-sän*, etc., as e.g. in Oyrot, Qazaq, also in Abaqan: *-qa-m*, *-qa-zañ*, 1 pl. *-qa-bys*, 2 pl. *-qa-zār*; in a similar way, *-yadyj* < *-yan-deg*. There is no possibility of linking this form in *-yadyj// -ydyj* with the one

in *-yat*, as Räsänen does, although with a question mark ('Morphologie', p. 190); for in Turkic the gerund in *-yat* is found in Yakut only.

There are different criteria for a classification of the 'conjugated' forms of the Oyrot verb. A classification according to morphological principles would arrive at a threefold division: 1, the forms rendering the person by means of the enclitically attached personal pronouns; 2, those using the possessive suffixes; 3, relics of ancient and now extinct conjugational patterns, surviving only in the categories of imperatives, jussives, or optatives. These would correspond to Simpson's sections A and B (p. 42) and represent the primary forms from which all compound forms—of the verbal compositions—would be derived as secondary ones (those would comprise Simpson's sections C–E). Dyrenkova does not make any attempt at a classification.

In Oyrot, too, the imperativic-optativic forms show their true heterogeneous nature. Secondary intrusions into this category of the forms of the optative-future in *-yaj/-qāj* occur in the earliest Turkic texts as well as in modern Turkic languages, such as Oyrot. Further, as in many other modern Turkic languages, the conditional may serve as a polite order or exhortation, being used mostly in the 2nd pers. sg. and pl. The remainder consists of those imperativic forms which we generally consider as genuine or ancient. In the 1st pers. sg., we have the suffix *-ajyn*, after vowels *-jyn* (probably due to haplology < **-ja-jyn*, as in Uyğur); in the 1st pers. pl., there is *-aly*, after vowels regularly *-jly*, beside which there is *-ajly* after consonants, apparently due to analogy with the forms in *-jly* after vowels (type *ışta-jlı*, *ojno-jly*), and the suffix *-alyq*, consisting of the above-mentioned *-aly* + *-q* of the 1st pers. pl.: *čyγ-alyq*, *ojno-jlyq*. Since the 1st pers. pl. is in certain instances expressed by the suffix *-q/-k*, as occurs also in Finno-Ugric, there is no need to see in these formations an analogy with, or assimilation to, the 1st pl. perf. (as done by Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 229, top). The different forms of this suffix, as demanded by the stem-final of the verb, seem to have disturbed its regular forms, so that cases of contamination occur and forms like *barālyq*, *čyγālyq*, arise beside *barajlyq*, *čyγajlyq*. The same has happened in other modern Turkic languages.

Imperativic forms are easily subjected to contraction, as is evident from forms such as quoted by Dyrenkova (p. 160, bottom) from some dialects (she neither names the dialects nor analyses the forms): *bar-āq*, *danāq*, *ojnōq*, *kālāk* 'let us go, return, play, come!', also used with plural suffix: *barāqtar*, *danāqtar*, *ojnōqtar*, *kālāktar*, and the like, apparently going back to *bar-alyq*, *kāl-ālik*, etc., while the forms of the type *barāldar*, *dūrāldar*, etc., must have developed on the basis of those in *-aly*: < *bar-aly-tar*, etc. Owing to an apparent mistake, Dyrenkova listed the latter forms a second time, under the negative forms of the imperat. 1st pl. (p. 160, last two lines). Phonologically, contraction of two vowels separated by a liquid is rare, but does occur in special cases, as e.g. in the *nomina aoristi* of the type *pār* < *bar-ar*, *pār* < *bar-dr*, *pōr* < *bol-ur*, as found throughout the Siberian Turkic languages, while the common modern Turkic *-tur/-dūr*, etc. < *tur-ur* and cases such as Qazaq *džür* < *jür-ür* (especially

when used as *verbum auxiliare*) either originated in the same way and progressed to the reduction of the length due to contraction or arose from simple haplogy.

For the 2nd pers. imperat. there exist beside the plain root or stem form of the verb two polite forms, one of them being the 2nd person of the conditional, sg. *-za-ŋ*, pl. *-za-γar* < *-za-ŋar* < *-za-ŋ-lar*, the other the form in *-γyn/-gin*, known already from Čayataj where it alternates with the older form in *-γyt/-gil* (cf. also Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 225). The latter is also found in Uyγur and is identical with the Tungus suffix imperat. 2nd pers. Evenki *-kal/-kël* (cf. Menges, 'Das Čayatajische . . .', p. 59). As equivalent of the last-named form in the plural, *-γyla*, *-γyla-γar* is used. Simpson does not give any explanation of this suffix, while Dyrenkova, p. 157, top, identifies it with the suffix of the frequentative-repetitive aspect, *-qyla/-kila-/-γyla/-gila-* (e.g. in *at-qyla* 'to shoot often, repeatedly, to keep shooting', *käs-kila-* 'to cut often; keep cutting'), which is widely distributed in Central Asian and Siberian Turkic languages, itself, without doubt, compounded of the suffix of the *nomen verbale* in *-qy/-ki-/-qu/-kü* and the suffix *-la-* for the formation of denominal verbs, and thus conferring on the verb, also in this instance, an iterative or frequentative-repetitive sense; it is thus parallel to the iterative formation in *-a-la-*, found, as stated above, in many Turkic languages. Viewed formally, this form would be a plain, impolite, imperative of the 2nd person of the frequentative. Yet two reasons might be adduced in favour of Dyrenkova's identification: 1, the parallel occurrence of forms with the possessive 2nd pers. pl. attached, such as *bar-γyla-γar*, *käl-gila-gär*; 2, the fact that the form in *-γyla* as well as that in *-γyla-γar* is used for the 2nd pers. pl. only, which indicates that the expression of a plurality of persons is replaced by the expression of a plurality of actions, a feature not unknown to the Turkic languages; it has an important parallel in the usage of the co-operative aspect in the 3rd pers. pl. in cases of regular omission of the plural suffix (principally with reference to living beings), as are typical for literary Qyryyz, some Özbek dialects (e.g. that of Namangān), and for Oyrot too, in the latter, however, generally restricted to the perfect (Dyrenkova, p. 172). However, in spite of this, the question may well be asked whether the suffix *-γyla* cannot go back either to **-γyn-lar* or, as a reduction of the plural suffix of this type is unknown to Oyrot, to **-γyn-la*, with the emphasizing enclitic *-la* which is fairly common in the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of the optative in *-γaj* (see below): *bar-γaj-la*, negat. *barba-γaj-la*, *kälgäjlä* (as Dyrenkova mentions, pp. 163, n. 3; 164, n. 3). Yet in the latter case, it will be necessary to assume that the development of **-γyn-la* > *-γyla* (through an intermediary **-γylla*) was achieved before the actual rules of assimilation and dissimilation established themselves in the Siberian Turkic languages; for they would demand a development > **-γyn-da*. In the case of **-γyn-lar*, the form *-γyla-γar* would be a recent pleonasm. I agree, therefore, that the identification of the imperative suffix *-γyla* with that of the frequentative-repetitive aspect should be maintained.

The optative in *-γaj/-gāj* (pp. 44 ff.), which in the old languages often functions as a *futurum*, prefers in modern Oyrot the possessive suffixes when serving as predicate. However, in the northern dialects, Tubalar (Jyš-Kiži) and Šalyandu—this is not mentioned by Simpson—the personal suffixes are used beside the possessive ones: 2nd pers. sg. *bar-γaj-zyñ*, pl. *bar-γaj-zyγar*; there is further a form with a vowel assimilation in the last two syllables, *barγajzayar*, and one with subsequent contraction, *barγajzār* (Dyrenkova, p. 163, n. 1). This may be accounted an archaic feature of these dialects. In the 1st pers. pl., contracted forms such as *barγajys*, etc., occur, without a trace of vocalic length ($< *bar-γaj-ȳs < bar-γaj-ybys$, etc.), but beside them there are also forms contaminated with the 1st pl. imperat. in *-alyq*: *barγajlyq*, *körgöjlik* (not mentioned by Simpson, but by Dyrenkova, p. 162 f.); the vocalism of the optative suffix has exerted its influence upon the suffixes of the imperative, as has been shown above.

A rare form is *qonbojym*, e.g. *mān bu dārdā qonbojym* (p. 45, example 4). Simpson's translation 'I shall not spend the night in this place' is not exact since the voluntative or optative nature of the Oyrot form is not given expression. It should rather be 'I don't want to, should not like to . . .', in German 'ich möchte wohl kaum, möchte nicht, möchte ungern . . .'. Dyrenkova, p. 165, bottom, translates it better: я в этом месте, пожалуй, не ночую. Simpson follows Dyrenkova who also lists it under the optative in *-γaj*; however, her quotation reads as follows: *mān bu dārdā (dārgā) qonbojym (qonboγojym)*. This means that *qonbojym* is a phonetic alternate of *qonboγojym*, i.e. that *qonbojym* is a contracted form $< *qonbōjym < qon-bo-γoj-ym$. But under all the paradigms, lavishly listed by Dyrenkova, not a single contracted form is found; although phonetically regular and expected ($VγV > \bar{V}$), this form is evidently avoided for reasons of exterior, phonetic, similarity with other forms; this is seen throughout the Siberian Turkic languages; only Literary Sojōñ (Tuva) and Literary Abaqan (Xaqas) show contraction in the case of the negative optative in *-bāj* $< -ma-γaj$, otherwise the suffix *-γaj* generally avoids any contraction with preceding vowel. The ἀπαξ εἰρημένον of a 3rd sg. opt. negat. with enclitic *-la*, in *kālbāj-la*, Dyrenkova, p. 164, n. 4, $< *kālbāj-la < kāl-bā-gāj-lā$, supports this statement, since it is not matched by one single parallel; the other examples in the same passage are *barbaγaj-la*, *barbaγajlar*. A contracted form as *qonbojym* is very similar to, and can easily be mistaken for, the 1st sg. imperat. neg. *qonbojym*, the confusion with which is furthered by the semantic closeness of both forms.

In composition with the perfect of the defective auxiliary *ā-* (not *ādi-*, as Simpson, p. 46, says), the optative can serve as expression of dubitative, and then, of course, of *irrealis* and *potentialis* (p. 46, examples 8, 9; Dyrenkova, examples, p. 166), but this is to be treated under verbal composition.

The suffix of the perfect is not *-dy* (Simpson, p. 42; Dyrenkova, p. 170; Räsänen, 'Morphologie', p. 229) but simply *-t/-d* (cf. Bang, 'Das negative Verbum der Türksprachen', p. 29; 'Manichaeische Erzähler', *Le Muséon*,

XLIV, 1931, 32 f.; A. v. Gabain, op. cit., § 217, p. 112 f.), after which follow the possessive suffixes designating the person. The suffix of the 3rd person is never omitted, as can be observed since the earliest period of Turkic literature. Occasionally, the form of the perfect is used for the immediately imminent and unavoidable action and has the meaning of a warning (Simpson, p. 43; Dyrenkova, p. 173)—as is well illustrated by the examples. In these examples, the definitive-perfective nature of the action is given preference over the tense-significance, or the speaker represents, in his vivid imagination or talk, the action as having taken place. This can be seen in Uyğur: *ad-tavar tilasdr, bulun*, translated by A. v. Gabain (loc. cit., p. 113) as 'wenn du Hab und Gut wünschst, so bekommst du es jetzt gleich', i.e. as a future (in the form of the present, as usually in NHG); it would perhaps be better to render the second part of the sentence: 'dann hast du es schon'. This usage is also known from Osman Turkish.

Also other forms implying a preterital meaning, usually that of the perfect, may occur in a function of preponderant aspect-significance, completely superseding that of tense; thus, in the following examples, the suffixes *-yažym* and *-yan*, both having the connotation of perfect tense, express the definitive, perfective aspect, without any tense-significance, while only the context shows that they point to the future:

<i>Qan Püdäjä pojy surady :</i>	Qan Püdäjä himself asked (his magic horse) :
<i>'Ölözün tynym ?</i>	'Has my soul to die ?
<i>ösköžün jažym ?</i>	Has my life to come to an end ?
<i>janys nani pildin ? 'tädi.</i>	What only do you know ? 'said he.

(*Proben*, I, 70, 381-4). Used for the expression of tense, all these verbal forms are of a perfect tense, but here the tense recedes before the aspect. Radloff also translates (p. 73) the gerund in *-öžün* with the future, the perfect in *pildin* with the present. A parallel instance, with the *nomen perfecti* in *-yan*, is :

<i>'Qudaj polyssa, akkalarım !</i>	'If God helps, I shall (can) bring (them here) !
<i>Äkkälip-polbozo, öljönüm 'tädi.</i>	If it be impossible to bring (them), I have to die 'said he.

(*ibid.*, 78, 650-1).

Here too, in the function of a tense with the predicate, 'I died, have died' is said—while the plain verbal noun means 'my dying'—but only the aspect value of these forms is meant. They might well be translated by an expression like 'I am finished', or in German 'das ist mein Tod' or 'dann bin ich erledigt; bin ich hin', in Russian тогда я пропал; то мне как. The closest approximation to the Turkic forms in these cases would probably be the Latin *futurum exactum*. Radloff translates (p. 81) with the future.

From the formal viewpoint, it is worth while to mention the two forms of the 1st pers. pl. perf., the one form being *-d-yq/-d-ik*, as in the majority of the

Turkic languages, the other *-dybys*, as typical of ancient Turkic, Orxon, and Uyğur. The suffix *-dybys* is in some dialects (Dyrenkova, p. 171, again does not say in which ones!) contracted to *-d-ys*, where it is found along with the non-contracted form. In Radloff's texts, the last syllable of the possessive suffix is always palatal: *-dybis/-dibis*, etc., under the influence of the enclitical personal pronouns. It occurs along with *-d-yq/-d-ik*; cf. *pardybis* (loc. cit., p. 143, 4 from bottom), *bardik* (145, 10). It is difficult to decide whether the occurrence of *-dybys* is an archaic feature in Oyrot, or whether it is due to an innovation. The same feature of two forms of suffix is seen in the 1st pers. pl. of the conditional, *-za-q* and *-za-bys* (Simpson, p. 43; Dyrenkova, p. 167), where the great majority of the modern Turkic languages has only the suffix *-q/-k*, while the ancient languages have the suffix *-sar* (Old Osman *-ysar*) plus the enclitical personal pronouns. The replacement of the suffix *-ybys* (or *-biz*) by *-q* takes place during the transitional period of late Uyğur to Čayataŷ, the Qutaḍŷu Bilig still having *-sa-byz*, while Rabyūzī uses *-sa-q*. There, Old Osman had the suffix *-saruz/-sāviiz* (< *-sar-biz*) along with *-saq/-sak*. The reduction of the conditional suffix to *-sa* and the attachment of the possessive suffixes is secondary. In Oyrot, we see the same secondary process taking over in the optative in *-yaj* to which are attached, also in the modern languages still making use of it, only the enclitical personal pronouns. Thus, the use of *-ybys* instead of *-q* in the 1st pers. pl. in Oyrot may well be of a secondary nature. This same tendency in treating the 1st pers. pl. will be seen later in the instance of the perfect in *-yan*.

For a more remote perfect, the verbal noun in *-yan/-gan* is used, so that this is the usual form of the past in narration, tales, etc. Some Turkic languages, e.g. those of Central Asia, use this form instead of the one in *-myš/-miš* of Orxon and Uyğur and of the south-western languages, Osman Turkish in particular, in which latter it serves as the expression of the unseen, unwitnessed perfect, the ماضی نقلی or ماضی غیر شهودی, a category, originally alien to Turkic and evidently substituting in the south-western languages for the genuine Turkic aspectual opposition of definitive: indefinite. In the predicative use of this form in *-yan* we find the same conjugational pattern as in the other tenses discussed above. The original suffixation of the enclitical personal pronouns is abandoned in favour of that of the possessive suffixes: *kālgān-im*, *kālgān-in*, etc., together with contracted forms of the type *kālgām*, *kālgān*, etc. (Simpson, p. 49; Dyrenkova, p. 174 f.), as commonly found in Siberia as well as e.g. in Qazaq. Dyrenkova's remark, p. 176, bottom, as to the use of these forms is quite important: the contracted forms are preferred in the function of predicate, while the non-contracted ones usually serve as pure verbal nouns, in the function of subject, object, or attributive and complementary expressions. From the viewpoint of phonology, it is regrettable that Dyrenkova fails to make clear on which suffix the stress falls, while she mentions that the suffixes bear the stress. The 1st pers. pl. in *-yan-ybys*, with the possessive

suffixes, is treated in complete analogy with the other tenses, so that here an alternate form in *-yan-yq*, etc. occurs: *kālgan-ibis/kālgan-ik* 'we came, have come'. Such forms of the 1st pers. pl. rarely appear in Radloff's texts. From the morphological viewpoint, the contracted forms which are preferred when serving as predicate mark a definite step in the evolution from the agglutinative toward the flexivic structural type.

Only in the dialects of the northern tribes, particularly with the Tubalar (Jyš-Kiži), as Dyrenkova, p. 175, states, has the ancient way of formation been preserved in the predicative 2nd person: *čyqqan-zyñ*, *čyqqan-zyγar* (*/-zaγar*), etc. 'you went out', a fact which also implies that this innovation proceeds in movement from south to north.

As in all the Turkic languages of Siberia, the aorist has always the suffix vowel + *r* (*-Vr*), so that verbal stems ending in a vowel show contraction length which is well preserved while in many other cases contraction length has been reduced to a mere full grade syllable without any length, as can well be seen from the examples. Since the 'literary' language exhibits these features, we must assume that this is typical of the southern dialects of Oyrot. In Radloff's texts of the Altay-Kiži, the suffix of the aorist of verbal stems in *-a-* is often *-jr*, resulting probably from an earlier *-yr*, cf. e.g. *maqtajr* 'praises' (1, 6, 76), *qajnajr* 'boils', *ajdajr* 'says, speaks' (6, 78), likewise *mür-γujr* 'offers devotion, prayer; prays' (138, 4 from bottom), etc.

The tense significance of the aorist is—*aoristic*, in the same sense as generally for Turkic or other Altaic languages possessing this tense, not that of a future or *praesens-futurum* (so Simpson, p. 50; Dyrenkova, p. 177), as is sufficiently evident from Simpson's and Dyrenkova's examples. The futuristic meaning is illusory: if in the three examples of a supposed futuristic use of the aorist, as given by Simpson, p. 50, example 1, the attributes of time are omitted, the sentences have no futuristic meaning at all, but the tense remains a plain aorist, a general, a timeless tense. In those instances (as well known in various Turkic languages, e.g. in Qazan) the aorist simply substitutes for the *futurum* for which only a few Turkic languages have formal means of expression. In modern Indo-European the general tendency to abandon the future, for which formal means exist, is observed throughout Central Europe, and is typical for NHG, French, and Italian.

The conjugation of the aorist follows the above common pattern of modern Oyrot, replacing the personal by the possessive suffixes. The forms in *-q/-k* for the 1st pers. pl. are, as it seems, not yet recognized as literary, but they do exist: *bar-ar-yq*, *kal-ar-ik*, etc. (Dyrenkova, p. 178, top; given there as alternate forms), just as it was this form which in the south-western languages first intruded into the aorist scheme: *gal-ar-ik*, *bul-ur-uq*, etc., in Āzari and Qaşqajī, and in the great majority of the Central and East Anatolian dialects of modern Osman Turkish.

The negative aorist shows the picture of complete analogy with the affirmative forms as well as all those of the other tenses. Therefore, it has the appearance

of great regularity—in contradistinction to the negative aorist in Osman Turkish. In accordance with one of the basic phonological laws of all Siberian Turkic languages, occlusive consonants in intervocalic position are either voiced, or else they are geminated. The geminates seem, however, to disappear gradually from some of the Oyrot dialects, also from that which was to become the 'literary language', just as the long vowels there have the general tendency to lose their quantity. Thus, the intervocalic *-s-* of the conjugated negative aorist is due to a geminate, *-ss-* which, in these instances, must have arisen as a result of assimilation or analogy, e.g. 1st sg. aor. neg. *bar-bas-ym*, with Radloff *parbassym* < *bar-bas-men* < *bar-maz-men*, but since an assimilation of this type, *-sm-* > *-ss-* is in Turkic uncommon and therefore improbable, the reason for the *geminata* is, without doubt, the analogy with the 2nd person: sg. *bar-bas-sen* (Radloff: *parbassyn*), pl. *bar-bas-siz* < *bar-maz-sen* resp. *bar-maz-siz*; these forms developed first, according to the law of sound harmony, to *barbassyn*, *barbassyz*, and then, under the influence of the forms with the possessive suffixes, **barbassyn* and **barbassynyz* originate, in the same way as in other Turkic languages, *inter alia* in Osman Turkish. The personal element *-siz* was replaced, as was the personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. pl. *siz* itself by the more recent hybrid *slär* (< *siz-lär*, i.e. the pronoun + the nominal plural suffix *-lar*, while the pronominal plural suffix is *-z*, surviving in the personal pronouns; Dyrenkova, p. 90, § 48, thinks that *slär* is < *sen-lär*, which is possible, too), by the form *-synar* < **syn-lar*, like the possessive 2nd pl. *-ynar* < **yn-lar*, in contrast to the purely pronominal form *-ynyz*, resp. by *-syvar* and *-yvar* < **yn-lar*; since intervocalic *η* and *γ* may either alternate or be reduced completely, contraction ensues: *-sär* resp. *-är*, e.g. *barbassär*, *kälbässär*, occurring in some (which?) dialects, but not being recognized by the literary language which has only *-(s)yvar*/*-(s)igär*. The geminate, still existent in Radloff's texts and, according to Dyrenkova, p. 179, top, in present-day vivid speech, is monophthongized in modern dialects, including that which was raised to the rank of the Oyrot literary language.

According to an annotation of Dyrenkova's, § 111, 3, p. 179, forms with *-z-*, i.e. *barbazym*, *barbazyn*, *barbazybys*, *barbazyvar*, occur in ordinary grammars of the Oyrot language. These would consist of the original suffix of the negative aorist in *-maz* to which the possessive suffixes are immediately attached. Dyrenkova, however, does not take any position in this matter, nor does she indicate whether she ever has heard these forms, so that we are left to suppose her to doubt their existence.

Neither Dyrenkova nor Simpson mentions the occurrence of a short variety of the 1st sg. aor. negat. in *-man/-mān* which is known, so far, from Qoman, Čayataj (since Rabyūzi), and Qazaq, and is similar to the Osman Turkish 1st sg. aor. neg. in *-mam/-mām*, with its final *-m* due to the influence of the possessive suffixation (cf. Brockelmann, *Gramm.*, p. 236 f.; Menges, 'Das Čayatajische . . .', p. 50 f.).¹ In Oyrot, this form occurs in Radloff's texts,

¹ In view of the occurrence of this form as early as in Čayataj, with Rabyūzi (1310), and as far east as in Siberian Turkic, I do not think that I can maintain my earlier supposition of a possible western (Oyuzic) origin of this form in Čayataj, as stated there.

but is rare, e.g. Tel. *tižürmān* (110, 862) 'I don't let fall, don't drop', *purutū āmān* (111, 883) 'I am not guilty', *pilmān* (173, 6 from bottom) 'I don't know'. These forms are archaic and now seem to have been completely extinguished; their relative antiquity is evident from the fact that the usual dissimilation of the anlaut of the negative suffix *-ma/-mā* does not take place here, cf. e.g. *pilbāssim* (173, 7), or *tižürbāssim*, as the longer form of *pil-* and *tiž-ür-* would be. The occurrence of this short-form in Qoman and Čayataj likewise speaks in favour of its archaic nature. The Osman form in *-mam/-mām*, however, seems to be of later origin (no historical data on this form are given in Deny's *Grammaire*; the materials as hitherto published in the *Tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü*, I-IV, seem to support this theory).

The compound verbal form in *-atan/-ātān* (with some—probably the northern—dialects still *-attan/-ättān*, as regular in Radloff's texts) cannot be classified within the category of tense. Both Simpson and Dyrenkova call it a future, which is only correct in so far as it may, in the function of a *necessitativum*, point to the future. It has the same function as its equivalent in the other Turkic languages, as e.g. that in *-atıγan*, (>) *-atım* in Qazaq-Qaraqalpaq, and in *-a-tur-γan/-a-dur-γan*, the uncontracted forms, in Čayataj, Özbek, and New Uyγur, i.e. its functions are mainly of an aspect-, not those of a tense-character. This is particularly valid for its two chief functions, necessitative and durative, frequentative or habitual action in both past and present.

For conjugation, the suffixation is the same as in the other groups, also that of the possessive suffixes, wherewith, as in the forms of the verbal noun in *-γan*, contraction may arise: 1st sg. *baratan-ym* and *baratam*, 2nd sg. *baratan-yn* and *baratan*, etc. (Simpson, p. 51; Dyrenkova, pp. 180 ff.). In the 1st pers. pl., there appears the alternate form with the suffix *-q/-k*: *baratan-ybys* and *baratan-yq*, etc. It does not occur in the negative forms, according to Dyrenkova's paradigms (pp. 182 ff.). In some dialects of the Northern Altai, mainly with the Tubalar (Jyš-Kiži), remains of the ancient suffixation of the personal pronouns occur: 2nd sg. *baratan-zyñ*, 2nd pl. *baratan-zy-γar* (*-za-γar*), negat. *barbajtan-zyñ*, etc. This has exerted a secondary influence upon the form of the 1st person sg. in these dialects: *baratan-zym* (Dyrenkova, p. 182, top). Here, the 1st pers. pl. has the contracted form *baratan-ys*, *kālaidnis*, with reduction of the vocalic length. Moreover, some dialects (which ones, Dyrenkova does not say, p. 149, bottom) have preserved the original geminate of the suffix, as regular in Radloff's texts: *parattan* 'having to walk, go', *polotton* 'being forced to become, etc.' (while the negative form also has the geminate in Radloff: *parbajttan*, *polbojtton*, as in other instances too, the geminate is found in Radloff: *pajttal/majttal* 'steed, mare' in the Siberian Turkic languages, in contrast to *bajtal* in other Turkic languages).

As in the instance of the verbal noun in *-γan*, the longer, non-contracted forms in *-atan-ym*, *atan-yn*, etc., are preferred in purely nominal usage, i.e. syntactically speaking, when occurring in the function of subject, object, or

attribute, while the contracted forms in *-atam*, *-atan*, etc., are preferred in 'purely verbal' usage, i.e. in the function of *verbum finitum* and predicate.

The verbal noun in *-γadyj/-γydyj* (cf. *supra*, and Simpson, pp. 40, 52; Dyrenkova, § 95, pp. 151 ff.)—the form in *-γydyj* being the older one—also uses the possessive suffixes in predicative function, but seems to have in the 1st pers. pl. the suffix *-ybys* only. The possessive suffix of the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. is always omitted, in the plural, the suffix *-lar* being rarely attached (Dyrenkova, *ibid.*). In the Turkic languages possessing the form in *-γudek*, it is but rarely found in predicative function; if it occurs as such, it is usually in the 3rd pers. sg. or pl.

From the viewpoint of morphological evolution, the Oyrot *praesens-futurum* in *-a-t/-ā-t* is the transitional form from the simple verbal formation to that of the verbal composition, as richly developed in Oyrot as in any Turkic language making use of this particular morphological means. Simpson treats this form under verbal composition, p. 63, example 3. The Oyrot *praes.-fut.* in *-a-t* originated later than the above formations and consists either of an extremely reduced form of a composition of the verbal noun (gerund) in *-a/-ā* with a form of the verb *tur-* 'to stand, to be' (as Dyrenkova thinks, p. 185, § 113), serving in almost all Turkic languages as an auxiliary giving the main verb a durative, definitive, or necessitative meaning (or aspect, respectively), or it is the result of a form, reduced, in a different manner, of the auxiliary *jat-* 'to lie down, be lying', as is regular in that function in Qaraqalpaq: *barat-* < *bar-a-jat-* 'to be walking, used to walk, keep walking, be on one's way'. According to Dyrenkova's note, p. 187, top, forms of the type *bara-dyr*, *kūla-dir* do occur: but since she does not mention whether they are found in the entire paradigm or in the 3rd only, it is not possible to come to a conclusion in favour of either *tur-* or *jat-* as auxiliary. The meaning of this form bears much more an aspect- than a tense-character; thus, Simpson's statement 'used for near future' is quite inadequate, especially after Dyrenkova's (p. 188). As may be assumed on the basis of the formations in the Turkic languages, it was probably the aorist of *tur-*, or *jat-* respectively, which was used in this composition, but this cannot be concluded from its present Oyrot form. This form in *-a-t* which cannot occur independently, i.e. as an ordinary verbal noun—except that it serves in the function of predicate, in the 3rd pers. (sg. and pl.)—takes on, as all the other conjugated forms, the possessive suffixes: *bar-a-d-ym*, *bar-a-d-yŋ*, etc. (cf. Radloff: *kāz-ā-d-īm* 'I shall cut', *soq-po-j-d-ym* 'I shall not beat', *mīn-mā-j-d-īm* 'I shall not mount (the horse)', *kāz-ā-d-iŋ-mā?* 'will you cut?', *soy-o-d-yŋ-ma* 'will you beat?', I, 74, 521, 522; 75, 525, 526, 538), with the exception of that of the 3rd person which takes no suffix indicating person. The 1st pl. has two variants, as is usual in the other categories too: *bar-a-d-ybys* and *bar-a-d-yq*, etc.; this also occurs in Radloff. This formation has resorbed the usual later (late-Uyğur and early-Çaytay) and modern Turkic *praesens-futurum* formed from the gerund in *-a* plus the enclitical personal pronouns, e.g. Özb. *bārā-mam/bār-a-men*, etc., which is lacking in

Oyrot now, at least in the literary language, but still existed in Radloff's time, e.g.: *pär-ä-zin-bä?* 'will you give?' (I, 57, 940), *kiräzin-bä* 'will you enter?' (27, 5), *kiräzinär* 'you will enter' (176, 7), *sanajzyn* 'you think' (173, 7 from bottom), *tabazynar-ba?* 'will you find?' (134, 7 from bottom). This is a general tendency throughout the Siberian Turkic languages, found in the two other groups as well. The modern 'literary' languages, Xaqas and Tuva, do not recognize the *praesens-futurum* in *-a* at all, but replace it by other forms, usually compounded ones or those originating from compositions. Only Yakut has preserved the *praesens-futurum* in *-a* while showing, in the 3rd pers. sg. and pl., an intrusion of the aorist (cf. Böhtlingk, § 517, p. 208; Xaritonov, § 136, pp. 190 ff.). The 3rd pers. (sg.) often has, however, also in the other Turkic languages, the form *bar-a-ds* (N. Uyğur), *bära-ds* (Özb.), or *bara-dy* (Qazaq) < **bar-a-tur* < **bar-a-tur-ur*, if the designation of the 3rd person is felt necessary; the ancient languages used, instead of *-tur-ur* for the designation of the 3rd person with verbal nouns of various tenses the (demonstrative) pronoun *ol*. In New Uyğur, the 3rd pers. *praes.-fut.* is never formed without the suffix *-ds*, while in most languages it is optional, but by far the preferred form. In some instances, the suffix must be attached, or else the form remains insufficiently defined, as e.g. in the Qazaq *plusquamperfectum* of the type *baryppyn* 'I had gone' < *bar-yp-men*, 3rd pers. *barypty*, although this form coincides with the 3rd pers. *barypty* < **bar-yp-e-di* having, besides that of a *plusquamperfectum*, the preterital function in *irrealis* and *potentialis* clauses.

Relic forms of the common-Turkic *praesens-futurum* in *-a* + personal pronouns still occur in the more conservative and archaic northern dialects, especially that of the Jyş-Kiži, where, in the 2nd person there have been preserved, along with the above forms, the older ones of the type *barazyn*, *barazyar*, *käläzin*, *käläzigär*, negat. *barbajzyn*, etc. (Dyrenkova, p. 187, top). Surprisingly enough, Dyrenkova commits the error of considering these forms as being due to a phonetic alternation *d/z* (*sic, ibid.*).

It might be mentioned here, *en passant* and more for the sake of comparison, that in proto-Indo-European, the future as a morphologically distinguished tense is of secondary, probably later origin (cf. Brugmann, *Kurze vgl. Gramm.*, § 629, pp. 486 ff.; § 739 ff., pp. 566 ff.), and that within Indo-European, Slavic does not possess a future, but the Slavic tense-system is characterized—and here it shows a close relationship to that of Altaic (and Uralic as well)—by the opposition *praesens praeteritum*. If a need for the future tense had been continuously felt in Slavic (i.e. by the speakers of Slavic), this tense which was without doubt inherited and still alive during the proto-Slavic period would not have been abandoned at some later epoch of the proto-Slavic period. What is called a future in Slavic is a verbal composition, a *futurum periphrasticum* of verbs in the indefinite/imperfective aspect, while the perfective future is, morphologically viewed, only the present of verbs in the perfective aspect, i.e. not a real, absolute future, but a present which under certain conditions renders the perfective action which has not yet taken

place—and therefore is to be achieved in the future only—but which is not necessarily and under all circumstances an action taking place in the future only. It must not be forgotten that the Old East Slavic (Old Russian) language offers plenty of evidence of a true presentic character of the present with verbs of perfective aspect, so that in the ancient language the so-called perfective aspect had the quality of a definitive aspect, in the same sense as in the Altaic and Uralic languages. This fact again draws an important parallel between Slavic (and especially ancient East Slavic) and the Altaic languages, particularly Turkic. Whether this can be said about all the Slavic languages remains to be seen. It would seem, however, that the East and West Slavic languages from which we possess older texts (i.e. antedating the sixteenth century) show a greater agreement among themselves than e.g. with South Slavic which exhibits, as do some other individual Slavic languages, especially those of later periods, some particular features, also with regard to the future tense. But these may be results of historical development which, in these instances, had a centrifugal tendency.

In Oyrot, as in all Turkic languages, the verbal composition, effected by two or more verbs, is, from the purely morphological viewpoint, of a twofold type: 1, the main verb may assume the form of one of the verbal nouns which can occur in adnominal position, i.e. serve as participles; and 2, the main verb may assume the form of a verbal noun which can occur in adverbial position, i.e. serve as a gerund. The suffixes of the *verbum finitum*—or, at least, the Turkic equivalent of a *verbum finitum*—are attached to the last link in the group which necessarily is the auxiliary. This composition may produce certain phonetic results, usually those of contraction and syllabic reduction, which occur only in these instances but are otherwise unknown. In this phonetic respect, the different Siberian Turkic languages follow different rules, but those of syllabic contraction in certain frequently occurring auxiliaries are in principle common to all of them.

With regard to their meaning and syntactical function, the Turkic verbal compositions fulfil two main tasks: 1, formation of tense—this would be the formation of periphrastic tenses, such as imperfect, pluperfect, and, as a transitional type to group 2, *irrealis* and *potentialis* which in Turkic, in a degree similar to Romance, are, morphologically viewed, tenses; and 2, formation of aspect—durative, iterative, frequentative, and a number of definitive/perfectivic shades, their meaning determined by that of the auxiliary, so that, in these instances, the auxiliaries have the function of the prepositional prefixes of the Indo-European verb: modification of the action in the sense of the meaning of the Turkic auxiliary plus expression of aspect.

The Turkic languages possess two types of aspect expression: 1, that effected by primary verbal suffixes, following immediately behind the verbal root/base or primary stem, i.e. those which have the function of expressing what in other language groups is represented by the *genera verbi*, the voices, and further the transitive/causative, co-operative/reciprocal, desiderative, etc.,

action; and 2, that rendered by the verbal composition. Languages of other Altaic groups, as e.g. the North Tungus Evenki and Lamut languages, possessing an extremely rich and differentiated system of primary aspect-suffixation with a wide range of modal specifications of an action, have naturally no need of developing an aspect-forming verbal composition of the Turkic type. The primary aspect-suffixation of those Tungus languages seems to be very old, since the suffixes rarely appear to consist of one element only, but are actual clusters of suffixes which have coalesced into new units, just as the majority of the Indo-European (verbal) suffixes, consisting of more phonemes than one short vowel or one consonant, definitely point to a very ancient syncretion of suffix clusters which had once been very similar in structure to those of present-day Northern Tungus.

These two main functions of the Turkic verbal composition are not clearly distinguished in the morphology, let us say, in such a way that type 1 of the composition—that with a ‘participle’—would in all cases serve as a composition of tense formation, and type 2—the composition with a ‘gerund’—would in all cases serve as a composition of aspect formation. While this may be used as a basic and overall rule, there are, however, instances of overlapping or of a transitional character, and this is the case in all Turkic languages, though in a varying degree. Historically, the verbal composition of aspect forming nature seems almost absent in the oldest language and develops in the historical period of Turkic, while the tense forming compositions, the periphrastic formations, are known from the earliest period onwards. There are Turkic languages with a certain underdevelopment of the aspect forming verbal composition, as e.g. Osman Turkish which, by the end of the classical literary period (end of the eighteenth century), had abandoned the incipient development of these formations, known from texts of the earlier literary period (fourteenth-seventeenth centuries). As a compensation for this shortcoming, the Osman language shows a richly developed verbal periphrasis for tense formation, perhaps more richly developed than in any other Turkic language.

Since there is no clear-cut morphological distinction in Turkic, Dyrenkova does not clarify the types of verbal composition, but lists them under the various auxiliaries (§ 114 ff., pp. 190 ff.). But Simpson attempts a classification (pp. 53–67) and makes two main distinctions (1, auxiliary verbs of limitation; 2, auxiliary verbs of conjugation), which exactly correspond to the above two types of aspect formation and of tense periphrasis. In view of the lack of unambiguous morphological distinction, however, Simpson is often misled so that he confuses the two basic categories. In the second group, ‘auxiliary verbs of conjugation’, the subdivision is made, as by Dyrenkova, according to the different auxiliaries. It should have struck Simpson that sub-section D I (b) (p. 58, top; ‘Use as verbs of limitation’ is a correct statement for its sub-heading) belongs under the preceding section, C, ‘The auxiliary verbs of limitation’.

In their conjugation, the auxiliaries *dat-*, *tur-*, *otur-*, and *dür-* show, when

used in the aorist, special cases of haplological syllable contractions, typical of these much-used auxiliaries, as shown by Simpson (p. 57) and Dyrenkova (p. 195); only *dat-* may occasionally preserve the uncontracted original form of the *nomen aoristi* *dad-yr*. For the expression of the person, the possessive suffixes have been generalized, also in the 3rd person; here, along with *dad-y* and the longer (and older) *dad-yr-y*, the short form *dat* is also possible. In the 1st pers. pl., the suffix *-yq/-ik* appears beside the older *-ybys/-ibis/-ubys/-übis* which latter is, according to Dyrenkova, p. 196, top, still the most used form.

As e.g. in Qazaq-Qaraqalpaq and Özbek, the auxiliary *jat-* may form a complete entity with its main verb: *barādyr*, *kālddir*; *baradyr*, *kāldir*; *brādyr*, *klādir*, and in the 3rd person even the ultracontracted, monosyllabic *brāt*, *klāt* appear, all these forms being from **bar-a-jat-yr*, **kāl-a-jat-yr*. This intimate composition has the durative meaning of being concerned with, engaged in, an action, as 'to be going, coming, etc. (at a particular time)', in German 'am Gehen, Kommen, etc., sein; dabeisein, zu gehen, kommen' (Simpson, p. 61; Dyrenkova, § 119, p. 197 f., with paradigm of conjugation). This is closest to the Qaraqalpaq type, *baratyr* < **bar-a-jat-yr*, while Özbek uses for the expression of the same meaning, the 'progressive', as Polivanov called it, a more complex composition, e.g. *qylajappan*, *kelajappan* 'I am just (now) making, coming' < **qyl-a-jat-yp-men*, **kel-ā-jat-yp-men*. These concretions of main verb and auxiliary point, on the one hand, to a certain age—they seem to be older than the other verbal compositions—and on the other hand, to a certain frequency of use which always produces specific phonetic phenomena outside of, or along with, the phonological rules (type Latin *ambulare* > French *aller*).

These intimate compositions with *jat-* function very often as second link of further, tripartite verbal compositions, as a number of examples exhibit: cf. *ānir kirip-kālāt* (Simpson, p. 61, bottom; misprint энip instead of энip) 'evening is coming on', or *ākinči kün ol bojynyn turazyna dūqtap-qlāttı* (/ -klātti is also possible, as Dyrenkova states, but the form given by her in the first place shows the closeness and intimacy of this composition by the complete sound-harmony of the entire complex which is from an older **jayruq-la-p-kel-ā-jat-ty*) 'on the second day, he was about to approach his living place', or, rendered in German, 'am zweiten Tag war er dabei, sich seinem eigenen Wohnort zu nähern' (Dyrenkova, p. 198, middle, на второй день он приближался к своему дому—where also the Russian imperfective preterite does not render this particular durative shade of the action).

The compositions of the *nomen aoristi* of *tur-* with the main verb in the gerund in *-p* (Simpson, p. 62, section D II (c) 3) designate sometimes an aorist, usually a preterite which contains a strong element of uncertainty or a dubitative moment. This is well described by Dyrenkova, § 120, p. 198, less so by Simpson. A very illustrative example is listed by Dyrenkova: *ärtän tura-turup-kālālā körzö, onyn tōzi öküp-qat-yan-datty: qānmyñ sāmıs tölöri täpsäp-qojtyr* 'when he comes and looks, after having arisen early in the morning, his camel was

lying there dead; the Qān's fat camels must have (seem to have; apparently have) trampled it dead' (p. 199, top).

It is interesting to note that in the main verb the suffixal syllable in *-yp* may undergo complete reduction, as is the rule in most South Siberian Turkic languages, a fact which only can be explained on the basis of a certain type of accentuation, originally avoiding the syllable containing the suffix *-yp* (cf. Menges, 'The South-Siberian Turkic languages, I', *CAJ*, I, 1955, pp. 124 and 133 ff.). It seems that this phonetic development is of recent origin, since it occurs in texts of the last 30 years much oftener than in those of earlier date. Whether this is a general tendency in the Siberian Turkic languages, or whether it started from one certain point, is so far impossible to say. The complete equivalence of the original form with the reduced one is clearly recognizable in Dyrenkova's examples (p. 199, top): *nadym artpas čagta artū-ā r i p t i r, člbōs čagta olō-b ā r t i r* 'my friend certainly perished at a time when he ought not to have perished yet, he certainly died at a time when he ought not to have died yet'.

The examples listed by Simpson under section D II (d) 3 (p. 63, bottom) are rather to be considered as compositives with *jat-* > *dat-* not with *tur-*.

The two verbs *bol-* 'to become, be' and *ā-* 'to be' are treated together in section D III. Both play an essential rôle in verbal composition. Here again, their functions are not discernible in their actual morphological habitus. Thus, *bol-* functions mainly as second (or last) element in aspectual compositions (Simpson, section D III (b), p. 65), while the principal function of *ā-*, as in all Turkic languages, is that of tense-periphrasis. In this latter function it appears in the earliest Turkic language monuments. The tense-function of compositions with *ā-* is not represented clearly enough by Simpson; thus, e.g., the composition of the main verb in the *nomen perfecti* in *-γaz* with the perfect of *ā-* has throughout the Turkic languages the meaning of a *plusquamperfectum*; likewise, the tense (and for Indo-European use, also the mood) significance of the forms of the type *barar-ādim* and *barγaj-ādim* (Simpson, p. 67, top; Dyrenkova, § 128, p. 204) is insufficiently specified, although they have the meaning of English 'should have . . .' in conditional sentences; they exert a different function, when independently used (in main sentences): *barγaj-ādim* an optative one, while, at present, *barar-ādim* seems to have the function of *irrealis* or *potentialis* also in main sentences, and no longer that of a plain imperfect as in other Turkic languages.

At the present period, the verb *ā-* is defective in Oyrat as in most Turkic languages. When used as copula, the form of the perfect is used in the function of the present, since no other forms have survived. The 1st pers. pl. has the form *ādibis*, while *ādik* seems to be lacking. The negative aorist *āmas* still exists as a petrified relic, for a form like **ābas* would be expected in Oyrat (Uygur: *ar-maz*, posit.: *ār-ūr*). The possessive suffixes designating person are mechanically attached: *āmāz-im*, *čmaz-ın*, etc. (Simpson, p. 66, top), as against the Oyrat pattern of the negative aorist.

The form *āmtir*, meaning 'seem(s) to be, apparently is (are)', an emphatic expression representing a conclusion with an element of doubt left, considered by Dyrenkova as a composition of the *nomen aoristi tur-ur* with 'a particle *ām*' (§ 120, p. 199—with numerous examples), is, as I think, correctly listed by Simpson under *ā-*, since it is a composition of *tur-ur* with a form of *ā-*. However, *āmīr* is not simply a composition of *ā-* + *tur-ur*, as Simpson supposes (p. 66, top), since a verbal base or root cannot be compounded immediately with the auxiliary; furthermore, the *-m-* remains unexplained. As long as the different Turkic languages yield no other variants, *āmīr* admits of several explanations. It could be from **ājmi-turur* < **ā-j-mi-tur-ur*, with the interrogative *-my/-mi* between main verb and auxiliary; this formation, pres.-fut. in *-a* of *ā-*, would be rather old. Similarly, it could be from **ar-ā-mi-tur-ur*, the same form of *ār-* (< *ā-r-*). On the other hand, a negative might be inherent in this form: the pres.-fut. negat. **ā-mā-j-tur-ur* or the aor. neg. **ā-mā-s-tur-ur*, likewise from the stem *ā-r-*. All these formations would be older than the dissimilatory change of *-m-* of the negative > *-b-/p-* which in the newer languages has completely replaced the original form in *-m-* (cf. Dyrenkova, § 83, p. 130). The negation may very well be used in rhetorical questions of this type; thus, cf. *ābāj* 'is not' > 'indeed is' in *māniñ at sādayym ābāj, palam* 'mein Pferd und Köcher ist es, mein Kind' (I, 35, 192), *akkalip pūlap -qojyon-ābāj* 'he (the horse) has been brought here and tied up', 'hergebracht und angebunden ist es (sc. das Pferd)' (I, 35, 196), or the usage of *turbaj* 'is not; does not stand' > 'indeed is', as found in Teleut with Radloff: '*Qara dylan qara sayyıştu turbaj*' *tāp*, '*aq dylan aq sanatū turbaj*!' *tāp*, "'The black snake has a black mind" saying, "the white snake has white thoughts" saying' (I, 86, 41-4); the negative *āmaj* as an emphatic statement in *andyj āmaj* 'such he (she, it) is', такоѣ (таков) и есть (Dyrenkova, p. 95, bottom). *Āmtir* is also used in expressions of admiration and astonishment: (Oyrot) '*taš tujyaqtū āmtir*', *tādi*, '*qamyš qulaqtū āmtir*' "'They (do) have stone hoofs!'", said he, "they (do) have ears from reed!'" (I, 176, 14, 13 from bottom). In Radloff's Oyrot texts, *āminā* is used for the emphatic statement along with *āmīr* (cf. e.g. I, 145, 8 from bottom; 150, 11); neither its origin nor that of *āmīšnā* (e.g. 145, 4) can be discussed here. *Āmtir* can assume possessive suffixes.

The fact should be stressed that, like the South-west Turkic languages, Oyrot, as of the last few decades, no longer possesses a simple form of the *praesens*, a present tense which is to be represented as such, as an action taking place at the time it is spoken of. In the majority of instances, where the Indo-European languages make use of the present tense, Oyrot and many other Turkic languages use the aorist in *-(V)r* or the *praesens-futurum* in *-a*. The latter seems to have completely vanished from Oyrot though it still existed about 100 years ago, since it occurs in Radloff's *Proben*, I. It is of the same formation, from the gerund in *-a/-ā*, as in the majority of the modern Turkic languages, as said above, but in Radloff's time it was already beginning to be

replaced by the compound *praesens-futurum* in *-a-d-ym*, *-a-d-yn*, etc. < **a-jat-a-men* or **a-jat-ur-men* (cf. Dyrenkova, § 113, pp. 185 ff., who thinks the auxiliary is *tur-*, which is not excluded); this replacement is now complete, at least in the literary language. Furthermore, there are in Oyrot two verbal compositions, serving as pure presentic tenses, one in *-a-dyr* (Dyrenkova, § 119, p. 197, who calls it настоящее незаконченное действие) < **a-tur-ur* or, less probably, **a-jat-yr*, a *praesens definitivum durativum*, preponderantly used with the verbs of motion *bar-* and *kāl-*, occasionally with *tur-*, otherwise being rare. In these compositions, the verbs *bar-* and *kāl-* can undergo rigorous contractions, as said above, > *brāt* and *klāt*, showing the permanent grinding down of these forms through frequent use. *Bar-* and *kāl-*, in the *praes. defin. durat.*, are frequently used as second parts of tripartite verbal compositions, e.g. *ḍūqtap-klādiri* 'is just (now) approaching', 'ist dabei, sich zu nähern', *tūlar kōrūnbāj-barāt (-turāt)* 'the mountains are not visible [any more]; remain invisible'. The second verbal composition is that in *-yp-dat*, called by Dyrenkova (§ 125, p. 201) настоящее время, which is a *praesens definitivum*, containing a kind of punctual shade of meaning, indicating that the action is taking place at the same moment as it is spoken about: *biḥip-dadyṃ* (along with *biḥip-dadyryṃ*) 'I am writing (just now, at this moment)', in German 'ich bin am Schreiben'. The conjugational scheme is characterized by two sets of forms, a longer one, *alyṃ-dadyryṃ* 'I am taking (just now)', and a shorter one, *alyṃ-dadyṃ*; the person is expressed, as always, by the possessive suffixes; in the 3rd person, the longer form requires the possessive: *alyṃ-dadyry*, while the shorter form has no suffix: *alyṃ-dat*. In the 1st pers. pl., there exists, beside the plain possessive formation, also that in *-yq/-ik*: *alyṃ-dadyryq/alyṃ-dadyq*. In my opinion, the existence of two forms is not to be explained as originating from one and the same prototype, *alyṃ-dadyryṃ* > *alyṃ-dadyṃ*, but from two different forms, one of which was the composition with the *praesens futurum* in *-a* of the auxiliary, i.e. **alyṃ-jat-a-men*, while the other, the longer form, is still well preserved in the aorist of the auxiliary, **alyṃ-jat-yr-ym/-men*. If there was once any difference in meaning, it must have been so minute that in time it easily became effaced. The forms of the 2nd persons of the type sg. *kālip-dazyṃ*, pl. *kālip-dazyṃar/-dazyṃar/-dazyṃdar*, as found in some dialects—Dyrenkova, p. 202 again does not say in which ones—seem to point to an older **kālip-jat-a-syṃ*, *-jat-a-syṃ-lar*, etc. Complete reduction of the gerundial suffix-syllable of the main verb when ending in a consonant also occurs in this instance, but those forms are not recognized by the literary language; this reduction may provoke compensatory lengthening in the base (root) syllable: *āt-dadyṃ* beside *at-dadyṃ*, *kāl-dadyṃ*, *bār-dat*, etc. These forms are of the same type as commonly found in Šor and the entire Abaqan group: Šor: *ottur-čadyr* (I, 311, 34) 'he is sitting', *ülāp-pār-čadyr* (311, 27) 'is distributing, meting out', *par-čadyr* (*passim*) 'is walking, going', with contraction and subsequent reduction in the auxiliary: Šor: *saṭ-čar* (343, 25) 'is arranging', *čyp-čar* 'is gathering'

(< *jyy-yp-jat-yr) (343, 26), *nan-čar* (361, 434) 'is returning, on his way back' (< *jan-yp-jat-yr); *Saγaj*: *čip-čadyr* (II, 1, 5) 'is eating', *ajt-čadyr* 'is saying, says' (II, 1, 6), with contraction: *pil-čām* (II, 205, 1109) 'I know'; Literary Abaqan ('Xaqas'): *par-čam* 'I am (just now) walking, going', 2nd sg. *par-čazyň*, 3rd *par-ča*, etc. < *par-a* or *par-yp* + *jat-a-men* or *jat-yr-men*; along with those, the longer forms of the auxiliary occur, but preferably with the verbs of motion *par-* and *kil-*: 1st sg. *par-čadyr-byň*, 2nd sg. *par-čadyr-zyň*, 3rd *kil-čadır* (Baskakov and Inkižekova-Grekul in the appendix to the Xaqas-Russ. dictionary, Moscow, 1953, §§ 162 f., p. 451 f.).

Since the gerund in *-p* is, in the negative form, usually replaced by that in *-a*, the negative of this present also makes use of the gerund in *-a*: cf. *albay-dadyrym(-dadym)*, etc. Šor has in these cases negative forms of the type e.g. *pilbān-čadyr* 'he does not know', *ölbön-čadyr* 'he does not die' (I, 320, 323 ff.), contractions either of the negative *nomen perfecti* *-ma-γan* or, and this assumption seems likely, parallel to the suffix *-bīn* of Literary Abaqan and some of the languages of the Abaqan group, such as Lit. Abaqan *parbīn-čam* 'I am not going', the suffix *-bīn* being < *-bajyn/-bājīn* < **-ma-t-yn*.

The present of the South-west Turkic languages—with the exception of Āzarī—is also a verbal composition, effected by the contracted *nomen aoristi* of the auxiliary *jory-* 'to go, walk, run' plus the vocalic gerund in *-a* (*-y*, *-u*) of the main verb: cf. Osm. *ahyjorum* < *at-a* (or *at-y*, *at-u*) + *jory-r-ym*(/–*men*) 'I am taking (now)', *ğülüjorum* < *ğül-a* (or *ğül-i*, *ğül-u*) + *jory-r-ym*(/–*men*) 'I am laughing (now)'. Only in some Anatolian dialects there is an incipient palatalization of the auxiliary in position after a palatal main verb, e.g. *ğülijör*, *ğälijör*, *ğülijör*, *ğälijör*, while in the majority of the Türkmen dialects this palatalization has become the rule: *ğäljär*, *ğüljär*, etc., with preserved contraction length (cf. Menges, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur vergleichenden Grammatik des Türkmenischen', *Archiv Orientalní*, XI, 7 ff.). The vowel *o* or *ö* respectively, preserved in a number of varieties of this suffix, is, in my opinion, the strongest argument in favour of *jory-* as the original second part of those compositions (cf. Deny, op. cit., § 613, p. 391 f.; Räsänen, 'Morphologie . . .', p. 224). In the modern Osman language, this tense more and more begins to lose its original meaning of an action taking place at or during the time or moment it is spoken about (Polivanov's 'progressive') and it tends towards combining the entire domain of presentic and aoristic action, while the progressive present is gradually being replaced by the composition of the locative of the verbal noun in *-maq/-māk* + the possessive or personal suffixes designating the present (with *-dyr/-där* < **tur-ur* in the 3rd person), and the perfect of the *verbum defectivum* *ā-/i-* for the past which may further be specified by periphrastic compositions with the same *ā-/i-*.

Sporadically, some other, marginal, types of verbal composition occur which are of a different morphological nature. They are not specially mentioned by Simpson; Dyrenkova enumerates some of them towards the end of the chapter on the verb. One of them is listed by Simpson under section

D I (c) ('Auxiliary verbs of conjugation'), p. 59—where it does not belong, namely the dative of the *nomen aoristi* with *dat.*, indicating the intention or wish to do something. According to Dyrenkova, §§ 122, 126, for this mode of expression also the auxiliaries *tur-*, *otur-*, and *dür-* can be used. This expression is rather to be treated in a chapter on syntax. The same construction with the dative of the *nomen aoristi*, having the function of the Indo-European *supinum*, is used in connexion with *bil-bä-* 'not to be able to; cannot', as an alternative to the verbal composition of the gerund in *-p* with *bol-bo-*, e.g. *adyñ tudup-bolbody* 'he could not catch the (his) horse', perfectivized in *män ony köriup-bolboj-saldym* я не мог его увидеть (Simpson, p. 65, top; Dyrenkova, § 132, p. 206), 'I could not see him at all; absolutely not'. But expressions such as *qar dāyanča turdy*, i.e. *aequativus* of *nomen perfecti* in *-yan + tur-*, 'the snow kept falling; it kept snowing' which should not have been listed by Dyrenkova under *dat-*, *tur-*, etc. (§ 118) only, although they are synonymous with those in *-yp-tur-*, are no plain verbal compositions, but constructions which are to be treated in the syntax. The constructions of the plain, suffixless, *nomen aoristi* which occasionally may be replaced by the *nomen perfecti* in *-yan*, with *bol-* expressing the intention or desire, like the Özbek constructions of the *nomen verbale actoris* in *-maqčy* with *bol-*, are rather of a morphological nature, although representing transitional features between morphology and syntax: e.g. Oyrot *qoʻzonđor-bolzon* 'if you are going to sing, want to, intend to sing', common throughout Siberian Turkic, cf. Karayās *añ öliürär-polza* 'if one intends to kill (hunt) game'. If in this construction the auxiliary *bol-* is used in the perfect, the meaning of intention or desire may be overruled by that of inchoative perfectivity (an action the beginning of which has been completed), as seen from Dyrenkova's examples (§ 136, p. 208): *nökörim bičiktär ijär-boldy* товарищ обещал прислать книги 'my comrade wanted to send (me) books' (Dyrenkova translates 'promised'¹), but: *man tañqy tartpas-boldym* 'I ceased to smoke, stopped smoking', properly: 'I became not-smoking'; *sañyan ody öçpös-boldy, asqan qazan söbos-boldy* (from an epos) 'the kindled fire was not going out (any more), the hung-up kettle (for cooking) did not become cold (any more) [*< soñu-maz*]', cf. Karayās *kurujak kiži onu södandyrbas-polyan* (IX, 640, 134) 'the woman (wife) did not let him speak, did not have him talk'. I doubt very much whether Dyrenkova is right, except from a purely formal viewpoint, in listing these latter cases under § 136, 'the verb *bol-* as copula'; despite the fact that the *nomina aoristi* are pure nouns, and formally the position of *nomen + copula* is given, these particular expressions, however, are to be considered as a special type of verbal composition. In other words, I think that they range equally with e.g. Latin *amatus est*, *oblitus est*, or *amaturus est* which form definite units by composition, implying a certain tense and aspect character, and are no ordinary sequences of *nomen + copula*.

¹ In German, the inchoative action would also be circumscribed by a desiderative phraseological verb, e.g.: 'der Genosse wollte mir (doch) Bücher schicken'.

As I say in my contribution to the *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta* (to appear soon), the verbal composition of the Turkic languages—and, beyond them, of all the Altaic languages—deserves a thorough monographical treatment; the material offered by the single languages is extremely rich and, however concordant in the general rules, it shows in the subdivisions quite a number of specific developments. But this could likewise be said, *mutatis mutandis*, concerning other chapters of comparative and historical Turkic grammar.

ARYA

By H. W. BAILEY

IN the following 15 condensed analyses are published some of the many problems arising when the full Indo-Iranian field is considered. Only when all the Iranian evidence is studied together with the Old Indian will it be possible to survey Indo-Iranian as a whole, an indispensable preliminary to the history of the Indo-Iranian vocabulary, and the texts behind. The constant necessity of quoting elementary data indicates how little has yet been garnered into convenient reference books. The workers (and they, too, usually distracted by other tasks) have hitherto been very few.

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>maz-</i> | 9. <i>arva-</i> |
| 2. <i>had-</i> | 10. <i>ai-</i> |
| 3. <i>kom</i> | 11. <i>farva-</i> |
| 4. <i>gad-</i> | 12. <i>iza-</i> |
| 5. <i>hark-</i> | 13. <i>khoca</i> |
| 6. <i>sor-</i> | 14. <i>mala</i> |
| 7. <i>nāydm</i> | 15. <i>fšar-</i> |
| 8. <i>šughanā-</i> | |

1. Iran. *maz-*, OInd. *maj-*

Iranian sources have preserved *maz-* with three meanings, 1. 'to handle violently' (specifically press, twist, strike, break, kill), 2. 'make', and 3. 'smear'.

Khotanese *vameys-*, pres. stem *vameysa-*, is attested in the Siddhasāra medical text¹: *tcārbandye jsa makṣāñā u vameysāñā u ysñāhāñā* corresponding to Tibetan *snun-gyis lus bsku-ñin dril-ba dan khru bya-ba dan*, from the Sanskrit 77 v 5 *abhyanga-utsādana-snāna-*. The *abhyanga-* expresses the act of 'smearing with oil'. The *utsādana-* is the violent action of 'massage, twisting and rolling',² translated by Tib. *dril-ba* here and in the *Mahāvīrutpatti* 6781 *utsādanam*. Tib. *hḍril-ba* means 'to be twisted, turned, rolled about; to wrap up'. The Chinese rendering is 捲 *kiān* 'roll up, pack up, exert strength'.

The Khotanese text shows *makṣ-*, a Prakrit form corresponding to Sansk. *mraks-* 'rub'.

The *ysñāh-* 'bathe' belongs to Av. *snāδ-*.

The word *vameys-* contains *va-* from *ava-* or *apa-*. The medial syllable *-meys-* can in the *Siddhasāra* represent either older *-māys-* from *-miz-*, or *-maz-* with *-a-* from *-a-* in the second syllable of a trisyllable. A doubt exists as to whether *-meys-* could represent the *i*-umlaut form from **māzaya-*. If the umlaut

¹ *Khotanese texts* (abbreviated *KT* below), I, 70, 135 v 1.

² See below, p. 526, on Iran. *had-*, OInd. *sad-*.

could have passed over the consonant *-z-* leaving it intact this explanation is possible. Forms of umlaut in Khotanese show variety. Thus there occur *dāśś-* 'finish' from **dās-*, *māštā* 'month' from *māsta-*, *dāšta* loc. sing. 'in the hand' from *dasta-*, and with loss of medial syllable *yširra-* 'gold' from *zaranya-*, *hīśam* 'iron'. The vowel is affected in *khāšta-* 'given to drink' (E 25.439) as causative to *khašta-* 'having drunk', pres. *khāś-* 'to drink' (*-ś-* here for *-t-*).

The *-ta-* participle is twice attested in the compound *garma-māštaa-* 'oppressed by heat' (P 2925.39-40, *KT*, III, 101) with *-ā-* as in *māsta-* 'intoxicated; thickened', NPers. *mast* and *māst*.

In New Iranian the base *maz-* is frequent. Ormurī has *maz-*: *maštak* and *mēz-*: *muštuk* 'it breaks' intrans., with trans. in causat. form *mizaw-*. In Pašto only the partic. *māt* 'broken' from **mašta-* has survived. Yidya-Munjī has *maz-*: *mōšk'-əm* and *mōz-*: *mašō-im* 'to kill'.¹

For 'to twist' we find Ormurī *maz'ek*; Pašto *mazai* 'twist, thread', Waz. Pašto *mazzai* 'thread, cord' and adj. 'twisted, turned'.²

Possibly we should claim here the Armen. *maz* 'hair', *maz-k'* 'whip, lash' for an Iranian loan-word from *maz-* 'twist'. The meanings can be compared with Khot. *gīśai* 'grass', *gīśka* 'rope' and Pers. *gēs*, *gēsū* 'long hair'. Armen. *mazmzouk-k'* means 'root fibres'.

The base *maz-* is of ambiguous origin: it represents also 'great'. When then *maz-* provides words meaning 'violent' or 'monstrous' it is difficult to decide the base. Khot. *maysirka-* is applied to *rākṣasa*, hammer, tortoises, the monster *Kalmāṣapāda* in the *Jātaka-stava* (references in the Indices). The Turfan Persian *azdahāy ī mazan* ('*zd'h'g'y mzn*'), and the Av. *māzainya daēva* may be called either 'huge' or 'violent'. Pašto *mazai* 'strong, powerful', and the epithets for the tiger Pašto *mzarai*, *zmarai*, Balōči *mazār* demand 'violent'.

Connexions of this Iran. *maz-* 'treat violently' are in the *mag-* of Greek *μαγειραι*, *μάσσω* 'to knead, mould', *μάγειρος* 'cook, butcher'.³

The sense of 'break' in Pašto *māt* 'broken', the result of violent action, suggests that here belongs the Baltic *maž-* used with suffixes in the sense of 'small'. Such an origin of a word for 'small' is well known in Oslav. *xudŕi* 'small, bad', OInd. *ksudrā-*.⁴ From this Baltic *maž-* we find Lit. *māžas* 'little, small', Let. *mazs*, OPruss. *massais*. This shows Indo-Eur. *-a-*. The long grade occurs in Lit. *mōžis* 'smallness' with *o* from *ā*.⁵

The second meaning in Iranian for *maz-* 'to make, build' is attested in Šuynī *mōz-*: *mūd-* 'to erect, build' and 'to cut, form'.⁶

Here we have to compare Old Saxon *makōn* 'to make' with the other

¹ G. Morgenstierne, *Etym. voc. Pashto*, 48; *IIFL*, II, 230; I. Zarubin, *Iran*, I, 1927, 155.

² *IIFL*, I, 401; II, Index; *EVP*, 49.

³ Walde-Pokorny, II, 226; Pokorny, *IEW*, 696.

⁴ WP, I, 502.

⁵ No firm decision in E. Fraenkel, *Lit. et. Wb.*

⁶ H. Sköld, *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*, p. 270; Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 230.

Germanic cognates derivable from an older *maġ-*. It may be a different word, or with specialized meaning the same *maġ-* of Greek μάσσω 'to knead'.¹

The third meaning 'to smear' is frequent in Slavonic, OSlav. *mazati* 'smear, anoint' and many modern forms. In Iranian it has been noted only in Oss. Digor *māza*, Iron *māz*, *mādz* in the compound with *bora*, *burā* 'yellow'. Thus in *Pamiatniki* II, 20, 10 *boramādzāj isārd āj* 'he was welded with yellow *māzā*'. The Iron *burā-mādz* occurs in *Iron Ādāmon Sfaldystād* 5.274, no. 48.

The meaning of Iran. *maz-* 'to handle violently' is now important to establish the meaning of the isolated *maj-* occurring in Old Ind. *majmán-*, *khara-majrá-*, and *nírmaj-*. The origin of OInd. *maj-* is naturally ambiguous. It could represent Indo-Eur. *meg-* or *mag-* with palatal, velar, or labiovelar final consonant. The meaning, however, will show that it is *maġ-*.

The Rígveda has *majmán-* consistently translated by *bala-* 'force' in Sāyana. This is based upon the *Naighantuka* 2.9: *majmán-* is included in the list of the *bala-nāmāni*. This is offered also in Mādhava's *Āg-ārtha-dīpikā*. In the published portion we find also 1.51.10 *majmanā mahattayā* and 2.22.2 *tejasā*.

The following passages confirm the meaning *bala-* 'force'.

2.22.2 *ādha tvīṣmā abhy ójasā krīvim yudhā abhavat*
ā ródasī aprṇad asya majmánā

Here Sāyana offered *sva-tejasā* . . . *yad vā sarena*.

1.55.5 *sá in mahāni samithāni majmánā*
krṇóti yudhmā ójasā jánebhyaḥ

Sāyana has *sarvasya śodhakena*.

1.130.4 *samvivyānā ójasā śāvobhir indra majmánā*

1.64.3 *dṛḍhā cid vísvā bhūvanāni pārthiva*
prá cyāvayanti divyāni majmánā

10.29.6 *mātre nú te sūmīte indra pūrvā*
dyaúr majmánā prthivī kāvya

1.143.2 *asyā krátvā samidhānāsya majmánā*
prá dyāvā sóciḥ prthivī arocayāt

1.51.10 *tákṣad yāt ta usánā sáhasā sáho*
vī ródasī majmánā bādhate sávaḥ

The Rígveda knows only the instr. sing. but we have the loc. sing. *majmánī* in the Atharvaveda 13.1.14 and 37 *bhūvanasya ādhi majmánī* where Whitney gave 'range', due to etymological connexion with *mah-* 'great'. Here too 'force' should be adopted.

While giving the meaning *bala-* Sāyana (as often elsewhere) offered his

¹ So in Pokorny, *IEW*, 696.

etymology, from *majj-* 'to purify', thus we have in 1.84.6 *majmanā śodhakena balena*.¹

The effort to connect *majmán-* with the base *māh-* has obscured the problem. If we put aside the convenience of 'laryngeal' interpretation, the association with *māh-* has caused the vagueness in Geldner's *Übersetzung*. Here we have 'Mächtigkeit, Macht, kraft, Grösse, in ganzem Umfang, mit einer Fülle von', as in his *Glossar* 'Grösse, Macht, Erhabenheit'. In his supplement to Wackernagel's Grammar A. Debrunner declared the meaning of *majmán-* to be uncertain.²

The second word *khara-majrá-* occurs only in the difficult hymn RV 10.106.7

ṛbhū ná āpat kharamajrá kharájrur
vāyúr ná parpharat kṣayad rayānām

That can be rendered by 'the roughly-moving (Aśvins' car) did not toss out the two roughly violent *ṛbhū-* (men of skill), like the wind it scattered, it threw away (part of) the treasures'. For *kṣayad* note RV 1.62.12 *rāyo . . . kṣtyante*.

Here the word *khara-* 'rough', Iran. *xara-* (applied to stones or sharp plants) emphasizes the basic meaning of *maj-*, Iran. *maz-* 'act violently'.³ The word *kharájrur-* contains the same *khara-* with *jr-u-* in which we have the cognate of Iran. *zar-* 'go, rise, descend'.⁴ For *parpharat*, Khot. *phar-*, and Avestan *pafrē*, discussion must be offered elsewhere.

The third word is *nírmaj-* occurring only in Rigveda 8.4.20, in Kurunga's *dānastuti*:

saśtīm sahāsrā ānu nírmajām aje
nír yūthāni gāvām ṛṣiḥ

'I, as a *ṛṣi*-sage, drive out and along herds of sixty thousand for myself, of nimble cattle'. Here Sāyaṇa recognized in *nir-* the meaning *nihśeṣena* 'completely'. His explanation of *maj-* by *śuddha-* was aberrant. The word, however, evidently suits the admired *bhūrṇi-* and *ayās-* cattle. Thus we have

RV 1.154.6 *yātrā gāvo bhūrīśṛngā ayāsaḥ*
and 9.41.1 *prā ye gāvo ná bhūrṇayas*
tveṣā ayāso ákramuḥ

The 'violence' expressed by *maz-* seems also to provide the possible connexion for Oss. Digor, Iron *māst* 'anger; angry', *māst* 'anger', *māsti*, Iron *māsty* 'angered'. This could represent the participle **mašta-* attested also in Khot. *māṣṭaa-*, Pašto *māt*, and Ormurī *mašta-* quoted *supra*. The alternative **masta-* from *mad-*, however, is not certainly excluded. The more archaic

¹ Mentioned for rejection by Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, I, 160.

² *Nachträge* I to p. 160, and II, p. 765. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda*, p. 62, in 1.64.3 has 'Macht', similarly H. Lommel, *Gedichte des Rig-veda*, p. 85; L. Renou, *Hymnes et prières du Véda*, p. 17 uses 'puissance'.

³ Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, II, 2, p. 852 has 'wohl "scharf reinigend" präkritisiert für **-mrjā* v. *mrj-*'.

⁴ The earlier discussion, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1953, 33, needs correction since the epithet belongs with the *rātha-*. The base *jar-*, Iran. *zar-* was further noticed in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 55 ff. It is also in Oss. *lāzāryn* 'fall to pieces'.

maz- 'to exert pressure', in Avestan *zastō.mazah-* 'hand-pledged', is replaced by *marz-* 'to rub' in *zastā.maršta-*.

2. Iran. *had-*, OInd. *sad-*

In the Bahrām Yašt 14.56 the *daēva*-worshippers are condemned, those whose *daēva* are *vyāmbura*. The worship, their *yasna*, is reprobated

yaŋ nūrəm vyāmbura.daēva mašyāka daēvayāzō
frā fraštīm nāmayeinti
vī maiḍyaṇəm fšānayeinti
vī [spa] handāma rāzayeinti
jana hō saiḍin nōiŋ janən
haḍa hō saiḍin nōiŋ haḍən
yaŋ nūrəm vyāmbura.daēva mašyāka daēvayāzō
uši pairi.dārayeinti
daēma hō pairi.urvāēsayeinti
ahe rayā xʷarənanhača . . .

The two phrases *jana* to *janən* and *haḍa* to *haḍən* have long caused difficulty. We have the savage acts of the sacrifice, the victim ill-treated. First note that the word *had-* would get a good meaning if rendered 'treat violently' but it would still leave the precise treatment unspecified.

I take *jana-* as derivative agent adjective formed from the verbal base by *-a-* suffix. The OIndian type is *ajā-* 'driver'. The form *jana* is nom. plur. masc. from older *-ā*. In *hō* we may have the gen. sing. pronoun, hence 'the strikers of it (the victim)'. In *saiḍin* we have a form of *sad-* 'appear', familiar also in Khotanese and Sogdian. In *had-* can now be recognized the OInd. *sad-* attested in *utsādana-* 'rolling, twisting', discussed above under *maz-*. The phrases thus yield: 'they seem strikers of the victim, but they do not strike (to death), they seem twisters of it, but they do not thereby kill it'.

This Iran. *had-*, OInd. *sad-* 'to treat roughly' seems to stand alone. Possibly it was an Indo-Eur. *sed-* from which a better explanation of Greek *πέζω* and OInd. *pīd-* 'oppress'¹ could be reached. A compound **pi-sed-*, *pi-sd-* 'to use force upon' seems nearer than the base *sed-* 'to be seated'.

3. Iran. *kom*, OInd. *komyā-*

Ossetic Iron *kom-qād*,² Digor *kon-γādā* 'beam of timber' contain *qād*, Digor *γādā*³ 'wood, forest, timber'. The epithet *kom*, *kon* refers to its preparation fitting it for beams. The Digor final *-n* where Iron has *-m* is well attested. Thus we find *dumāg* 'tail', but in compounds we have *dāry-dym*, Digor *dāry-*

¹ This *pīd-* is claimed in Khowar *pefik* 'to wrap' and *nispefik* 'to pull out, squeeze out' (G. Morgenstierne, *Felicitation volume presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar*, 93, 94). A non-Aryan origin is sought by F. J. B. Kuiper, *Studia Indologica: Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel*, 174.

² Ossetic *q* is uvular, now indicated by *x*'.

³ Also *γād* in *γādgās*, Iron *qādgas* 'forester', and as second component in *rāγān-γād*, Iron *rāγ-qād* 'rafters'.

dun 'long-tailed'. Similarly *xəm-gond*, Digor *xun-gond* 'field work' and in the ending 1st plur. Iron *fysšam*, Digor *finsän* 'we write'. For 'name' we find Digor *non* and *nom*, Iron *nom*.¹

The Digor word occurs in *Pamiatniki* 2.58

Äxsä-budāj üosä älvesuj : kon-γädä je'lxujnä, kuronfid
a üädärtä räväjnä bā ä xälä

'the wife of Äxsä-budä spins, her spindle a beam, her spindle weights a mill-stone, and her thread a rope'.

Before a nasal Ossetic *o* in both dialects is ambiguous in origin since it represents not only an *u*-diphthong but also OIran. *ā*, as in *nom* 'name', *xom* 'raw', Khot. *nāma*, *hāma*-, OInd. *nāman*-, *āmā*-. In Digor, Iron *koj* 'rumour, care, memory' the *-o-* may be explained from *-āu-* shortened to *-au-* after OIran. *au* had passed in Ossetic to Digor *o* and Iron *ū*, and before nasals to Digor *u*, and to Iron *ü* (after velars) and *y*. That would give *koj* from **kāuya-* from *kav-*, familiar in Greek ἀκούω 'hear', Germanic Got. *hau-s*-. The Old Indian has, with developed meaning, *kāya*-. Similarly Digor *xoj* 'raven', plur. *xojtā*, is from **xāuya-*, from the widely attested *kau-* 'to caw', as in OInd. *kaūti*, *kokūyate*, Greek κωκύω, Lit. *kaūkti* 'to howl', *kòvas* 'daw'.² It should be noted here that OIran. **āuya-* 'egg' gave Oss. Digor *ājkā*, Iron *āj*, plur. *ičytā*, *äičytā*, where the *-u-* has left no trace.

In this Oss. *kom*, *kon* used of prepared timber it is easy to see a derivative of the base Indo-Eur. *kāu-* 'to hew', Lit. *kāuti*, OEngl. *hēawan* 'to hew', Lat. *cū*- in *cūdo*, Oslav. *kovati*. This gives **kāuma-* by way of **kauma-* to Ossetic *kom*. It can hardly derive from **kāumya-* since Ossetic retains *-i* from *-ya-*.

For the *-o-* in both dialects from an *u*-diphthong note Digor *tonun*, *tund*, Iron *tonyn*, *tynd* 'to tear out'; Digor *ansonun*, *ansudt*, Iron *ässonyn*, *ssonyn*, *ssyd* 'to thrust'.

As a parallel to *kom*, note also Digor *γom*, Iron *gom* 'adult' from the base *gav-* 'to grow' attested in Zor. Pahl. *gōhr* 'growth, nature (as the result of growth)', *gōhrak* translating Greek φύσις, Sogd. *γωš *γōš* 'substance', OInd. *gotrá-m* 'family'.³

From the Iranian evidence it is now possible to trace the word in the Rigveda. Here occurs the word *komyá-* in RV 1.171.3

ūrdhvā nah̄ santu komyā vānāny

āhāni víśvā maruto jigīṣā

'for us the *komyā-* *vāna-* shall be upright, days and nights, O Marúts, with desire for gains'.

With this Geldner noted the parallel in RV 1.88.3 to the Marúts:

medhā vānā ná kṛṇavanta ūrdhvā

'they shall raise the mántras(?) like trees'.

¹ GIP, 'Die Sprache der Osseten', p. 33.

² For *z* beside *k* from OIran. *k* see 'Asica', *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 30. In Iron 'raven' is *zālon*, found also in Digor.

³ *Zoroastrian problems*, 83 (with correction *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 44).

The ambiguity felt in *vdna-* 'tree' or 'things made of timber, wood' such as wooden vessels is partly removed by the use of *ūrdhvā-* 'upright' and now clearly by the interpretation of *komyā-* 'prepared, hewn' from *kāu-* 'to hew'. The form resembles *somyā-*.

From the post-Vedic OIndian we have *komalā-* 'soft': if this derives from 'smoothed' we are near to 'hewn' and hence the same base *kāu-*.

Older explanations are listed in Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. Sāyaṇa proposed to take *kom-* as equivalent to *kām-* 'desire': that gave *kāmyāni sprhanīyāni sarvaṇi sambhajanīyāni*. Similarly Mādhava has *kamanīyāni, aranyāni*.

4. Iran. *gad-*, OInd. *gad-*

In Iranian it is possible to trace four bases *gad-* as follows:

1. *gad-* in **gadā-* 'club' attested in Av. *gaḍā-*, *gaḍavara-*, Zor. Pahl. *gaḍ*, *gaḍak*, *gaḍavar*, OInd. *gadā-*. If we put here Ossetic Digor *γādā*, Iron *qad* 'wood, forest, timber' this would give the basic meaning 'wood' and the feminine with *-ā* suffix would be 'the thing made of wood', hence a convenient word for 'club'. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 2.507 (Bibliotheca Indica) *gadhā*, *gadā* is part of the upper part of a wagon. If this was of wood, the same connexion may lie with this OInd. *gad-*. A third derivative may be seen in Khot. *gahaa-* nom. sing. *gahai*, *gahe*, plur. *gahā* 'shaft of arrow', hence here too the 'wooden' thing would be expressed by an adjectival form by suffix *-aka*.¹

2. *gad-* 'ill' in Av. *gaḍā-* 'ill', Zor. Pahl. *γudt-gaḍ* with variant *γudt-bēš* 'free of harm', OInd. *gada-s* 'illness', *agada-* 'remedy', *vigadā-* RV 10.116.5.

3. *gad-* 'beg' in OPersian, Avestan pres. *γadya-*, Sogd. *γδ'k* 'desire', Khot. *pajya-*, *pajā-*: *pajista-* 'demand'. It is widely attested in Greek *πόθος*, Celtic as OIr. *guidim*, Oslav. *žedati*. Scheftelowitz proposed to see this base in OInd. *jighatsā* 'hunger'.²

4. *gad-* 'to plunder, steal' in Av. *gaḍa-* 'robber' Yasna 65.8 *tāyruš . . . hazanha . . . gaḍō* 'thief, plunderer, robber', Sogd. *γδ-* 'thief', plur. *γδ'yšt* (P 6.14), *γδ'wony* 'theft' (SCE, 312, 331) with suffix *-wony* 'act of stealing'. From Saka we have Tumshuq *Karmavācanā* 47 *gauna* 'theft'; Khot. *ggamuna-* (E 25.467) 'robber' may contain a modification of **gadūna-*. Zor. Pahlavi has survived in Pāzand *gadūg-* 'robber'.³

In New Iranian we find Pašto *γal*, plur. *γlə*, *γlūna* 'thief' (whence Orm. *γlī*), Waxī *γūd* 'thief', *γūdē* 'theft', Yidya *γal* 'thief'.⁵

In all Iranian dialects the act of the base *gad-* is reprobated.

With this Iranian *gad-* we have now to associate the Rigvedic OInd. *gad-* in verbal use *-gadhitā-* and with *-ya-* suffix in *gādhyā-* and *-gandhyā-*. The

¹ Khot. *gahaa-* translates Turkish *ulun* in P 2892.173, published *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 292, and now in *KT*, iii, 81. The *gahai* forms part of a gift in *KT*, ii, 60, lines 12, 18 and verso 4. For *qad*, H. Sköld, *Die osset. Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*.

² *Gr. Bd.* 92.3.

³ *ZII*, ii, 1923, 272, not accepted Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, 433, where *ghas-* is offered.

⁴ Tumshuq in *BSOAS*, xiii, 3, 1950, 666. Pāzand in *Škand-gumānīk Vīcār*.

⁵ Morgenstierne, *EVF*, 24; *IIFL*, ii, 523 and 212.

activity in Old Indian is approved : it is a rightful 'plundering' of the enemy. Thus it is the reverse of the Iranian *gad-* which is an act condemned, against the community. The difference can be seen similarly in Russ. *razboj* 'robbery', Bulgar *razboinik* 'brigand' beside Roumanian (Slavonic loan-word) *razboi* 'war', *razboinic* 'warrior'. This ambivalence is like that found in OInd. *ásura-*, OIran. *ahura-* ; *deva-*, *daiva-*.

The Old Indian *gadh-* has remained an object of dispute. The basic meaning is 'seize, grasp', whence 'seize, plunder'.

The participle *gadhita-* occurs in RV 1.126.6

ágadhitā párigadhitā yā kaśikéva jangahe
dádāti máhyam yádurī yásūnām bhojyā sātā

'she who writhes like *kaśikā* beast held and embraced, gives to me as *yádurī* a hundred pleasures of *yásu-*'.¹

Here Sāyaṇa and Mādhava cite the *Nirukta* 5.15 where *gadh-* is explained by *grhṇāti* 'take' and *miśrībhāva-* 'junction'. In RV 4.16.11, 16 *gádhyā-* is rendered in Sāyaṇa by *grāhya-*. Mādhava offers 4.38.4 *abhikāṅksya-*, 6.26.2 *abhikāṅksita-*. In 1.126.6 Geldner has 'angedrückt, umarmt' recognizing a verb *gadh-* 'grasp'.

The derivative *gádhyā-* is an epithet of *vāja-* 'booty' in four verses :

4.16.11 *rjrá vājam ná gádhyam yúyūšan*
kavír yád áhan páryāya bhūṣāt

4.16.16 *yó māvate jaritré gádhyam cin*
makṣú vājam bháratī spārhārādhāḥ

6.10.6 *bharádvājeṣu dadhiṣe suvrktīm*
ávīr vājasya gádhyasya sātāú

6.26.2 *tvām vājī havate vājineyó*
mahó vājasya gádhyasya sātāú

The form *-gandhya-* occurs in a compound

9.98.12 *aśyāma vājagandhyam*
sanéma vājapastyam

One other passage² has *gádhyā-* in a context of cattle-raiding :

4.38.4 *yáh sma arundhānó gádhyā samátsu*
sánutaraś cárati góṣu gáchan

In all these passages the *gádh-* is an approved practice. The 'plunder' comes from the enemy.

¹ For *yádurī* Sāyaṇa offers *bahuretoyuktā*, for *yásu-* he gives *bhoga-* so that *yásūnām bhojyā* is tautological. Support outside Old Indian is desirable to establish the precise meaning.

² This *gádhyā samátsu* is rendered by 'Beute in den Schlachten' by P. Thieme, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des R̥gveda*, p. 40.

By an unfortunate aberration¹ Geldner in these passages tried to find an otherwise unattested adjectival derivative of *gadhā-*, variant *gadā-* 'part of a wagon'. This belongs rather with Iran. **gada-* as proposed above.

Yet another Iranian word with *gad-* (or possibly *gaθ-*) is preserved in Sogdian γδy'/// in the phrase 'rsk 'ty γδy'/// 'envy and . . .', and in the adjective γδk'ym for some pejorative sense.²

5. Iran. *haik-*, OInd. *sek-*

The Armenian loan-word *xñcoy* (-k', *xñjoy*, -k') 'feast, banquet, rejoicing, assembly', in *dahlič xñcoyic* 'banqueting-hall', according to the Mekhitarist Dictionary *seṭan ourazout'ean*, *manarand harsaneac* 'table of rejoicing, especially of nuptials', quoted from Agathangelos, has been brought into connexion with Ossetic Digor *xincun*, *xinst*, Iron *xyncyn*, *xyγd*, *xyγtoj* (plur.), and nominal *xync* 'entertainment' in which we find the same sense of joy and feasting.³ Thus *xinst* is used of wedding entertainment in the Iron *Ādāmon Sfāldystād* 5.177; and G. Maliti, p. 37, spoke of *ustur xinstitā*, *cijnādzinādā* 'great entertainments, delight'.

In Middle Western Iranian and Ossetic *x-* can replace an older Iranian *h-*. Hence one possible origin of this word would be Iran. **hink-* from a base *haik-* in which one would seek a meaning 'to make joyful by feasting', more simply 'to satiate'.

This consideration induces me to propose a connexion of this Iran. *haik-* with the OInd. *sek-* attested in the adjective *asecana-*. This word is found in Hindu Sanskrit hymns to the goddess Devī,⁴ Buddhist Sanskrit *asecana-*, *-ka*, *asecanīya-*,⁵ and Pali *asecana-*, *-ka*.⁶ The interpretation offered from Buddhist Sanskrit is 'insatiable'. The compound *asecanaka-darśana-* 'handsome' is that which one 'cannot be satiated with gazing at'. Thus the Tibetan rendering *blta-bas chog mi šes-pa* 'not content with seeing', Chinese yielding the same meaning, both in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*,⁷ accord with the Agni *asināt lkālyo* 'insatiable in gazing' and similarly Kuci *lkātsy oṇtsoyṭte*.⁸ A similar phrase occurs also in Ossetic where *ne 'fsast ām kāsynāj cāst* 'the eye was not sated gazing thereon' is used to render Pushkin's *rascvela*.⁸

This OInd. *sek-* 'to satiate' has not been quoted from Vedic texts. Late attestation of Old Indian words is not unknown. Thus *parūt* 'last year' is found from the time of Pāṇini though known in Greek πέρυσι. The word *gada-* 'illness', common in medical texts from the time of Suśruta, is otherwise

¹ It was rejected by Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*; it is absent from Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *gādhyā-*. Geldner has *gadhā-* rendered 'Wagenversteck' in his *Glossar*, p. 53.

² W. B. Henning, *Manich. Bei- und Reichthum*, p. 105; P 2.1069 and Dhuta 128.

³ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1956, 94. Further cognates were left undecided.

⁴ V. Raghavan, *Indian Linguistics*, xvi, 1955, 322.

⁵ F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary*, s.v.

⁶ Pali commentaries, quoted in the Pali Text Society's *Dictionary*, try to connect with *sek-* 'to sprinkle'.

⁷ Ed. Sakaki, 392 *asecanako rūpena*.

⁸ Agni 218 b 1, and *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 247. Puškin, *Učmysta*, p. 151.

confined in the Rigveda to the compound *vigadā*.¹ Similarly the base *kas-*, frequent in the Prakrits, occurs in Sanskrit in the causative *niṣkāśaya-* 'expel'.² It is found in Iranian Khot. *khah-* : *khasta-* 'arise', with *niš-* in *naṣakhasta-*, *naṣkasta-*, and in Armenian loan-word *nškahem* 'rise, rise against'.

In this Iran. *haik-*, OInd. *sek-* 'to satiate' we have the *-k-* enlargement of the base OInd. *si-* attested in Rigvedic *asinva-*, *ásinvant-* 'not satisfied', Agni *si-* in pres. *sināst*, partic. *sasyu*, noun *sinlune*, Kuci *soy-* in pres. *soyem*, inf. *soytsi*, pret. *soyāre*, and the negat. *ontsoyte*.³ For the *-k-* note Greek *τάκω*, *τήκω* 'to melt' beside Ossetic Digor *tāyun*, Iron *tāin* 'melt'; Lit. *kaũkti* 'to howl' beside OInd. *kāuti*, and *infra aik-* s.v. *ai-*.

Thus the meaning dissevers OInd. *sek-* 'to satiate' from *sek-* 'to sprinkle, pour water' even though drinking is a prominent part of the feasting.

It is now possible to advance to the interpretation of the Avestan name *Haēčat.aspa-*, the name of the fourth ancestor of Zoroaster. In *haēčat-* we have the participle in a governing compound, with the meaning 'satisfy': the word means 'satisfying, feeding the horses'.⁴

The Iranian thus knows three verbs *haik-*, 1. 'to pour', 2. 'to dry',⁵ and 3. 'to satiate'.

6. Iran. *sor-*, OInd. *śurūdh-*

Khotanese *hasūra-*, *husura-*⁶ occurs in three contexts which assure a meaning 'quarry, hunted beast or bird'. These passages are the following:

Rāma text P 2801.13 (*KT*, III, 65)

<i>ṣi vā rre byaha buḍe</i>	<i>pharūkye hīña jsa hamtsa ~</i>
<i>hasūrā jsām vara vaṣṭā ā</i>	<i>kūṣṭa mūṇḍa brramma ysāda ~</i>

'the king rode out hunting with a great retinue. The quarry came through to where the aged brahman lived'.

Jātaka-stava 29 v 1

tteñe bāṣg husure se beṃhye beṃda
ttere ṣike āstīye bujysau jse samartha ~

ibid. 31 v 2 *ttī ahā haiste hasure vīysānje ṣṭāna ~*

In Ossetic Digor *sorun*, partic. *surd*, Iron *suryn*, *syrd* is frequent in the meaning 'to hunt, drive'. A derivative has been claimed in the earlier name *Σωπακος*.⁷ In the *Digorskie skāzania* 23.1 we find *āz ārsordzānān sirdtā* 'I shall

¹ *Supra* s.v. *gaḍ-*.

² *JRAS*, 1955, 15.

³ Without the *-y-*, see Pokorny, *IEW*, 876, *sā-* : *sa-*. OInd. *si-* is ambiguous.

⁴ The *AIW* knowing only *haik-* 'to sprinkle' had conjectured 'Rosse (mit Wasser) beaprengend, badend'.

⁵ *JRAS*, 1954, 26, n. 3, and *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 53.

⁶ Assimilated first syllable *-u-*, as in *rruspura-* (*Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 35 a 4) for older *rrispura-*, and *śśuru* acc. sing. to *śśāra-*.

⁷ V. Abaev, *Oset. jazyk i fol'klor*, I, 182, from Vasmer. In the *AIW* placed under Av. *zaranyō.suora-*.

hunt the beasts' and similarly Iron *syrdty xicāu āfsāti* 'the lord of wild beasts, Āfsāti'.

Isolated from the verb we have in Digor *i* for *u* in *sird* 'wild beast, quarry', Iron *syrd*. Such a replacement is familiar in Digor *siūā* 'horn'; Iron *sy*, *syk'ā*, *siū*, beside Digor *siūgun*, Iron *siūdžyn* from older *sru-*, Khot. *ṣū-* and many other dialect forms; in Digor *mista* 'rat' even an Old Iran. *-ū-* has been changed to *-i-* and that after *m-*.¹ Digor *āmsurd*, Iron *ānsyrd* 'common driving' is explained by *āmtārd*, *āntārd*.

Earlier (*BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 56) I cited the Armen. *sour-* in *sourhandak* 'courier'. The word *handak* is familiar in Zor. Pahl. *hnd'k* **handāka-* in the gloss to Avestan Yasna 50.7 *zəvīštyəng aurvatō* rendered *handāk ut apāyīšnīk ut arvand*. This verb *handāč-* is used to render Av. *vōiθwa-* and *vyeiti*. In Krorain Prakrit we have *amtaḡi* used of horses and camels.² The verb occurs in Khotanese (E 25.424)

āphāde ni rrayma *hamdajsāre ggāyyo jsa*

'their ranks are confused, they gallop with their troops'.

In view of such variant forms as those of Vedic *dhvar-* with *dhur-* and *dhru-* it may be desirable to call attention here to Kuci *serve* 'hunter', Agni *śarv-* in nom. *śaru*, obliq. *śarvām* with the verb Kuci *ser-* inf. *serīsi* (from **seroyīsi*).

From Khotanese *hasura-* and Ossetic *sorun* we reach back to an Iranian **saura-* : *sur-*. Iran. *s-* corresponds to OInd. *ś-* or *ch-*. Here it is excellent to trace this word in OIndian *śur-* of Rigvedic *śurūdḥ-*.³

In form *śurūdḥ-* has been compared with RV *īśudḥ-* attested in a denominative verb *īśudhyá-* and adj. *īśudhyá-*. The Avestan *īśud-* is explained by the Zor. Pahl. *āpām*, Sansk. *ṛnam* 'debt'. It is clearly something to be delivered up or paid over. The *iś-* of Av. *īśud-* and RV *īśudḥ-* may be the *-s-* form from the Indo-Eur. *ai-* : *i-* 'to give' attested in Hittite *pai-*, *pe-* (from *pa ai-*) 'to give' and *i-* in *īwaru-* 'gift', Hierog. Hitt. *pa-* 'to give'. Kuci has *ai-*, Agni *e-* 'to give' in full use, pres. *aisk-* and *es-*, and the Agni noun *el* 'gift'. The *-s-* enlargement is so frequent (as in RV *jeṣ-* from *jay-* and *hoṣ-* from *hav-*) that there need be no hesitation in finding it in *īśud-*. The suffix *-udḥ-* can then be simply taken for the 'product', the *īśud-* is 'what is to be given' and the *śurūdḥ-* is thus 'what is to be hunted' or more generally 'to be won', as the contexts show, by plundering the enemy.

The word *śurūdḥ-* is found in the plural in the Rigveda. The following contexts indicate the scope of the word :

- 1.169.8 *śurūdho gó-agrāḥ* 'the booty consisting chiefly of cattle'
- 6.49.8 *śurūdhas candrāgrā(h)* 'the booty of bright (metals)'
- 10.122.1 *śurūdho viśvādihāyaso* 'the booty offering all kind of nourishment'

¹ The assumption that OIran. *-āra-* gave Osa. *-rd-* is unsupported in E. Benveniste, *BSL*, LII, 1956, 41.

² T. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 73.

³ A different word, OInd. *churati*, has been compared with Avestan *saora-* in the *AIW*.

- 1.72.7 *śurūdho jīvāse* 'the booty for sustenance'
 7.23.2 *śurūdho vivāci* 'the booty in the conflict'
 6.3.3 *hēṣasvataḥ śurūdho* 'the booty of the armed man'
 9.70.5 *ādēdīśānaḥ śaryahēva śurūdhaḥ* 'like the archer intent upon booty'
 7.62.3 *sahāśraṃ śurūdho* 'the thousand booties', the provision of
 Varuṇa, Mitra, and Agni
 3.38.5 *śurūdhaḥ santi pūrviḥ* 'the first booties', these transferred to
 ṛtā- from the gods; (and 4.23.8 *sānti*).

Earlier interpretations yielded only the choice between 'gains' (which was correct but too indefinite) and 'gifts'. Sāyaṇa is here aberrant with *śucaḥ śokasya rodhayitrīr* in RV 6.3.3. At the same place Mādhava offered *tejaso rodhayituh*. Both tried to find a verb *rodh-*. Geldner's *Übersetzung* has both 'gift' and 'reward'. The recent study by P. Thieme also seeks a verbal *rodh-*.¹

It will here once again be noticed that the Old Indian vocabulary has kept one derivative where Iranian in Ossetic has a verb in full use. This has previously been remarked for the Iranian base *ar-* 'to grind', in Indo-Aryan Kalāṣā *at* and Sansk. *aṭṭa-m*, and in Iran. *tarp-* 'steal', beside the isolated Rigvedic *-t/p-* with *paśu-* and *asu-*.

7. Rigvedic *nāyām*

The interpretation of *śurūdho-* involves an attack upon the difficult problem of *nāyām* occurring five times. Three of the five cases demand a meaning 'direction' or (the result of directing) 'place'. Thus we have in the Rigveda

- 1.130.1 *ā-indra yāhy ūpa naḥ parāvāto*
nāyām āchā vidāthāni-iva sātpatir
astam rājā-iva sātpatih
 8.2.28 *svādāvaḥ sōmā ā yāhi*
śrūtāḥ sōmā ā yāhi
śīpīnn īṣīvaḥ śácivo
nāyām āchā sadhamādādam
 8.33.13 *ā-indra yāhi pītāye*
mādhu śaviṣṭha somyām
nāyām āchā maghāvā śṛṇavad giro
brāhmokthā ca sukrātuh

With this meaning it is also possible to propose interpretation of the two other passages

- 1.121.13 *tvām stīro harīto rāmayo nṛṇ*
bhāraś cakrām étaśo nāyām indra
prāsya pārām navatīm nāvyañām
āpi kartām avartayo (ā)yajyūn

¹ 'Beiträge zur Vedaexegese', *ZDMG*, xcv, 1941, and *KZ*, lxxix, 1951, 172.

6.3.3. *stūro nā yāsya dr̥satīr arepā*
 bhīmā yād ēti śucatās ta ā dhīh
 hēsasvatah śurūdho nāyām aktōh
 kūtrā cid ranvō vasatīr vanejāh

In 6.3.3 the poet allusively describes a raiding party at night. The sense is thus *śurūdho nāyām aktōh* 'in the direction, to the booty, at night', with the two accusatives in apposition. Similar RV 1.116.8 *agnīm ghraṃsām*.

Setting aside at first the problem of the accentuation, note that, if Avestan *naēma-* 'direction, side', Sogd. *nymyδ* 'south', *nym'*k, NSogd. Yaγnābī *nema* 'side', Zor. Pahl. *nēmak*¹ 'direction, part' with the OInd. *nēma-* 'side, half' are compared, we can see a word **nāyā-* 'direction' from *nāyati* 'to conduct', of the form well attested in Rigvedic *vāyā-* in *vāso-vāyā-* and *śrāyā-*, similar to the bases in *-av-* in Rigvedic *sāvā-*, *āhāvā-*.

This explanation would prove the double accentuation to be wrong. Hence we touch that period between the poets' original *Samhitā* and the *Padapāṭha* when irregularities could arise. To that period, for example, belongs the confusion over the word *itāūti-* which is recorded in two forms, either as one word with one udātta accent or as two words with two accents *itā ūti*. The meaning 'perpetual' was clearly lost.² Here also the accentuation points to a failure of understanding. To the same period belongs also the *dhīṣṇyemé* containing *dhīṣṇyā* as unaccented vocative and *dhīṣṇyemé* containing *dhīṣṇyā* (the *Padapāṭha* *dhīṣṇye* with unusual sandhi before *imé*), with accent, in RV 7.72.3 c. Here too belongs the spelling of *pāvaka-*.

If thus *nāyām* is associated with other cases of faulty transmission it loses its strangeness. Now add that this type of derivative is attested with the udātta both on the second and on the first syllable. Thus *māda-* attested in *sadhamāda-*, and *sāvi-*. In the sense of agent we find *nāyā-* 'leader'.

The *Padapāṭha* interpreted by *nā* and *ayām*. Geldner offered in his *Glossar* *nā* and *ayām*. In his *Übersetzung* 1.121.13 he keeps this and proposes to render 'selbst'; in 1.130.1 'in eigner Person'; 6.3.3 'derselbe'; 8.2.28 and 8.33.13 as 1.130.1. H. Lüders incidentally dealt with 6.3.3 and gave 'derselbe' (*Acta Or.*, XIII, 1935, 123). A new survey was put forward by P. Thieme³ with a proposal to read *nā* deduced from *nānā* 'various' in the sense of 'alone' with *ayām* acc. sing. 'coming'. In this L. Renou in his review found it impossible to follow him.⁴ H. Oldenberg in his *Exegetische Noten* preferred to assume an error of accentuation and to read *nāyam*.

¹ In *Zātspram*, *Vičūtakihā*, K35, 244 v 8 occurs *pat nēmak ī rās* 'in the direction, course of the road, midway', when the fire was being transferred over the ocean in the reign of Hōšang.

² A preliminary attempt to interpret Avestan *utayūti-* and Rigvedic *itāūti-* was made in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 138 ff. I should now develop that to propose that the *uta-* of Avestan meant 'extended' being the participle to the verb attested in Rigvedic *unoti*, which must be treated elsewhere.

³ *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda*, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, XLV, 1949, 66 ('désespéré').

Sāyaṇa follows the *Padapāṭha*. Similarly Mādhava in 1.130.1 and 6.3.3, but in 1.121.13 he has *naikāśo 'yam*.

8. *śūghaná-*

The word *śūghaná-* occurs once in the Rigveda. It is listed in the *Naighantuka* 2.15 among the *kṣīpra-nāmāni*, the words for 'swift'. The passage is RV 4.58.7

*sīndhor iva prādhvané śūghanāso
vātapramiyah patayanti yāhvāh
ghrīāsya dhārā aruṣó ná vājī
kāṣṭhā bhīndānn ūrmibhiḥ pīnvamānaḥ*

In a context of flood water the word *ghaná-* would at once suggest the base *ghan-* 'to be exuberant, overflowing'.¹

In *śū-* it is possible to see an ablaut form of *āsú-* 'swift', OIran. Av. *āsu-*, Greek *ὠκύς*. It gave the word Khot. *aska-*, Bud. Sogd. 's'wk- **āsuka-*, Zor. Pahl. *āhūk*, NPers. *āhū* 'antelope', the 'swift' animal.

Something is now known about the ablaut system of words with long Indo-Iranian *ā-*. Thus we have OInd. *āyu-*, *āyus-* 'vitality', Av. *āyu-* 'duration of time'. From this arise forms *yav-* and *yu-*. Thus in the Avesta occur *yav-*, *yavaētāt-*, NPers. *javēdān*, Armen. loan-word *yauēt* 'ever', Zor. Pahl. *yāvētān*, and in Ossetic Digor *jāūā*, *jāū* 'energy, vitality'. From the reduced grade *yu-* derived the adj. OInd. *yūvan-* 'young', Lat. *iūvenis* and the other forms in Germanic, Celtic, and the rest.²

A second case is the OInd. *ātmán-* with *tmánā*.³

Hence there is no difficulty in claiming the same ablaut *āsú-* : *śū-* 'swift'. The long vowel of *śū-* in *śūghaná-* may be simply explained by adopting the reduced grade of the *a-* which occurs before *ghan-* in OInd. *aghnyá-* and Av. *agonyā-*, Armen. *-o-* in *yogn* as we accept the reduced grade in the initial vowel of *ap-* 'water' in OInd. RV *pratīpá-*, *anūpá-*; of the verbal *āp-* 'reach' and *īpsati*; and the long vowel of *sūndāra-* compared to the *a-* of Armen. *ayr* 'man'.

The compound *śūghaná-* thus combines the sense of a violent flood of water and its swift rush in the river-bed.⁴

9. OInd. *arva-*

A word *arva-* is attested in OInd. *arvāvat-* 'vicinity', and the directional adjective *arvānk-* 'turning in this direction', adverbial *arvāk* 'hither'.

The suffix *-va-* is familiar in the OInd. *pūrva-*, OPers. *paruviya-* contrasting with the *-m-* of Khot. *pīrma-* 'first' and Lit. *pīrmas*. A similar *-va-* can be

¹ For Iranian *gan-*, OInd. *ghan-*, Greek *θερ-* see the words grouped in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 44 ff.

² For the complex *āyu-*, see E. Benveniste, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, xxxviii, 1937, 103 ff.; Ossetic *jāūā* in Morgenstierne, *NTS*, xii, 1942, 269.

³ Details can be found in F. B. J. Kuiper, *Notes on Vedic noun-inflection*, 19 ff.; E. Polomé, *Zum heutigen Stand der Laryngaltheorie*, 458.

⁴ This explanation seems to have merit over against the translation 'cattle-killing' in P. Thieme, *ZDMG*, xciv, 1941, 348, whose conjectured **pśu-* is hardly acceptable.

detected also in OInd. *apvā-* 'inner part of the body' with which we have to associate Ossetic Digor *āppā*, Iron *āpp* 'kernel', with prosthetic *q-* = *x*' also *qāppā* and *qāpp*. The *-pp-* arises from OIran. *-fv-*. In Khotanese the word *ahā-* means the 'innermost stomach'.¹

In the *ar-* of OInd. *arva-* it is now easy to see the base of Lit. *artūs* 'near', *artū* adv. 'near', *iš arto* 'from the vicinity'. These and other forms are compared with Greek *ἄρτι* 'just', *ἄρτις*, *ἄρτιος*, Lat. *artus* 'narrow', *artus* 'limb', and Armen. *ard* 'now'.² The basic word occurs in Let. *ar* 'and, with'.³

With these words we have further to connect Agni *ārtak* and Kuci *ārte*, *ārtte* which translate Bud. Sansk. *upa* 'near'.

By these connexions the base is established as *ar-*, not *er-*.

Note as a parallel that a *-tāka-*, *-taka-* suffix is added to the indeclinable *fra* (OInd. *prā*) in Zor. Pahlavi *pl'tk* **fratāk*, NPers. *fardā* 'to-morrow' from 'in front' and in Khotanese *paḍā* 'first'.

The recognition of the connexion of OInd. *arvā-* (in *arvāvd-*) and Lit. *artūs* with the cognate words offers a solution of the problem of Šuynī *ar* 'to, at' as preposition and postposition.⁴ With this *ar* 'to' it will be desirable to join Ossetic Digor and Iron *ār-*, *āl-* before *l-*, in use as a preverb 'towards'.⁵ Both these words may have lost an older final vowel. Thus Ossetic *fal-* represents older *pari-*. The Ossetic *ār-* would seem to exclude the form **ari*.

10. *ai-* 'teach'

It was proposed in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 41 ff. to see in the *aē-* of OIranian Avestan *aēθra-*, and the reduced grade *-i-* in the *-iδ-* of Avestan *hamiδpati-*, a title, an Iranian base *ai-* : *i-* meaning 'to teach'; then to explain OIndian Rigvedic *āyú-*, the fellow of the *kārú-*, as the derived adjective of agent 'teacher', creator of *mántras*, formed as *jāyú-* from *jáyati* 'to win'. With suffix *-n-* the word is common in Greek *αἶνος* 'tale, decree', *αἰνέω* 'to praise', *παραινέω* 'to enjoin', Pindaros, *Pyth.* iv 222 *καταλίνεσσαν . . . γάμον* 'they vowed marriage'.

In Kuci and Agni a base **en-* 'to teach' translating Bud. Sansk. *śās-* contains Kuci *e-*, Agni *e-*. Normally Kuci has retained the diphthong *ai* where the Agni has reached the stage *e*, as in Kuci *ai-* 'to give', Agni *e-* (pres. 1 sing. *aiskau*, *esam*) corresponding to Hittite *ai-* in *pai-*, *pe-* 'to give', Hierog. Hitt. *pa-*, with *i-* in *iwaru-* 'gift'. But in Kuci the development from *ai* to *e* can be seen in the extant texts, just as the similar diphthong *au*, Agni *o* is sometimes *o*

¹ For *apvā-* see K. Hoffmann, *Corolla linguistica*, 80 ff.; Khot. *ahā-* in nom. sing. *aha*, loc. sing. *ahaña* in the medical text P 2893 (in *KT*, III, 85) 70, 124. The *x* in *qāpp* is comparable to the non-ejective *x* in *xom* 'raw', Khot. *hāma-*, OInd. *āmá-*.

² E. Fraenkel, *Lit. et. Wb.*, s.v., p. 17.

³ K. Hoffmann, summarized in Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, 552, offered an inversion of **avra-*.

⁴ G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, I, 1928, 46-7.

⁵ The never satisfactory attempt to see in this Oss. *ār-* the older **adi-* would thus drop, see 'Supplementary note to Asica', *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1946, 203-4.

⁶ Briefly noted in *BSOAS*, xxi, 1, 1957, 47.

in Kuci.¹ Thus it is possible to compare Kuci *sai-* 'to support', Agni *se-* from which occur Kuci inf. *saitsi*, partic. *sasainu* and pret. *sentsamai*, Agni partic. *sāseyu*, conj. *señmār*. Similarly Kuci has *au-* 'begin' with partic. *aunu*, *auntsate* and *omtsate* beside Agni *on-*, partic. *ānu*, *onu*, pret. *osāt*. The replacement of *ai* by *e* can be seen in Kuci *maiyyā-* 'power' beside *meyyā-*. In Agni we have *ske-* 'to exert oneself', pres. *skeneñic*, pret. *skāyā*, noun *ske* to compare with Kuci *skai-*, pres. *skainam*, optat. *skāyoy*, noun *skeye*.

The development of Kuci *ai-* to *e-* in *e-n-* 'to teach' had the additional advantage of keeping *ai-*, Agni *e-* 'to give' distinct from *e-* 'to teach'. This word *en-* is placed beside the forms with suffixed *-n-* in the *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 245, but the decisive forms without *-n-* are not known or at least not published. For the similar Agni *on-* the partic. *ānu* and the pret. *os-* show that the *-n-* is suffix. Kuci texts have preserved only forms with *-n-*.

In Old Indian occurs a verb *e-: i-* which with the preverb *ādhi* means 'to teach'. The Petersburg Dictionary unhesitatingly derives this *adhy-e-* from *e-: i-* 'to go', but it seems impossible to bridge the gulf between 'to go' and 'to teach'. The verb is well attested in active and middle, and in the partic. *ādhiā-*, *adhītā-* 'taught, having learnt', noun *adhyāyā-* 'teaching'.² Note the phrase *Taittirīya upaniṣad* 3.1 *Bhṛguṛ vai Vāruṇih, Varuṇam pītaram upasasāra, adhihi bhagavo brahmeti, tasmā etat provāca*. That is, 'Bhṛgu son of Varuṇa approached his father Varuṇa, saying, Sir, teach me the brahma. He stated it to him'. *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa* (10.3.3.5) *adhihi bhoṣ tam agnim* is similar. The present participle *adhīyānt-* differs from the present participle of the verb *e-* 'to go', that is, *yant-*. The long vowel of *adhīyānt-* may preserve the reduced grade of the *a-* of *ai-* 'teach'. In the *Chāndogya upaniṣad* 7.1.2 we find *ṛgvedaṃ bhagavo dhyemi yajurvedaṃ* 'I study the Rigveda and Yajurveda'.

This evidence seems sufficient to recover the base *ay-*, *e-: i-* in Old Indian, a word destined to early extinction by its smallness and its rival *ay-*, *e-: i-* 'to go'. That a verbal base can survive only with a preverb can be seen in *āpi vat-*, *nīr akṣ-*, *ā kuv-* or in nominal form *akṣ-* 'look' in *ādhyakṣa-*.

Above under *haik-* it was noted that an enlargement *-k-* was fully assured. In Kuci there is a verb *aik-* 'to know' (not found in Agni, which uses *knā-*). If the *-k-* is an enlargement to express the termination or result of the act, it would be possible to take *ai-k-* 'to know' from *ai-* 'to state, teach' as the result of 'information given'.

With the similar enlargement *-g-* we have Germanic Gothic *aik-* in the compound verb *afaihan* 'to deny'. The meaning can be reached by recognizing the repudiation in the preverb *af-* with a verb of statement, that is, 'to state that a thing is not'. The positive statement is made by *ei(h)on* 'vindicare, zusprechen' and *in-ei(h)an* = *insagēn* in Old High German.³

¹ In footnotes in *Tocharische Sprachreste*, Sprache B, Ht. 2, an effort is made to reverse this development as if the more archaic *ai* and *au* were correct.

² A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II, p. 170.

³ S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, p. 3.

In Greek ἀναινομαι 'to deny' shows the reversive preverb ἀνα- with a base αι- and -n- suffix. Since these various words in Old Indian, Avestan, Kuci, Agni, Gothic, and Greek seem to form a related group by meaning, it seems likely that the Greek -αν- of ἀναινομαι belongs here, even if the pret. ἀνῆντο must be separated off.

11. Iran. *farva-*

In a note¹ on Old Indian *pharva-* attested in acc. sing. fem. *prapharvyām* compared with Ossetic Digor *p'ārūā*, *p'ārā*, Iron *xārv* 'thin skin, film', Armen. *p'ar* 'thin skin, film, shirt', I had occasion to mention some of the representatives in Ossetic of OIran. *p-*.

It is now possible to extend the problem by adding Ossetic Digor *fārūākā*, *fārākā*, Iron *fārāk*, plur. *fārāktā* 'bran, *otrubī*', the husk being named as the 'thin skin'. For this meaning note Ossetic Digor *zotxā* meaning both 'thin skin' and 'bran', and in *nī zotxā un* 'to become ash' also 'ashes'. The cognate is Digor *zotāg*, *zotug*, Iron *xūtāg* 'flake'.² Hence in *fārūākā* we have the third spelling of **farva-* with suffix -ā- and secondary -kū (with -k- retained).³

A passage containing Digor *fārākā* occurs in the Iron *Adamon Sfalldystād* 5.168

*dā āvd furtej āndurti fāttā dīn uāllāg sinzāg cāgār Čeregiqo dā kolduāri
duārttābāl listāg fārākā nikkodtā mā dīn jeci xābār iγosun kārūnmā ārbā-
cudtān, zāγgā*

with the footnote *se 'nduri fāttā listāg fārākā nikkodtā*.

Here should be mentioned also Waxī *pāng*, Sanglēčī *park* 'ashes'. If 'ashes' are named from the flakes thought of as 'thin skin' as in Ossetic *zotxā* then this *para-* with -k- suffix would belong with **farva-* 'film'. The Lit. *pelenāi* 'ashes' could also be placed here.⁴

The Ossetic system deriving from the one series of Old Iranian unvoiced stops *k*, *t*, *p*, can now be set out as follows. OIran. *k* normally gave Ossetic *k* (= *k'*, in earlier Cyrillic spellings written *kx*), medial doubled -*gk*- unaspirated non-ejective, *k'* ejective, and *x* fricative. Thus we find *kāmun* 'to make' (OIran. *kṛn-*, OPers. *kun-*), *mugkāg* 'family' beside *mugā* 'seed'; *k'ās* 'innermost part of a house', Khot. *kasā-*, *kasājsa-*⁵; Digor *k'insā* 'dough', Iron *č'yssā* and with fricative *xyssā*.⁶

For the dental series we have for OIran. *t*, Ossetic *t* (= *t'*) normally, doubled *dt*, but also ejective *t'*. Thus Digor, Iron *tānāg* 'thin', Khot. *ttamga-* 'rare';

¹ BSOAS, **xx**, 1957, 49-50.

² Further below, p. 541 on Khotanese *khoca*.

³ Other cases are cited *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 35.

⁴ Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, **II**, 407, from *pel-* 'dust', as in Pokorný, *IEW*, 802.

⁵ Ossetic Digor *k'asi bādāg* 'witch', as one 'sitting in the innermost part of the house', corresponds to Iron *k'ul bādāg* 'sitting in the *k'ul*'. This *k'ul*, Digor *k'ola*, is the 'innermost part of the house between the hearth and the back wall'. Probably OInd. *kāśas-* occurring once belongs here, on which elsewhere.

⁶ This represents an older **kisa-* from **kisa-* derived from *kat*, *kāt* : *kit* attested in Lat. *cāseus* 'cheese' and its cognates. Khotanese has *tcīñā-* adj. 'of yeast', OInd. *kīṇva-m* 'yeast'.

Digor, Iron *t'āpān* 'flat', from *tap-* 'flat', on which elsewhere, Digor *st'ālu*, Iron *st'āly* 'star'. The expected *θ* fricative to set beside *x* is absent. It can be noted that the OIran. *θ* also has lost friction in Ossetic: *fātān* 'broad', *i'indzun* 'to extend'.

The same series as for *k* can be shown for *p*. The usual result is *f*, as in *finzun* 'write', *fondz* 'five'; doubled *bp*. For ejective *p'* the *p'āruā* 'film' cited above occurs. To this must be added the rare *p* (= *p'*) which I see in Digor *per-*, Iron *pīr-* attested in Digor *peron* 'combed ball of wool', *pernā* 'wheel of a water-mill', Iron *pīryn*, *pyrd* 'to scratch, to comb', *pīran* 'comb for wool'. The meaning 'scratch' at once recalls the Germanic OEngl. *writan* 'to write', OSwed. *rīta* 'scratch, write', and the derivatives of Indo-European *peik*, *peig-*.

This would seem to provide the connexion of Khot. *pīr-*: *pīda-* 'to write, paint'. Previously¹ I had proposed to see in it OIran. *pati-kar-* 'to imitate' known in OPers. *patikara-* 'inscription', later *patkar* 'image', through an intermediate **paiyar-*.

Note that Tumshuq Saka has *pyerdanu* to translate Bud. Sansk. *samcintya* 'deliberately' from **pati-kar-* 'think'.² The Tumshuq Saka equivalent of Khotanese *pīr-* 'to write' has not yet been found. Incidentally it should be added here that Tumshuq *pištane* is used where Khotanese uses *haṣḍa-* 'message', so that it is not certainly translated by 'to write'.

A second case in which Ossetic has *p-* corresponding to older *p-* is Digor *purxa*, *purx*, Iron *pyrx* 'splashing water, spray', Khot. *usphīr-*, *asphīr-*, *isphīr-* 'to splash',³ from *par-* with suffix *-xā*, as in *xotxa* 'thin skin', *k'upxā* 'dregs from sour milk'.

The Ossetic system replacing OIran. *k*, *t*, *p*, non-aspirate stops, was thus, with the means familiar in Caucasian languages, *k'*, *k'*, *x* (whence came Iron palatalized *č*-, *č'*- before *e* and *i*); *t'*, *t'*, and *t'* from *θ*; and *p'* (rare), *p'* (rare), *f* (regularly). In the dental series there is disturbance. Note a disturbance also in the voiced series: Ossetic has *b*, and *d*, but the fricative *γ* from OIran. *g*. Ossetic knows also *g* from older intervocalic *-k-*. It has also a few cases of initial *g-* from older *γ-*. OIran. *γ-* is represented in three forms in Ossetic, by *ū*-, *b-*, and *g-*; the same position is found in Khotanese.⁴

12. Iranian *iza-*

The Iranian *iza-* 'skin' is attested in the Avestan adjective *izaēna-* (and with *ī-*) and widely in New Iranian. Thus we find Yidya *ize* (with variants *yizio*, *yijya*, and others), Orm. *īz* 'skin bag' Bal. *hīz* 'leather churn', Pašto, Bal. *zūk* 'skin for ghee', Pašto *žai* 'leather bag' from **izyaka-*.⁵

¹ *BSOS*, VIII, 4, 1937, 935.

² *BSOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 663.

³ *KT*, III, 34, 10; *KBT*, 19.223. For Yidya *porx* 'hoarfrost' see Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 240. Khotanese shows *phar-* = **far-*.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1954, 31-2. Add the Ubyx *ges°a* 'axe' of *Caucasica*, IV, 1927, 137 to Ossetic *ūas* 'axe', OInd. *vāsi-* in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1952, 55-6.

⁵ Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 105; *IIFL*, II, 195.

It has recently been noticed that Old Khot. *hāysā* in E 21.35 means a skin which can be inflated. The passage is

kye ttrāma śśāre samu kho hāysā daundā putā

kye ūri birštā suvā gyagarā rrūwa nātca

'some lie just like a skin blown up, rotting, others with belly burst, lungs, liver, intestines without'.

The inflated skin is known from the time of the Rigveda 7.89.2 *dṛtīr nā dḥmātó*. In Persia the Semitic *maškā-* was adopted and this has been handed down to NPersian *mašk*.

In Khot. *hāysā* the *h-* is prosthetic. A comparison of Khot. *hamgušta-* 'finger', *pajūšta-* 'finger-ring', like Yidya *parguščē*, Waxī *plōngōšt*, with OKhot. *āmštī*, later *āštī* 'thumb' shows that the simple word may have this added *h-* while the word with suffix wants it. The word is Avestan *angušta-*, NPers. *angušt* and OInd. *anguṣṭha-*. The Khotanese *-ī-* is from *-iya-*.

This recognition of Khot. *hāysa-* 'skin' has brought me to see that we should distinguish two words in Khotanese, 1. *īmjīnaa-* with nasal, and 2. *ījīnaa-* without nasal. The first *īmjīnaa-* belongs with Sogd. *'ynkw'ymōh *ēnkwēnō-*¹ 'steel' but the second will be the adjective to *hāysa-* 'skin'. The *ūrabada* 'belt' is more likely to be made of leather in the passage Ch. cvi 001, 5 *ījīnai hīrāsa hvattarakīnai ūrabada šau* 'a belt, of leather, black, . . .'.²

The leather belt is worn by the enemies, the Tūrak, in the Bahman Yašt (3.34) *drob'l-kwstykn *dunāl-kustīkān*.

For the *-j-* of *ījīnaa-* note that Khot. *spuljei* 'spleen' has *-lj-* from older *-rzy-*,³ and here too we may assume *īj-* from older **izy-*.

13. Khotanese *khoca*

A difficult problem was presented by the Old Khotanese *khoca*, later *khauca*.⁴ The intervocalic *-c-* would normally indicate some secondary conjunction of consonants. It was therefore assumed that the word contained *xaud-* with a suffix *-ča-*.

This base Indo-Eur. *skeu-* and *skeu-d-* is found with two initials *sk-* and *x-* from *kh-*. Thus we have Waxī *skid* 'cap' from **skauda-*, with the usual Waxī *-ī-* from *-au-*,⁵ and **khauda-* in OPers. *xauda-* 'hat', Ossetic Digor *xōda*, Iron *xūd*.⁶

The phrase Khot. *khauciġa khauska*, however, eventually led to the solution.⁷ There is also the later spelling in P 2024 recto b (*KT*, II, 78) *yaragaka va dva u khāškya va šā* 'two *yargak* (Turk. *yaryaq* "pelt") and one *kafša-* ("container")'.

¹ As proposed in *BSOAS*, XIX, 1, 1957, 55-7.

² Cited in *BSOAS*, XIX, 1, 1957, 55.

³ *BSOAS*, XIV, 3, 1952, 431-4.

⁴ An approximate solution was proposed in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, 20.

⁵ Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 482.

⁶ Other connected words cited in Morgenstierne, *EVP*, s.v. *xōl*, p. 96; *IIFL*, II, 266, Yidya *xūlo*; M. Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *khola-* 'hat'.

⁷ Ch. cvi 001,5 in *KT*, II, 59.

In *khaūska* we have the word *khausa* 'receptacle, shoe', Zor. Pahl., NPers. *kafš*,¹ with the suffix *-kya-* and palatalized *-š-* from *-s-*.

The recognition that Khot. *khoca* meant 'skin, leather' came through a comparison with Ossetic Digor *xotäg*, Iron *xútäg* 'flake' as in Iron *mítý xútäg* 'snow flakes'; and in Digor *ärt-xotäg*, *ärt-xotug*, Iron *ärt-xútäg* 'ashes' (*ärt* 'fire') compared with Digor *xotxä* 'thin skin; bran', and 'ashes' in the phrase *ní xotxä un* 'become ashes'. This *xotxä* is formed with the suffix *-xä*, Iron *-x*, found in other words as in *k'upxä*, *k'úpæ* 'lees of thickened milk', *zänxä*, *zäxx* 'earth', *mätyæ* 'locust', Avestan *maḍaxa-*. This sense of 'skin' indicated a connexion with Indo-Eur. *skew-* with dental enlargement. The Ossetic intervocalic *-t-* derives from older *-θ-* or from *-θ-* arising from *-d-*. For the combination with 'bran', see *supra* *färiäkä*, p. 538.

In other languages derivatives of **skew-* are frequent. Thus Greek *σκύλον* 'hide', *σκότρος* 'leather', Lat. *cutis* 'skin', OEngl. *hýd* 'hide'.

In Khotanese *khoca* thus seems to mean 'covering', thence 'skin', and so served as an epithet of 'receptacle, shoes', in *khaucija khaūska*. The name *heinä-khoca* will then mean, not 'red-hatted', but 'red-skinned'.

14. Khotanese *mala*

Khotanese *mala* occurs in hendiadys construction with the loan-word from NW Prakrit *tmkha-* 'peak', in Sanskrit *tīkṣṇa-* 'sharp'² in a passage P 2787.57-8 (*KT*, II, 103) *mala ttraikha sūmāra gārānā rāmda ttaira haraysā baīda* 'upon the peak top of Sumeru king of mountains, the Taira Haraysa'. Here the older Iranian cosmography of the Avesta, the *taēra-* 'peak' of the *Harā bərəz*, has been wedded to the Buddhist Sumeru.³ The word *mala* was at first taken as a proper name.

In a poem in honour of the king Śrī Vijita Sangrāma⁴ we read

baīsī bauspaujaññā ranīnai stūpa :

cāvām tta tta daitīg khu ramnā male ttraikha :

'the *balsa-* (= *mchod-rtēn*, *stūpa*) and the jewelled *stūpa* of the *gandhakūṭi* (perfumed chamber); the *cāvāna-* appears like peaks, mountain tops of gems'.

The *cāvāna-* has been noted only here. The simile with the peaks seems to indicate that the *cāvāna-* is the Sansk. *kūṭa-* and Prakrit *kūla*, of the *stūpa*.⁵ Or is it *cā* (= *cu*) and *vām* nom. sing. to *vāna-* 'shrine' or particle *vā-m*?

The word *mala-* occurs in the inst. sing. *malnā* translating Sansk. *upalair* 'with stones' in a passage of the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 69 v 4 *khu ra malnā garā sūmīrā* for Sansk. 3.67 *yathā-upalair merur ananta-tulyo*, 'like the mountain Sumeru with its peak' for the Sansk. 'like the limitless Sumeru with its rocks'.

¹ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 148.

² *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 769.

³ Quoted earlier in *Zoroastrian problems*, 226, and *KT*, II, p. vii.

⁴ *KT*, II, 2, lines 30-1.

⁵ For this *kūṭa* there is the study of L. de la Vallée Poussin in 'Staupikam', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II, 1937.

Khotanese *-l-* is ambiguous in origin, since it may represent Indo-Eur. *l* or *r*, or have replaced an OIran. *-rd-*. In Khot. *kamala-* 'head' we have the cognate of Av. *kamərəda-*, OInd. *mūrdhān-*.

If Khot. *mala-* 'peak', however, is traced to an Indo-European base **mel-* 'to be prominent' it belongs with the following group.

The dictionaries already contain words from Albanian, Celtic, Baltic, and Slavonic implying prominence. From Greek is quoted *μολεῖν, βλω-*. Thus we have Alb. *mal* 'point' from **mol-no-*; Geg. *moje* 'high place' from **mēl-iā-*. From Celtic Irish *mell* 'hill' from **mel-no-*, Lit. *mala* in *lyg-mala* 'height of bank', Let. *mala* 'edge, bank'. In Slavonic occur verbs Serb. *molim* in *iz-molīm* 'hervorzeigen', and Slovene *molé'ti* 'to project'.¹

To these words we have to add Kuci *melī* plur. 'nose' translating Sansk. *ghrāṇa*, Agni *malañ*. The singular is in Agni *ak-mal* 'face' from 'eye and nose'. For the association of 'point', and 'nose' with 'hill, mountain' note Khot. *piñja-* 'breast; peak' with Ossetic Digor *findzā, fīj*, Iron *fyndz* 'point, nose'.²

The Khotanese *mala* as 'mountain peak' suits the second of these two connexions, and thus would have an old *-l-*.

15. Iran. *fšar-*, OInd. *psar-*

An Iranian base *fšar-* has long been known in Avestan *fšarəma-* 'shame', in Ossetic both dialects *āfsarm*, Pers. *šarm*. To this are now added Sogd. Bud. *šβ'r* 'shame', Man. *šf'r*; Bud. *šβ'rs-*, Chr. *šfrs-* 'to be ashamed'; Bud. *šβ'rm'k* (SCE). Turfan Parthian has *šfrs-* 'to be confused'.³ From *kšar-* (from *fšar-*) Khotanese has a verb *kšar-*: *kšāda-* and noun *kšārma-* 'shame' translating Sansk. *lajjā*, derivative *akšārmauṇa* 'shamelessness' (P 4099.67), *akšārma-* 'shameless' (P5538 b 52). The causative *kšer-* is in *KT*, III, 11, 20 r 1.

Two additional words can be added to this group. Old Khotanese has *pakšāre* in the phrase *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* (6 r 1; 16 v 2 in *KT*, III) *kšārmā pakšāre rrūyāme jsa* 'with loss of shame and modesty'. For this one would expect the Bud. Sansk. *hrī-r-apatrūpya-*. With the negative prefix occurs (P 4099.67) *akšārmauṇa apakšarāttai* 'shamelessness and immodesty'.

The Khotanese *pakšar-* from **pa-fšar-* makes it possible to explain two forms in Zor. Pahlavi in the *Dēnkart*.

DkM 790.3. *ut apar driγuš must'ōmand pahlom darmān garzišn ut mustkar hač garzišn ī must'ōmand apāč pafširišnīh* (written *ppšylšnyh*) *ut apatīrišnīh ut avāvarikānīh ut adahišnīh būtan* 'and about the aggrieved poor man's first remedy, complaint; and in the offender there being from the aggrieved one's complaint withdrawal, cessation of attack, lack of conviction (?) and absence of agreement (?)'.

DkM 654.14. *vināskārān pātfrās kunēt bāstān pafšārēt kastārān* 'he punishes the evildoers, he shames the wrongdoers thoroughly'.

¹ Pokorny, *IEW*, 721.

² *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 75.

³ F. W. K. Muller, *Soghdische Texte*, I; I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, § 441; A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 10.

Here we have *pa-fšār-* and the intrans. *pa-fšār-*, written *ppš'l-* and *ppšyl-*, from *fšār-* 'to be confused, ashamed'.

These Iranian forms have been subsumed under a base **kormo-*.¹ OSlav. *sramŭ* 'shame' may have lost an initial consonant *p-*; Germanic OSax. *harm* and the other dialect forms similarly.

This Iran. *fšār-* can be seen also in the *šār-* after *abi-* in Zor. Pahl. *aβšārtan* 'press' as in *Dēnkart* 614.18 *kāmast taranak sar ī avē pur-xarr apurnāyak pat gav aβšārtan margēnītan* 'he wished to press in his hand the tender head of the child full of fortune to kill him'. The word occurs in the operation of harvesting.² The present base is found in *bē aβšārišn* 'to be pressed'.³ From NPersian we have *afšurdan*, *afšārdan*, *afšārīdan* 'to press', with pres. *afšār-*, and *afšariš* 'expressio', *afšurah* 'expressed juice'. Ossetic has Digor *āfsārun*, Iron *āfsāryn*, *āfsārst* 'press, stuff, tread on'.

A second word must now be considered, attested in Khotanese *šsar-*.

In Khotanese OIran. *xš-* gives both *kš-* and *šš-*. Thus we have *kšusta* 'serum', Avestan *xšusta-* 'liquid' and *ššavā-* 'night', Av. *kšapā-*. Similarly OIran. *š-* from *šš-* gives *kš-* in *kšira-* 'country', Av. *šōiθra-*, OInd. *ksetra-*. The word for 'six' is *kšāṣga* (from **xšīzā*), Av. *xšvaš*, OInd. *ṣaṣ-*. OIran. *fš-* gave *kš-* in *kšundai* 'husband', Av. *fšuyant-*, *kšāna-* 'shoulder-blade', Oss. *āfsondz*, Zor. Pahl. *šānak*, NPers. *šānah*. In the following base Khot. *šsar-* the initial seems also to have been like *kš-* from an OIran. *fš-*.

The verb *šsar-* is attested in a present base in *ašarrāmātā-*, translation of a lost Sanskrit text where Tibetan has rendered by *zum-pa* 'fear, dismay'. The optative 3rd sing. occurs in E 8.24 *suhāna šsarri klaiša* 'with joy he exhilarates, lightens the afflictions'. The participle is found in E 21.8

māsta bitcampha brūye jsa strīye daha
āššuda tsīndā bāysaṇuṇo murka date

'excited joyous with love are women and men, exhilarated birds and beasts roam in the woods'.

Kha. 1.13 (*Khotanese Buddhist texts*, 3), 139 v 1 *dvīsatānu uysnorānu balysūñavūysānu ašarrāmāta hamāta* corresponds to Tibetan *srog-chags űis brgya sems zum-par gyur-nas*. The Chinese rendering has 懈怠心 *hie tai sin* 'with indolent mind'. The reverse of this state is accordingly 'exhilarated'.

The parallelism of *māsta* with *daha*, and *āššuda* with birds and animals, assures that *šsar-* is near to *mad-* in meaning.

The two forms, present *šsarra-* and partic. *-ššuda-*, show *-rr-* from *-r-n-* and *-uda-* from *-rta-*.

With this Khotanese *šsar-* we have now to compare a word derivable from the same meaning in Rigvedic *psar-* attested only in the nominal form *psdras-* (in compound *psara-*). The contexts show that *psāras-* is near in meaning to

¹ So in Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, 463, and Pokorny, *IEW*, 615; Vasmer, *Russ. et. Wb.*

² C. Bartholomae, *Mitteliranische Mundarten*, II, 26.

³ J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, I, 201, no. 31.

māda- and *sadhamāda-* 'exhilarated company'. Rigvedic *psāras-* occurs six times, *psara-* once, as follows.

9.74.3 *māhi psārah sūkṛtaṃ somyām mādhu* 'the well-made sweet of the soma is a great *psāras-*'.

9.96.3 *sā no deva devātāte pavasva
mahé soma psārasa indrapānaḥ*

'O god, purify for us for divine use, O soma, for the great *psāras-* as Indra's drink'.

This recurs in 9.96.27 with *devapānaḥ* 'as the deva-gods' drink' in place of *indrapānaḥ*.

1.41.7 *stómam . . . māhi psāro vārunasya* 'the song . . . a great *psāras-* for Varuṇa'.

9.2.2 *ā vacyasva māhi psāro vṛṣāṇdo dyumnādvattamaḥ* 'turn hither, a great *psāras*, a bull, O drop, most splendid'.

8.26.24 *tvāṃ hī supśdrastamaṃ nṛśādanēṣu hūmāhe* 'thee truly we invoke, the most excellent *psāras-* in the seats of men'.

4.33.3 *té vājo vibhvaḥ ṛbhūr indravanto
mādhupsaraso no 'vantu yajñām*

'Vāja, Vibhvan, Rbhu, those having a *psāras* of sweet drink, those of Indra's following, may they favour our sacrifice'.

1.168.9 (Marúts) *té sapsarāśo 'janayanta' ābhvam*
'they, the sharers of *psāras-*, produced the monstrous thing'.¹

With this can be compared the compound *sadhamāda-* 'feasting together'.

The contexts seem clearly to demand a meaning 'carousal'. In the Indian commentaries we have as a variant *Naighaṇṭuka* 3.7 (in both editions of Roth and Sarup) *psaras-* among the *rūpa-nāmāni* 'words for *rūpa*'. Sāyaṇa and Mādhava have this explanation *rūpa-*. But the contexts indicated 'food'. On 1.41.7 an attempt is made to keep *rūpa* and adjust it to an etymology from *psā-* 'eat' identified with *bhakṣaṇa-*, with *Uṇādi* suffix *-ar-*. Here Mādhava has *rūpam*. On 9.74.3 Sāyaṇa has *bhakṣaṇam pānīyam* 'drink'. For 1.168.9 we find Sāyaṇa has *saṁāna-rūpā hīṃsakā vā* introducing a different concept of 'injury', Mādhava also has *hīṃsākarmā vā spṛnotiḥ, udakam*. For 8.26.24 we find *atīśayena śobhana-rūpatvaṃ*. On 4.33.3 Sāyaṇa has again both meanings: *madhurasya soma-rasasya bhakṣayitārah manohara-rūpā vā*. But here Mādhava is aberrant with a new etymology *somaṃ prati sarantaḥ*, as if *p-* (from *prati*) and *sar-*.

Now with the Iranian evidence the meaning deduced from the contexts is clearly correct. The base *psar-* is the archaic equivalent of *mad-*, but survived only in one nominal form.

The word *psāras-* cannot be discussed without allusion to OInd. *apsarās-*, *apsarā-*, the name of the female companion of the *gandharva-*, the voluptuous celestial woman.

¹ Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* has 'gleiches genessend'; Wackernagel, *Aufsätze* . . . *Kuhn*, 169, no. 1 'gleichgestaltet'; Geldner's *Übersetzung* 'die Genossen'.

Since later the Epic, medical texts, and gnomic poetry know the *pramadā-* 'the female voluptuary', a name formed from a strengthened *mad-* 'be exhilarated', it would be natural to see in *apsarās-* a similar epithet. The *a-* is then the intensive prefix of which various traces survive in archaic Indo-European words¹ corresponding to the *pra-* of *pramadā-*.

Weighed against this connexion the earlier analysis as *a-psarās-* 'shameless'² seems less suited to the vigour and morale of the celestial attendants of Kubera.

Three corrigenda have come to my notice: *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 48, delete the *n* wrongly typed in after *abhva-*; *BSOAS*, xxi, 1, 1958, 45, read *khāla-s*; p. 46, read *amākṣpānta* without the third *-a-*.

¹ For *a-* see provisional notes in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 48.

² J. Wackernagel, *Aufsätze* . . . *Kuhn*, 159 ff.; reapproved by P. Tedesco, *JAOS*, lxxiv, 1954, 180, against the rejection in Mayrhofer's *Wörterbuch*, where connexion with *ap-* 'water' is preferred.

BUDDHA'S PROLONGATION OF LIFE

By PADMANABH S. JAINI

THE belief in immortality and the immeasurable life-span of a single existence is found in the earliest records of the Indian religions. The general trend of the Vedas, the epics, and the Purāṇas is towards immortalizing their devatās and deities. The *avatāras* of the Hindu Godhead, in spite of their earthly existence, were considered free from the laws of birth and death. In their case these incidents were spoken of as mere appearances, since such beings were but devices of the immortal God to work among mortals.

This extraordinary power over the laws of nature was in a limited way shared even by human beings. Certain great sages like Bhīṣma were endowed with powers known as *icchā-marāṇa* (death at one's own will). How this was accomplished is not stated. In the case of Bhīṣma, we are told that his great renunciation and his vow of celibacy won for him a boon of this kind from his father Śantanu.¹ How such a boon could control the causes of death is nowhere explained, but it is suggested that the laws of nature could be controlled by sheer force of character or strong will-power of the individual.

An attempt to explain the functioning of such will-power over the phenomena of death is made by the early Buddhists. Such power over death, i.e. the power of attaining an immeasurable life-span, is found attributed to the Buddha. The later Buddhists went a step further and advocated a doctrine of the immortal Buddha, comparable to the *avatāras* of the Hindu God. The Buddhist texts, both Pali and Sanskrit, contain several controversies arising out of the criticism of this belief in the power of the Buddha. A study of this controversy sheds light not only on the various phases of the development of Buddhology, but also on the doctrine of Karma which explains the phenomena of life and death.

An account of the last days of the Buddha is preserved in the Pali and Sanskrit versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. In both accounts it is said that the Buddha was 80 years old² when he attained *parinirvāṇa*. It is also said that three months prior to his death, he was overcome by a severe illness which he bore with great composure. Immediately after his recovery, during his sojourn in Vaiśālī, in the Cāpāla shrine, he declared to his intimate attendant,

¹ *sa tena karmanā' sūnoḥ prītas tasmai varaṃ dadau*
nākāma-maraṇam itā bhaviṣyati taveḥ ha.
na te prabhaviṣṭa mṛtyur yāvad icchasi jīvītum
svena kāmēna martyo 'si nākāmas tvaṃ kathaṃcāna.

Mahābhārata, I, 94, 75-6 (Southern recension, ed. P. P. S. Shastri).

Also,

taḍ dṛṣṭvā duṣkaraṃ karma kṛtva Bhīṣmeṇa Śantanuḥ
svacchanda-maraṇaṃ tasmai dadau tuṣṭaḥ prītaḥ svayam.

Mahābhārata, I, 94, 94 (Poona edition).

² For other traditions on this point, see E. Obermiller (tr.), *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, II, p. 70.

'whosoever, Ānanda, has developed, practised . . . , and ascended to the very heights of the four paths¹ to *ṛddhi* . . . he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon (*kalpa*) or more than a *kalpa* (*kappāvesesam*).² Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised them and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon or for more than an aeon'.³

This was indeed a hint to Ānanda that he should beg the Lord to remain during the aeon. But we are told that as the heart of Ānanda was possessed by the Evil Māra, he did not beg the Lord to exercise this power. The Buddha then repeated his declaration twice in vain, and asked Ānanda to leave him alone. In the meantime, the Māra appeared and reminded the Lord that it was time for the latter to attain *parinirvāṇa*. The Buddha promised that after a period of three months he would pass away. After the departure of the rejoicing Māra, it is said, the Buddha deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his natural term of life.⁴

This account is given in identical terms in both the Pali and Sanskrit versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. The Sanskrit version has a few more points of interest. It is said there that before rejecting the *āyuh-saṃskāra* (the force of life-duration),⁵ the Lord thought that there were only two persons, viz. Supriya the King of Gandharvas⁶ and Subhadra the parivrājaka,⁷ who would be taught by the Buddha himself at their attaining maturity of insight within a period of three months. Thinking thus, the Lord attained that kind of *samādhi*, by which he mastered the forces of *jīvita* (new prolonged life) and rejected the forces of *āyuh* (the existing life-force).⁸

The Sarvāstivādins, on the basis of this, hold that the life of three months was indeed an extension of life. He prolonged his life for only this short period : there was no purpose in prolonging it further, as the two new converts mentioned above would have become his disciples by that time. Further, the Buddha did this to show his control over the forces of life and death.⁹

¹ Will (*chanda*), effort (*vīrya*), thought (*citta*), and investigation (*vimāṃsā*), each united to earnest thought.

² The *Pali-English dictionary* (PTS) takes the word *kappāvesesam* to mean '(for) the rest of the *kappa*'. But as Professor Edgerton has shown, this word probably means 'more than a *kalpa*'. See *BHSD*, 173.

³ *Tathāgataṃ kho Ānanda, cattāro iddhipādā bhāvītā . . . ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda, Tathāgato kappam vā tiṭṭheyya, kappāvesesam vā. Dīgha-nikāya*, xvi, 3, 3 . . . ; cf. *yasya kasyaci catvāra ṛddhipādā āsevītā . . . ākāṃkṣamāṇaḥ sa kalpam vā tiṣṭhet kalpāveśeṣam vā. Tathāgatasya ānanda . . . ākāṃkṣamāṇas Tathāgataḥ kalpaṃ vā tiṣṭhet kalpāveśeṣam vā. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 204.

⁴ *Atha kho bhagavā Cāpāle cehye sato sampajāno āyu-saṃskhāraṃ ośajji. Dīgha-nikāya*, xvi, 3, 9.

⁵ For the use of this expression, see Stcherbatsky, *The central conception of Buddhism*.

⁶ There is no mention of Supriya in the Pali version.

⁷ Both versions contain an identical account of the conversion of this parivrājaka.

⁸ *Yannu aham tadrūpān ṛddhyabhisamskāraṇ abhisamskuryāṃ yathā samāhite citte jīvita-samskāraṇ adhiśṭhāyāyuh-saṃskārān utśreyam. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, p. 210. Also *Divyāvadāna*, p. 203.

⁹ *Māraṇa-vaśīka-jñāpanārtham . . . tras māsyam eva nordhvam vineyakāryabhāvāt Yaśomitra, Abhidharma-kosa-vyākhyā*, p. 105.

This episode in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* became a centre of several controversies among the Buddhists. The Sthaviravādins and the Sarvāstivādins agreed on the various miraculous powers of the Buddha. The prolongation of the life-span was indeed a splendid miracle which they would gladly have conceded to him. But when the Aṭṭhakathā-kāras and the Vibhāṣā-śāstrins set about explaining this sūtra-passage, they were confronted with several doctrinal difficulties. The main question was how to account for the new life and how to reconcile it with the accepted theories of the laws of karma.

According to the Buddhist karma theory, the life-span of any single existence (*nikāya-sabhāga*) is determined by the karma of the individual at the moment of his conception (*pratisandhi*). This is illustrated by the analogy of an arrow. The destiny of an arrow and the time it will take to reach its destination are determined at the moment of its shooting. Similarly, karma determines the life-span of the individual (i.e., the five aggregates) at the moment of his conception. The karma, so to say, generates a force (*saṃskāra*) known as *āyuh* which keeps the series of the five aggregates intact for a certain period. When this particular force is exhausted, we call it *āyuh-kṣaya* or death. It is therefore maintained that *āyuh* is a *vipāka*, a result of some past karma. If the phenomenon of life-prolongation is accepted, we have to account for a new life-force. This, as suggested by the Buddha's declaration, is possible by assuming that the *iddhi* or the yogic potency produces such new life-force. Thus we find two kinds of life, the original one generated by the karma and the other by yogic powers.

The Sthaviravādins, despite the above-mentioned declaration of the Buddha in their sūtra, did not accept the theory of generating a new life by yogic practices. Consequently, they were not able to reconcile the text with their accepted theories of karma. They retained the passage, but gave it an interpretation to suit these theories. According to them the '*kalpa*' in this passage never meant a *mahākalpa*, i.e. an aeon, but an *āyuhkalpa*, i.e. the duration of a man's life. Now the *āyuhkalpa* is what people consider as the normal life-span of a human being. It is, as the Buddha himself said (in a different context), 'a hundred years, less or more'.¹ Since the Buddha had reached the normal limit, he did live for a *kalpa* or a portion of a *kalpa*. This indeed was a very poor explanation. The Sthaviravādins were aware of the doctrinal difficulties involved in this belief. Indeed, in the *Kathāvatthu*, where for the first time we meet with this controversy, the Sthaviravādin argues against the Mahāsāṅghika's claim that the Buddha could have lived for a *mahākalpa*. The main argument is whether the new life-span (*āyuh*), the new destiny (*gati*), the acquisition of a new individuality is a thing of magic potency.² This the Mahāsāṅghika

¹ *Ettha ca kappam ti āyukappam, tasmim tasmim kāle yam manussānam āyuppanānam hoti tam paripuṇṇam karonto tithheyya, kappāvesam ti : 'appam vā bhiyyo' ti vuttavassasatato atirekam vā. Sumanāgalavilāsini, Vol. II, p. 554.*

² *Iddhībalena samannāgato kappam tithheyya' ti ? āmantā. iddhimayiko so āyu, ... sā gati ... so attabhāvaapaṭlabho ti ? na hevaṃ vattabbe . . . Kathāvatthu, XI, 5.*

cannot affirm, for he is committed to the theory that the *āyuk* is a *karma-vipāka* and not a result of magic potency.

Buddhaghosa, in his commentary on this controversy, maintains that the *kappa* here meant only *āyukappa*. He further explains that a person like Buddha, or anyone having mastery over the *iddhipādas*, can avert any obstructions to life, whereas others are not capable of this. When, therefore, the Buddha claimed that he could live for a *kappa*, what he really meant was that he had powers to avert any premature death.¹

We may note here that as yet there is no suggestion in the Pali works that the Buddha extended his life even for a short period of three months. It was a modified belief of the Sarvāstivādins. The *Milindapañha* accepts this Sarvāstivādin theory and maintains that the Buddha did extend his life for a period of three months and could have lived for a *kappa*, if only he had any desire for earthly life. While maintaining this, the author of the *Milindapañha* most inconsistently explains that the *kappa* here means only *āyukappa* and not the *mahākappa*.²

These explanations did not satisfy any one, least of all the Sthaviravādins. In the commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, Buddhaghosa gives the view of one elder, Mahāsivathera. This therā maintained that the Buddha did mean to live for an aeon by the powers of his magic gift. But he did not live because the physical body is subject to the laws of old age and the Buddhas pass away without showing any severe effects of it. Moreover, all his chief disciples would have attained nirvāṇa by that time and the Buddha living to the end of the *kappa* would have been left with a poor following of novices. Buddhaghosa dismisses this view without any comment and expressly states that according to the Aṭṭhakathās, the *kappa* here means only the *āyukappa* and not the *mahākappa*.³

These explanations of the Aṭṭhakathās do not seem to take notice of another Vinaya passage of the Sthaviravādins. In the *Cullavagga*, in the section dealing with the first council held under the presidentship of Mahākassapa, Ānanda is censured for his failure to request the Buddha to live for a *kappa* or *kappā-vasesa*.⁴ Surely if *kappa* meant only an *āyukappa*, and if the power of the Buddha was only limited to avert any premature death, there was no point in censuring Ānanda for his absentmindedness.

The Pali commentaries are silent on the manner in which the prolongation and the rejection of the life-force is accomplished. This topic is fully discussed

¹ *Ko pañettha iddhiṃato viśeso, nañu aniddhiṃ pi āyukappaṃ tiṭṭheyyā ti? ayam viśeso, iddhiṃ hi . . . akālamaraṇaṃ nivāreṇaṃ sakkoti, aniddhiṃato etaṃ balaṃ natthi. Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā, xi, 5.*

² *'Kappāvasesaṃ vā' ti temāsaparicchedo ca bhāṣito. so ca pana kappo āyukappo vuccati. . . vijjati ca taṃ mahārāja iddhibalaṃ bhagavato . . . anattiko mahārāja bhagavā sabbabhavehi . . . Milindapañha, pp. 141-2.*

³ *Mahāsivathero pañāha: Buddhānaṃ aṭṭhane gajjitaṃ nāma natthi . . . idaṃ bhaddakappaṃ eva tiṭṭheyya . . . Evaṃ vutte 'pi so pana: vuccati, āyukappo ti idaṃ eva Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ niyāmitaṃ. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Vol. II, pp. 554-5.*

⁴ The commentary on this section of the *Cullavagga* makes no reference to this point.

in the works of the Sarvāstivāda School. Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya* gives several Vaibhāṣika views on this topic.¹ According to the Vibhāṣā-śāstra, karma is of two kinds. One is known as *āyur-vipāka-karma*, i.e. the karma which at the moment of conception determines the *āyuh*. The other kind is *bhoga-vipāka-karma*. This is a sum total of all past karmas, accumulated in the series of consciousness, which continuously yields its fruits (other than *āyuh*) during the phenomenal existence. A human arhat, having full mastery over the *ṛddhipādas*, can, by his strong resolution, transform the *bhoga-vipāka-karma* into an *āyur-vipāka-karma*. This transformed karma then produces the new *āyuh*. If he wishes to reject his already established life-span (*āyuh-saṃskāra*), he transforms his *āyur-vipāka-karma* into the *bhoga-vipāka*.

This explanation is not satisfactory because at the time when the *āyuh* is rejected, the *āyur-vipāka-karma* is no longer potentially existent, for it has already yielded its fruit. Therefore, some ācāryas hold a different view. According to them, the karmas of the past birth, as yet unripe, are ripened and made to yield their fruit by the power of meditation. But the difficulty here is that in the case of an arhat, there is no possibility of any new potential *āyur-vipāka-karma*, since at the attainment of the arhatship, he has brought an end to all new births. In all these explanations we can see a sustained but unsuccessful attempt to relate the new (i.e., the prolonged) *āyuh* to some form of karma.

Ghoṣaka, a Vaibhāṣika ācārya, goes a step further. He holds that an altogether new body consisting of the material elements (*mahābhūtāni*) of the Rūpāvacara world is produced by the yogic powers. This body is capable of living for a *kalpa*. One can see here a veiled reference to the *nirmāṇa-kāya* or the Assumed body of the Buddha. But it is not explained here how such a body can continue to exist when the original body would cease at the end of the *āyuh*.

Vasubandhu, after giving these views, gives his own. He says that such an arhat has such yogic potency that he can cut short or put aside the life-span cast by the past karma and produce a new life-span by the sole power of his meditation. Consequently, this new life-force would be a result of samādhi and not of karma.

This view takes us back to the controversy raised in the *Kathāvatthu*. The view of Vasubandhu is identical with the Mahāsāṅghika view condemned by the Sthaviravādins as contrary to the laws of karma.

This unorthodox view of Vasubandhu is severely criticized in a work of the fifth century A.D., known as the *Abhidharma-dīpa*,² representing the orthodox Vaibhāṣika school. The commentary on this work calls this view unbuddhist, reaffirms the doctrine of karma, and accuses the Kośakāra of entering the

¹ L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu*, ch. II, kṣ. 10.

² The original MS of this work was discovered in Tibet by Pandit Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, in the year 1937. It has been edited by the author of this article and will soon be published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, in their Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.

portals of Mahāyāna Buddhism. 'For surely', says this work, 'if the Lord, by the powers of meditation could at will produce a new living personality or could cast a new life-span independent of karma, then indeed, the Buddha would be turned into a Nārāyaṇa. Moreover, he would never attain *parinirvāṇa*, such is his compassion for worldly beings. Therefore, this view deserves no consideration, as the Kośakāra here is following the Vaitulika-śāstra.'¹

This statement is very significant. It anticipates the development of the avatāravāda in Mahāyāna Buddhism and reasserts the orthodox theory of the human Buddha. It also points to the Mahāyānistic origins of the belief in the Buddha's power of prolonging his life-span. We have already seen that the *Kathāvatthu* attributes this belief to the Mahāsāṅghikas, the forerunners of the Mahāyāna, who were the first to fall away from the orthodox church. The *Mahāvastu*, a Vinaya text of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsāṅghika, contains the earliest reference to the doctrine of the supermundane (*lokottara*) Buddha. It is said there that the Buddhas are not subject to the effects of old age. Nor are they subject to the laws of karma. The following verse² seems to refer to the belief in the Buddha's power of life prolongation and yet his passing away as a human being :

*prabhūś ca karma vārayitum karmaṃ deśayanti ca jina
anśvaryaṃ vinigūhanti eṣā lokānuvartanā.*³

The Pali commentators and the Vibhāṣā-śāstrins had to account for the laws of karma which even the Buddhas could not escape. Hence their argument that the Buddha wished to pass away while his body was still unaffected by old age. The Lokottaravādins placed the Buddha above the laws of karma and thus paved the way for the Mahāyānistic doctrine of a Transcendent Buddha.

Once the supremacy of the Buddha over the laws of karma was accepted, there remained no great difficulty in assuming a limitless life for the Buddha. The *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* opens with a similar and this time a far bolder declaration of the Buddha.⁴ 'Should he desire, O Ānanda, the Buddha can live on a single morsel for one *kalpa*, or even a hundred, a thousand . . . , or even millions of

¹ 'Samādhibalena karmajaṃ jīvāvedham nirvartyāyuh samskāradhiṣṭhānaṃ, āyur na vipākaḥ' iti Kośakārah. tatra kim uttaram u? na tatāvaśyam uttaram vaktavyam, yasmān naitat sūtre 'vatarati, vinaye na samdrśyate, dharmatām ca vilomayati . . .

tathāpi tu yuktimaḥ uttaram ucyaṭe. yadi Bhagavān samādhibalena svecchayāpūrvam sattvaṃ . . . utpādayet, svātmano vā jīvitaṃ anākeṣiptaṃ prāk-karmabhir yogabalenāksipet, tato Buddho Bhagavān Nārāyaṇi-kṛtāḥ syāt, apūrvā-sattvanirmānāt. sa ca kṛūṇikatvān naiva parinirvṛyāt . . . tasmād Vaitulika-śāstra-praveśa-dvāram ārabdhaṃ tena bhādanienety adhyupekṣyam etat. Abhidharma-dīpa vṛtti, kā. 138.

² *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 169.

³ 'Although they could suppress the working of karma, the conquerors let it become manifest and conceal their sovereign power. This is mere conformity with the world' (trans. by J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 133). For other similar doctrines of the Lokottaravādins, see J. Masuda, 'Origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist schools', *Asia Major*, II, 1925.

⁴ 'Akāṃkṣann Ānanda, Tathāgata eka-pinda-pātena kalpaṃ vā tiṣṭhet, kalpaśataṃ vā, . . . tato vottari tiṣṭhet, na ca Tathāgatasyendriyāṇy upaśāṣeyur na mukhavarṇasyānyathātaṃ bhaven nāpi chavivarna upahanyeta. Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Anecdota Oxoniensia. Aryan Series, Vol. I, Pt. 2), 1883, p. 4.

kalpas, or even beyond that and still his faculties will not diminish, nor will his complexion show any decay.' The *Sukhāvāṣī-vyūha* was indeed devoted solely to the glorification of this one aspect, symbolized by the glorious conception of the Buddha Amitāyū, the Buddha of immeasurable life.

The emergence of the absolutist schools like the Śūnyavāda brought a still greater revolution. Here the Buddha was considered not only a supermundane personality, but the very essence of phenomena, comparable to the Godhead of the Hindu religion. The theological conception of the *trikāya* of the Buddha is explained on the basis of this doctrine. It led to the doctrine of the identity of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.¹ The statements in the *Prajñāpāramitās* or the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*,² that the Buddha never attained *nirvāṇa* are to be understood in the background of this philosophical development. The historical or the human Buddha of the Hīnayāna was considered here as one of the many incarnations of the Absolute Buddha, his descent on earth in the *nirmāṇa-kāya* or the Assumed body.

Thus we see that the belief in the Buddha's power of prolongation of the life-span gradually led Buddhists to a higher conception of the Buddha of immeasurable life and to a still higher conception of the Transcendent and Immanent Buddha.

¹ For a full exposition of this topic, see T. R. V. Murti : *The central philosophy of Buddhism*, 284 ff.

² *Nirvāṇabhūmim upadarśayāmi vinayārthasattvāna vadāmy upāyam na cāpi nirvāmy ahu tasmā kāle ihaiva ca dharmu prākāśayāmi*. Chapter xv (*Tathāgatāyuspramāṇapariivarta*), p. 323. Also cf. *Na Buddhah parinirvāṇī dharmo 'ntarhīyate na ca, sattvānām paripākāya nirvāṇam upadarśayet*. (Quoted in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka*, p. 132.) For several views on this topic, see Bu-ston, II, pp. 67 ff.

SOME REMARKS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERB COMPLEX IN STANDARD CHINESE

By H. F. SIMON

1. LANGUAGE MATERIAL

THESE remarks on the verb complex are based on the speech system of one informant. The informant was born in Tientsin but was brought up in Peking, and lived in both Peking and Tientsin until 1948. She does not wish her name to be divulged, but I should nevertheless like to place on record here my very great indebtedness to her for her great patience and conscientiousness.

In testing the colligabilities of certain word classes and in assigning words to classes, I have had to have recourse to the question 'could you say this?'.¹ When the answer was *buneng* 'no' or *bushuenn* 'it doesn't sound right' the example was rejected. When the answer was *keeyi jehyangl shuo* 'you can put it that way', it was accepted. An example was also accepted when the answer was *woo jydaw yeou-de ren jehyangl shuo, woo bu shyiguann jehyangl shuo* 'I know there are people who put it that way but I don't normally'.

A translation is offered for Chinese isolates and examples quoted in the text. It is probably true that translation, be it literal or idiomatic, can be of little or no assistance in the formal description of linguistic features—indeed, it may often be misleading. But with such a profusion of transcriptions to choose from, it is unreasonable to expect the sinologist to understand at sight examples rendered in any particular transcription. A translation should at least make deciphering a great deal easier and, since it is impractical to contextualize examples, the translation may also occasionally give the sinologist a clue to the context. Finally, if one does not happen to know the language under discussion, it must surely be helpful to have some general indication of what the examples are about, and a little irritating to be denied such information.

But it should be emphasized that no attempt has been made in translation to do more than give a very general indication of the meaning of an isolate or example. Indeed, in the tables showing colligations of word classes, the Chinese examples are exponents in the text of such colligations. Since clause 'topics' are not included in these colligations, 'topics' do not appear in the cited examples either. But for the sake of intelligibility the English equivalents have a clause subject, generally a pronoun.

2. HIERARCHY OF ANALYSIS

It would now appear to be generally accepted that in a formal description

¹ The text examined is a spoken text throughout. A number of examples culled from contemporary novels in modern colloquial were refused; 'You can put it like that when you're writing, but not when you're talking'. It may be of interest that some of the examples so refused in this way were obtained from dialogue passages.

of grammatical structure 'attention must first be paid to the longer elements of text—such as the paragraph, the sentence and its component clauses, phrases, pieces, and lastly, words if they are institutionalized or otherwise established'.¹ In a recent paper² Dr. M. A. K. Halliday has shown how this procedure may be applied to Chinese. In his description he recognizes four³ 'units', viz. sentence, clause, word, and character, and describes them in descending progression.

It will be evident, however, that in this study of the verb complex and in the preceding study of the two substantival complexes,⁴ this hierarchy of analysis has been reversed. And whilst it is not difficult to appreciate the wisdom of an analysis firmly based on sentence structure, there would appear to be some justification for an occasional reversal of the accepted procedure.

It is becoming evident, for instance, that a language of description which is based entirely on so complex a structure as that of the sentence is in some danger of becoming quite as difficult as the language under description. If it is possible to offer an analysis of long and complex elements of structure in terms of shorter and simpler elements there is, surely, a great deal to be said for doing so.

It can also be argued that languages like Chinese, Vietnamese, and Tai belong to a language 'type'⁵ where analysis at the phonological level is unlikely to produce sufficient criteria for the formal classification of items at the grammatical level of analysis. And if 'classes' of isolates are to be established formally by 'colligation' with other classes, then an ascending hierarchy of analysis becomes almost inevitable.⁶

Finally, it is impossible, in the confines of one or two papers, to offer a description in detail of any one element of structure if it is also necessary to describe the remainder. But in the language under consideration here such descriptions in detail are still required. If they are to be based entirely on sentence structure, then it is difficult to see how one could describe any one element of structure without also describing the remainder.

It is for these reasons that a description by 'stages' of analysis is proposed here.

3. STAGES OF ANALYSIS

Just as 'grammatical meaning' has been defined as a partial statement of meaning at a defined 'level' of analysis,⁷ so it is convenient to make state-

¹ J. R. Firth, 'A synopsis of linguistic theory, 1930-1955', *Studies in linguistic analysis. Special volume of the Philological Society*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957, 18.

² M. A. K. Halliday, 'Systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis', *ibid.*, 54-67.

³ In an earlier article he recognized five 'units', viz. sentence, clause, group, word, and character; cf. M. A. K. Halliday, 'Grammatical categories in Chinese', *TPS*, 1956, 177-224.

⁴ H. F. Simon, 'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese', *BSOAS*, xv, 2, 1953.

⁵ cf. P. J. Honey, 'Word classes in Vietnamese', *BSOAS*, xviii, 3, 1956, where word classes are established by collocation.

⁶ cf. 'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese', 327-8, and J. R. Firth, *op. cit.*, 13.

⁷ cf. J. R. Firth, *op. cit.*, particularly pp. 5-11.

ments about grammatical structure itself at any one of several 'stages' of analysis.¹ The 'stages' are to be thought of in hierarchy so that a partial statement of grammatical meaning at one stage will presuppose other statements at the next stage 'up' or the next stage 'down'.

Since we are at the level of grammatical analysis throughout, the technique of analysis will remain the same at each stage. It is in this respect that stages of grammatical analysis differ from levels of linguistic analysis. But at each stage it is, of course, possible to make reference to statements of meaning at other levels when such statements become relevant to the particular stage under discussion.²

For Chinese it is convenient to distinguish three stages of analysis, viz. the 'complex stage', the 'clause stage', and the 'sentence stage'. The elements of structure at each stage are described as classes. The elements of structure at the complex stage are 'word' classes, e.g. 'noun', 'verb', 'determinator', and 'preverb'. The elements of structure at the 'clause' stage are the three complex classes, viz. 'noun complex',³ 'determinate complex',⁴ and 'verb complex'. At this stage there are also certain word classes which are not susceptible to analysis at the complex stage, e.g. 'pronoun',⁵ 'clause word',⁶ and 'preposition'.⁵ The elements of structure at the 'sentence' stage are 'clause' classes, e.g. 'nominal clause' and 'verbal clause'.

Substantival *desegments*⁶ and pre-verbal and post-verbal *desegments*⁷ are also described as elements of structure at the 'complex stage'. But it should be noted that they may be analysed further as consisting of 'words' or 'complexes' or 'clauses', each followed by the particle *-de*, e.g. [*hao-de*] *shu* 'good books', [*neygeh waygworen-de*] *shu* 'that foreigner's books', [*ta tzuotian mae-de*] *shu* 'the books he bought yesterday'.

The structure of words, on the other hand, be it the arrangement of consonant, vowel, and tone in a monosyllabic word, the arrangement of syllables in a polysyllabic word, or the arrangement of words in a compound word is 'non-syntactic' by definition.⁸ There is, therefore, no word stage at the level of grammatical analysis. Morphology in Chinese is best described at the lexical level or at the phonological level.

Let us consider a piece of Chinese like *ruohsh ta mingtian bu neng lai dehuah*,

¹ For the term 'stage of analysis' I am indebted to my colleague J. Carnochan of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at S.O.A.S.

² Some reference is made in paragraph 5.6 to statements of meaning at the level of context of situation, and to meaning at the lexical level in paragraph 4. If no reference is made here to meaning at the phonological level, then that is done for simplicity's sake and not because it could not or should not be done.

³ cf. 'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese', 330-51.

⁴ *ibid.*, 351-5.

⁵ cf. paragraph 5 below.

⁶ 'Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese', 341-3.

⁷ cf. paragraphs 7.4.3 and 13 below.

⁸ cf. paragraph 4 below.

ta howtian lai yee hao 'if he can't come to-morrow, the day after to-morrow will do as well'. It is possible to offer a partial description of the grammatical structure of this piece at each of our three stages of analysis.

At the complex stage we should be concerned with the grammatical relationships of word classes to one another in each of five complexes. *Mingtian* 'to-morrow' and *howtian* 'day after to-morrow' we should describe as examples of the form [sdave-date] of the determinate complex (D). *Buneng lai* 'can't come', *lai* 'come', and *yee hao* 'also all right' are examples, respectively, of the forms [bu pv v],¹ [v],² and [av v]³ of the verb complex (V). We should be unable at this stage to deal with the isolates *ta* 'he', *ruohsh* 'if', and *dehuah* 'if' since they are not susceptible to analysis at the complex stage.

At the clause stage of analysis the three verbal complexes indicate the presence of three verbal clauses,⁴ viz. [*ruohsh ta mingtian buneng lai de huah*], [*ta howtian lai*] [*yee hao*]. At this stage we should also be able to describe *ta* as a pronoun (P), and *ruohsh* and *dehuah*, respectively, as a clauseword (CW) and a clause suffix (CS). The three clauses are, therefore, said to have the structures [CW D P V CS] [P Date V] [V]. The terms in the systems operating at [D] and [V] will have been stated at the complex stage.

At the sentence stage we should then be able to consider the grammatical relationship between clauses 2 and 3, and between clause 1 and clauses 2 and 3. But, since, in this paper we are concerned with analysis at the complex stage, it may suffice here to offer a brief definition of the terms 'word' and 'verbal clause'—the next stage 'down' and the next 'up' in our hierarchy of analysis.

4. WORD

Words, in so far as they are institutionalized as such in Chinese, do not normally have an element of structure which gives an accurate indication of the syntactic function of the word. It is true that there are certain 'word endings' like *-tz* in *juotz* 'table', *-l* in *menbaal* 'door handle', *-men* in *havitzen* 'children', *-chuh* in *yihchuh* 'advantage', *-junyih* in *minjunjunyih* 'democracy', *-shyue* in *keshyue* 'science', etc., all of which indicate that a given word is nominal rather than verbal. But the number of words which share such endings is comparatively small, and the indication of syntactic function which they give is only vague.

If, therefore, morphology is unable to make any contribution to syntax, syntax may for that very reason be able to make some contribution to morphology, and help us to arrive at a convenient definition of 'word' in Chinese. And so 'words' are here defined formally as isolates which are 'syntagmemes' in the text. That is to say, a syllable or a syllable group is described as a 'word' if it has a syntactic function *in the text* which allows us to classify it with other syllables or syllable groups sharing that function in

¹ cf. Table VII below.

² cf. Table V below.

³ cf. Table I below.

⁴ cf. paragraph 5.1 below.

other texts. But a syllable group which is capable of further syntactic analysis in the text is said to consist of two or more words. Thus, *yihjiann* 'opinion' is a word because it can be classified as a 'noun' and as such is incapable of further syntactic analysis. *Kannjiann* 'see', on the other hand, is described as a complex consisting of two words, a 'verb' *kann* and a 'verb operator' *jiann*.

It might be argued that whilst *yihjiann* can safely be described as a word, *haoren* 'good man' ought to be described as two words, because it is capable of further syntactic analysis as a 'verb' *hao* and a 'noun' *ren*. In the system of classes advanced here such an analysis would have to be refused. *Haoren* would be described as a noun because it shares the colligabilities of other nouns with determinators and determinatives, e.g. *yigeh haoren*, *jeygeh haoren*, etc. But in these texts *hao* could not be described as a verb because it does not share the colligabilities of other verbs, i.e. one cannot say *yigeh tay hao ren*, *yigeh bu hao ren*, *yigeh meiyeou neygeh ren hao ren*, and so forth.

A lexicon based on this system would contain three entries, viz. *hao*, *ren*, and *haoren*. Amongst the grammatical functions of *hao* it would list 'verb', e.g. *hao ideal* 'a little better' and 'postverbal operator', e.g. *shieebu hao* 'can't finish writing'. In describing the morphological structure of the word *haoren* it is, of course, important to refer to a similar structure in words like *sheauhairtz* 'children', *shinche* 'new car', *dahren* 'adult', etc. It may even be convenient to make use of 'quasi-grammatical' terms like 'noun' and 'verb' in such a description. But these terms would have a special meaning defined at the lexical level of analysis, and valid only at that level.

A lexicon of syntagmemes, no matter on what formal principles these syntagmemes are established, would have the great advantage that it could give some clear indication of the grammatical functions of its entries, particularly in cases where one entry, e.g. *shang*, has a large number of such functions which are clearly distinguishable.

5. THE VERBAL CLAUSE

5.1. *The verb complex* (V). A verbal clause is defined as a piece of the language containing one, but not more than one, form of the verb complex. The other elements of structure in the clause are defined both by their grammatical relationship to the verb complex and by their structure, if any, at the complex stage.

The colligations of the verb complex at the complex stage are described below.¹ It is by means of these colligations that we define the class 'verb complex' at the clause stage of analysis. But the decision to accept one colligation as a form of the verb complex and to exclude another is an arbitrary one. It is determined to a large extent by the economy of statement it helps us to achieve at the clause stage of analysis.

For instance, a word like *ching* 'ask' will be classified as a 'linkverb'

¹ pp. 563 ff.

(lv),¹ and a colligation like [mv lv-s v]² will be regarded as a form of the verb complex, e.g. [nahfeng shinn] [woo] [meiyeou ching ta shiee] 'I didn't ask him to write that letter'. The example can, therefore, be described as a clause having the structure [N P V], where V has the structure [mv lv-s v] at the complex stage of analysis. But we shall also see that it is convenient to analyse as two clauses the example [shiee jehfeng shinn] [niimen ching ta ma?]³ 'now when it comes to writing this letter, would you ask him to write it?'. Here *ching* would be described as 'verb Class I',⁴ so that this example is said to have the structure [V₁N] [P₁V₂P₂]. We shall then be in a position to distinguish *ching* from *jydaw* 'know', 'verb Class II', which occurs in the colligation [P₁V₁N] [P₂V₂] [ta shieele nahfeng shinn] [ni jydaw ma?] 'did you know that he has written that letter?'. Both can then be seen to be different from *jiauw* 'make'¹ which occurs as a linkverb only, e.g. *nahfeng shinn woo meiyeou jiauw ta shiee* 'I didn't make him write that letter'.⁵

5.2. *The topic* (T). The verb complex in a clause may or may not be preceded by a form of the noun complex (N) or by a term in the pronominal system (P).

The terms in the system of pronouns operate at the clause stage of analysis. They are *woo* 'I', *woomen*, *tzarmen* 'we', *ni*, *nin*, *niimen* 'you', *ta* 'he', 'she', 'it', *tamen* 'they', *sheir* 'who?', 'whoever', *sherme* 'what?', 'whatever', *jeh* 'this', and *nah* 'that'.⁶

In the colligations [P V] and [N V], P and N are described as 'topics' (T). T is a grammatical category which describes the relationship of P or N to V. It is defined syntagmatically by its position in relation to V and paradigmatically by the system of pronouns and the system of the noun complex, both of which operate at T. The clause *niide perngyeou yijjing tzooule* 'your friend has left' has the structure [N V]. The relationship of N to V and, of course, of V to N is stated by describing N as T.

5.3. *The extension* (E). The verb complex may or may not be followed by a noun complex (N) or by a pronoun (P). In the colligations [V N] and [V P] N and P are described as 'extensions' (E), if the exponents in the text of N and P also occur in the colligation [E T V]. The clause *ta shuey jiaule* 'he's been asleep' has the structure [P V N]. Here P is described as T, and N can be described as E because its exponent *jiauw* occurs in the colligation [E T V], viz. *jiauw ta shueyle* 'he's had his sleep'. The clause *ta horngle leanle* 'he blushed' also has the structure [P V N], and P is described as T. But here N cannot be described as an extension because its exponent in this text does not occur in the colligation [E T V], i.e. one does not say *lean ta horngle*, although one may of course say *ta lean horngle*.

The category 'extension' also operates at the sentence stage where a clause

¹ cf. Table VI and paragraph 10 below.

² cf. paragraph 12.2.3 below.

³ cf. paragraph 10.3 below.

⁴ cf. paragraph 6 below.

⁵ cf. M. A. K. Halliday, 'Grammatical categories in Chinese', 205, where all three words are classified as 'Free verb, sub-class (c)'.

⁶ cf. also M. A. K. Halliday, 'Systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis', 63, which compares the personal pronoun systems of English and Chinese.

may be described as an extension clause [EC], e.g. [*nii kannbukann*] [*tamen ti tzwuchyou*], [*tamen ti tzwuchyou*] [*nii kannbukann*] ?¹ At the clause stage the structure of the clause [*nii kannbukann*] is [P V] and the structure of the clause [*tamen ti tzwuchyou*] is [P V N]. At the sentence stage we may then describe the relationship of the two clauses as [T V] [EC].

5.4. *The secondary extension (SE).* Some verb complexes may also be followed by two extensions, e.g. *woo songle* [*ta*] [*i-been shu*] 'I gave him a book', *woo buyuannyih jiaow* [*ta*] [*baba*] 'I don't want to call him daddy'. Both of these examples have the structure [P V P N], and both P and N could be described as extensions. But only one of these two extensions will have colligability with one of the three coverbs ² *baa*, *jiang*, or *goan*. The other is, therefore, described as the 'secondary extension' (SE), e.g. *woo baa* [*jehbeen shu*] *songle* [*ta*] 'I gave this book to him', *woo buyuannyih goan* [*ta*] *jiaow* [*baba*] 'I don't want to call him daddy'. In these two examples the grammatical relationship of the pronoun in the first example and of the noun in the second example is stated by describing them as 'secondary extensions'.

5.5. *The measure (M).* The verb complex may or may not be followed by a determinate complex (D). In the colligation [V D], D is described as the measure [M], e.g. *ta shyuele san-nian* 'he has been studying for three years', *ta gau ideal* 'he is a little taller'. Here again, the category 'measure' describes the relationship of the determinate complex to the verb. Forms of the noun complex which follow a verb complex but cannot be described as extensions, e.g. *lean* in *ta horngle leanle*,³ are also described as measures.

The colligation [V E M] is unusual, and normally occurs only in a sentence containing another clause, e.g. [*ta shyuele Jongwen san-nianle*] [*keesh hair buhuey shiee tzyh*] 'he's been studying Chinese for three years, but he still can't write any characters'. The structure of the first clause in this example is [P V N D] and is described as [T V E M].

5.6. *Mooted words and mooted forms.* At the level of context of situation it is convenient to describe words as having been 'mooted'⁴ in the text or in the context of situation. At the lexical level, for instance, it may be useful to describe personal pronouns and demonstratives as 'mooted words' because they occur only in a mooted context.

At the clause stage of analysis, too, certain colligations occur only in a mooted context. These colligations are described as 'mooted forms'.

A clause with zero topic, for instance, is a 'mooted form'. There is nothing 'vague' or 'ambiguous' in a clause with the structure [V N], e.g. *lahshiahle shule* 'dropped some books' other than the English translation of the example, and there is nothing that has been 'left out'. Clauses with this structure have

¹ cf. paragraph 5.1 above.

² cf. paragraph 8.1.3 below.

³ cf. also *ta laile kehren* 'he has visitors', *ta eyyle muuchin* 'he has lost his mother'.

⁴ cf. also M. A. K. Halliday, 'Systematic description and comparison in grammatical analysis', 61, which defines the 'context of mention'. For the term 'moot' which is here used very much in the sense cited in the *OED*, I am indebted to my colleague G. B. Milner of the South East Asia Department of S.O.A.S.

to be translated 'you've dropped some books', 'he's dropped his books', etc., as the context of situation or the preceding text may require. If the context or text requires an English translation like 'someone has dropped his books', it may be convenient to describe this as 'indefinite mooting'.

The colligations [E T V], e.g. *shu ta mayle* and [T E V] *ta shu mayle* 'he's sold the books' are also described as mooted forms. In both colligations the exponent in the text of E has been mooted. In the first colligation the exponent in the text of T has also been mooted and in the second it may or may not have been mooted.

The colligation [E V] is a clause with zero topic and, therefore, a mooted form, e.g. *shu mayle* 'he's sold the books' (definite mooting) or 'the books have been sold' (indefinite mooting).

It might be argued that *shu mayle* has the structure [N V], and that N should therefore be described as the topic. But since the exponent of N has been mooted, so also has its grammatical relationship with V.

5.7. *Clause word* (CW). Words like *shianntzay* 'now', *haojeou* 'for a long time', and *keesh* 'but' do not occur in any complex. They are described as 'clause words' (CW). At the clause stage they occur either preceding or following the topic and are therefore not classified as adverbs.

5.8. *Preposition* (PR). Words like *tzyhtsornng* 'from the time that', *tzay* 'in', 'at', do not occur in a complex either. At the clause stage they will precede a noun complex, pronoun, or determinate complex which in turn may either precede or follow the topic. They are, therefore, distinguished from coverbs and described as 'prepositions' (PR).

5.9. *Clause suffix* (CS). Clause suffixes occur at the end of a clause. The suffixes include *dehrah* 'if', *deshyrhow* 'when', *shyhde* 'as though', *yiichyan* 'before', *yiihow* 'after', and the interrogative suffixes *ma* and *ne*.

TABLE I. VERB

1.	<u>v</u>		
	v [s]	<i>mae shu</i>	I'm going to buy books
	v	<i>mae</i>	I'm going to buy
2.	<u>v ma</u>		
	v [s] ma	<i>mae shu ma</i>	Are you going to buy books ?
	v ma	<i>mae ma</i>	Are you going to buy ?
3.	<u>bu v</u>		
	bu v [s]	<i>bu mae shu</i>	I won't buy books
	bu v	<i>bu mae</i>	I won't buy
4.	<u>bu v ma</u>		
	bu v [s] ma	<i>bu mae shu ma</i>	Aren't you going to buy books ?
	bu v ma	<i>bu mae ma</i>	Aren't you going to buy ?

5. *v bu v*

<i>v bu v [s]</i>	<i>mae bu mae shu</i>	Are you going to buy books?
<i>v [s] bu v</i>	<i>mae shu bu mae</i>	Are you going to buy books?
<i>v [s] bu v [s]</i>	<i>mae shu bu mae shu</i>	Are you going to buy books or not?
<i>v bu v</i>	<i>mae bu mae</i>	Are you going to buy?

6. VERB (*v*)

The word *bu* 'not' is described as a one-word class in the verb complex. The class 'verb' (*v*) has colligability with *bu* in the form [*bu v*]. Words are assigned to the class 'verb' by their colligability with the class *bu*, e.g. *bu mae* 'won't buy', *bu shuey* 'won't sleep', *bu kann* 'won't look', *bu hao* 'no good', *bu gau* 'not tall'. The words *mae*, *shuey*, *kann*, *hao*, and *gau* are exponents in the text of the class 'verb' and are described as 'verbs'.

Verbs also have colligability with the 'clause suffix'¹ *ma*, e.g. *bu mae ma?* 'aren't you going to buy?', *hao ma?* 'any good?'.

At the clause stage of analysis the class *v* occurs as a term in the system of the verb complex (V), e.g. [V N] [*mae*] [*shu*] 'I'm going to buy some books'. It is, therefore, possible to classify verbs by their distribution over the colligations [V SE E], [V E SE], [V E], [V M], e.g. [*song*] [*ta*] [*i been shu*], [*jiaw*] [*ta*] [*baba*], [*shuey*] [*jiaw*], [*gau ideal*].

Verbs which occur in the colligation [V SE E] or [V E SE], e.g. *song* 'give', *jiaw* 'call', are assigned to Class I. Verbs which occur in the colligation [V E] but not in [V SE E] or [V E SE], e.g. *shuey* 'sleep', are assigned to Class II. Verbs which occur in the colligation [V M] but not in the preceding three colligations, e.g. *gau* 'tall', are assigned to Class III. Verbs which do not occur in any of these colligations, e.g. *shyng* 'will do', are assigned to Class IV. For the sake of simplicity the exponents in the text of SE, E, and M, i.e. forms of the noun complex or determinate complex and terms in the system of pronouns, are described collectively as 'substantivals' (*s*). The colligations of verbs with one postverbal substantival are set out in Table I. The table also shows the colligations of verbs with the 'clause suffix' *ma*.

Verbs in Classes I and II occur in all the colligations in Table I. When a verb in Class III is followed by a determinate it occurs in colligations 1 and 2 in Table I. It also occurs in colligation 3 if the clause is a subordinate clause, e.g. *ta bu hao ideal dehuah . . .* 'if he isn't any better . . .'. For negation in non-subordinate clauses these verbs require a 'preverb',² e.g. *ta bush hao ideal* 'he isn't any better', *ta bush hao ideal ma?* 'isn't he any better?', *ta bush gau leangtsuenn ma?* 'isn't he two inches taller?'. In colligation 5 a verb in Class III, followed by a determinate, only occurs in the form *v [s] bu v [s]*, e.g. *hao ideal bu hao ideal?* 'is he any better or isn't he?'. Verbs in Class III occur in all the other colligations in Table V when not followed by a determinate.

¹ cf. paragraph 5.9 below.² cf. Table VII below.

TABLE II. WORD CLASSES IN THE VERB COMPLEX

Class	Abbrevia- tion	Word	Example	Description
bu	bu	<i>bu</i>	<i>bu mae</i>	p. 561
Verb	v	<i>mae</i>	<i>mae</i>	Table I p. 560-1
Coverb	cv c	<i>geei</i>	<i>geei ta mae</i>	Table IV p. 565
Adverb	av a	<i>tzay</i>	<i>tzay mae</i>	Table V p. 567-8
Linkverb	lv l	<i>chiuann</i>	<i>chiuann ta mae</i>	Table VI p. 570-1
Preverb	pv p	<i>yuannyih</i>	<i>yuannyih mae</i>	Table VII p. 573-4
Meiyeou	mv m	<i>meiyeou</i>	<i>meiyeou mae</i>	Table VIII p. 576-7
Preverbal	dv d	<i>kuaykual-de</i>	<i>kuaykual-de</i> <i>maeehaole</i>	p. 577
desegment				
Verb	vo	<i>chii</i>	<i>maebuchii</i>	p. 564
operator				
Postverb	vp	<i>tzay</i>	<i>juh tzay jehlui</i>	p. 564
Postverbal	vd	<i>hao</i>	<i>mae-de bu hao</i>	p. 564
desegment				
Endverb	ve	<i>chiuh</i>	<i>mae dongshi chiuh</i>	p. 565
Verb suffix	vs	<i>le</i>	<i>maele dongshi le</i>	p. 565

TABLE III. COLLIGATIONS OF THE PREVERBAL CLASSES IN THE VERB COMPLEX

	v	c	a	l	p	m	d
1	v [s]	cv-s v [s]	av v [s]	lv-s v [s]	pv v [s]	mv v [s]	dv v [s]
	v	cv-s v	av v	lv-s v	pv v	mv v	dv v
		cv-s		lv-s	pv	mv	
				lv			
2	v ma	c ma	a ma	l ma	p ma	m ma	
3	bu v	bu c	bu a	bu l	bu p		
4	bu v ma	bu c ma	bu a ma	bu l ma	bu p ma		
5	v bu v	c bu c	a bu a	l bu l	p bu p	yeou m	
6		cv bu c		lv bu l	pv bu p		
7				l bu lv	p bu pv	v le mv	
8			av bu v	lv-s bu v	pv bu v		
9				bu lv-s bu v	bu pv bu v		
10				lv bu lv-s bu v	pv bu pv bu v		
11			a bu v		p bu v		

7. THE VERB COMPLEX

7.1. *V*. Verbs also colligate with the word classes set out in Table II, above. By definition these other word classes are not verbs, although they may be preceded by *bu*, e.g. [bu av v] *bu tzay kann* 'won't look at it again'. The colligations of verbs with coverbs, adverbs, linkverbs, preverbs, *meiyeou*, and with preverbal *desegments* are summarized in Table III and set out more fully in Tables IV–VIII. The colligations of verb operators, postverbs, postverbal *desegments*, endverbs, and verb suffixes are summarized in paragraph 7.4. I hope that there will be an opportunity at a later date of describing these postverbal classes of the complex more fully.

A colligation of a verb with one or more classes of the verb complex is described as a 'form' of the verb complex, e.g. [bu pv av v vs] *buneng tzay haole* 'couldn't be any better'. At the clause stage of analysis this form is given the symbol *V*. We may then say that *V* is a closed system, the terms of which are the word classes listed in Table I.

A colligation which contains more than one exponent of the class verb, e.g. *woo tingj bu shufwu* 'hearing it made me uncomfortable' is said to consist of two complexes, e.g. [v vs] [v]. Whilst the colligation [v₁ bu v₁], e.g. *woomen kann bu kann jehpian diannyiing?* 'shall we see this film?' is regarded as one form of the verb complex, the colligation [V₁ E] [V₁ M] is said to consist of two clauses, e.g. [*woomen kann jehpian diannyiing*] [*kannle san tsyh*] 'we've seen this film three times'. On the other hand there does not seem to be any limit except intelligibility, to the number of other classes of the verb complex occurring in any one form, and one class may occur more than once in the same form.

Of the classes discussed in this paper verbs, linkverbs, preverbs, and *meiyeou*, as well as some coverbs occur in the 'simple form',¹ i.e. [v], [lv] or [lv-s], [pv] [mv], [cv-s]. These 'simple' forms are also described as forms of the verb complex and will be marked as *V* at the clause stage of analysis. They occur in an 'answer context' only and are, therefore, mooted forms, e.g. 'Yaw bu yaw mae?' 'Yaw' 'Do you want to buy it?' 'Yes'. 'Nii geei sheir daa diannhuah?' 'Geei ta'² 'Whom are you ringing up?' 'Him'.

Coverbs, linkverbs, and postverbs are by definition followed by a substantival. The substantival which follows a coverb, linkverb, or postverb is considered to be a part of the verb complex and is shown as -s. The colligations [cv-s v], [lv-s v], and [v vp-s] are therefore marked *V* at the clause stage of analysis, e.g. *geei ta mae shu* 'going to buy some books for him', *chiuann ta mae shu* 'advise him to buy books', and *fanq tzay juotz-shanq* 'put it on the table'.

Substantivals in colligation with any other class in the complex are not considered as part of the complex. Where postverbal substantivals are shown in the tables or text they are, therefore, enclosed in square brackets.

7.2. *c, a, l, p, m, d*. In the tables and in the text the symbol 'c' will signify

¹ of. also M. A. K. Halliday, 'Grammatical categories in Chinese', 184.

² The informant, at first, expressed some hesitation over the simple form [cv-s].

the colligation [cv-s v] or [cv-s], the symbol 'a' the colligation [av v], the symbol 'l' the colligations [lv-s v], [lv-s], or [lv], the symbol 'p' the colligations [pv v] or [pv], the symbol 'm' the colligations [mv v] or [mv], and the symbol 'd' the colligation [dv v].¹

7.3. 'Closed' systems. The classes coverb, adverb, linkverb, and preverb have been defined so that it is possible to regard the terms operating in the system of each class as a 'quasi-closed' system. An extensive list of these terms is given in this paper. Whilst it is not claimed that the lists are complete,² experience with the text examined suggests that the number of terms that could be added to each of these classes is limited. The number of terms that might be added to the classes verb and preverbal *desegment*, however, appears to be limited only by the number of texts examined. They may, therefore, be described as 'open systems'.

In this respect the classes of the verb complex resemble the classes of the two substantival complexes. There the classes determinative, determinator, determinate, and noun suffix may be considered as presenting 'quasi-closed' systems whilst the classes noun and substantival *desegment* may be described as 'open' systems.

7.4. 'Verb operators' (vo) colligate with verbs in the forms [v vo], [v bu vo], [v de vo], e.g. *kannjiann*, *kannbujian*, *kanndejiann*, 'see', 'can't see', 'can see'; *kannchingchuu*, *kannbuchingchuu*, *kanndechingchuu*, 'see clearly', 'can't see clearly', 'can see clearly'. *Jiann* and *chingchuu* are verb operators. Some verb operators do not occur in the form [v vo], e.g. *daasuannbuleau* 'can't reckon on', *daasuanndeleau* 'can reckon on'.

7.4.2. 'Postverbs' (vp) colligate with verbs in the forms [v vp-s] or [v [s] vp-s], e.g. *jih tzay Luenduen* 'live in London', *jih jia tzay Luenduen* 'have one's home in London'. The postverbs are *tzay* 'in', 'at', 'into', *daw* 'to', and *gei* 'to'.³

7.4.3. 'Postverbal *desegments*' (vd) colligate with verbs in the forms [v-de vd], [v-de bu vd], [v-de vd-de vd], e.g. *tzoou-de kuay* 'walk fast', *tzoou-de bu kuay* 'walk slowly', *tzoou-de kuay-de duole* 'walk much faster'. *Kuay*, *bu kuay*, *kuay-de duole* are postverbal *desegments*. Such *desegments* may consist of forms of the verb complex, e.g. [cv-s av v] *ta tzoou-de [bi sheir du kuay]* 'he walks faster than anyone else'. A *desegment* in the form [v-de vd] may also consist of the word *heen* or of a clause, e.g. *chiongyeh dian-de dawchuh chyuan sh* 'the autumn leaves had fallen everywhere'. Verbs which operate as terms in the system of postverbal *desegments* form a subclass of 'verb Class III' and may themselves be followed by a *desegment* in the form [v-de vd]. Such *desegments* consist of the words *heen* 'very' or *duole* 'much more' or a clause, e.g. *jehliang che kuay-de duole* 'this car is much faster'.

¹ cf. Table III.

² Indeed, some terms have been omitted from the system of the linkverb because they are defective in a large number of forms, notably [lv bu l], e.g. *tingdejiann* in the clause *neyjiuh huah woo meiyenou tingdejiann ta shuoguo* 'I didn't hear him saying that'.

³ cf. also M. A. K. Halliday, 'Grammatical categories in Chinese', 209.

7.4.4. 'Verb suffixes' (vs) colligate with verbs in the form [v vs] or [v s vs] or in both forms, e.g. *ta maele ney liang chele* 'he did buy that car'. The verb suffixes are *le*, *j*, *guoh*, *na*, *laij*, *jyi*, and *duo*.

7.4.5. 'Endverbs' (ve) colligate with verbs in the form [v ve] and [v s ve], e.g. *woo chiu h mae shu chiu h* 'I'm off to buy some books'. The two endverbs are *lai* and *chiu h*.

TABLE IV. COVERBS (cv)

1. c		
cv-s v [s]	<i>geei woo mae shu</i>	He's going to buy me some books
cv-s v	<i>geei woo mae</i>	He's going to buy them for me
cv-s	<i>geei woo</i>	For me
2. c ma	<i>geei woo mae shu ma</i>	Is he going to buy me some books ?
3. bu c	<i>bu geei woo mae shu</i>	He's not going to buy me any books
4. bu c ma	<i>bu geei woo mae shu ma</i>	Isn't he going to buy me any books ?
5. c ₁ bu c ₁	<i>geei woo mae shu bu</i>	Is he going to buy me some books or
	<i>geei woo mae (shu)</i>	isn't he ?
6. cv bu c	<i>geei bu geei woo mae shu</i>	Is he going to buy some books for me ?

8. COVERBS (cv)

8.1. *List of coverbs*. Some coverbs have colligability with the class 'verb suffix' (vs) in the form [cv-vs-s v], e.g. *tamen weyle guojia erl syi* 'they died for their country', *tamen chongj chuan fanq chiang* 'they are firing at the boat'. The superior letter ^a after a coverb in the following list indicates colligability with the verb suffix *le* and the superior letter ^b indicates colligability with the verb suffix *j*.

A translation is offered for coverbs when they occur in the blank space in one of the following eight examples. The figure in brackets after the *translation* refers to the number of the example in which the coverb may occur.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Tamen — guojia erl syi</i> | They died — their country |
| (2) <i>Ta — taytay jongshyr ma ?</i> | Is he faithful — his wife ? |
| (3) <i>Woo — ta ikuall lai^{le}</i> | I came together — him |
| (4) <i>Woo — ta baosheanle</i> | I stood surety — him |
| (5) <i>Ta maashanq — woo shiee ifeng</i> | He wrote a letter — me at once |
| <i>shinn</i> | |
| (6) <i>Tamen — chwanshanq fanq chiang</i> | They were firing — the boat |
| (7) <i>Ta — j her-nall tzoou</i> | He walked — the river bank |
| (8) <i>Leushyngsheh — jehlii buyeuan</i> | The travel agency isn't far — here |

8.1.1. The following coverbs occur in colligations 1-6 in Table IV :

<i>duey</i>	to ⁽²⁾	<i>wey^a</i>	for ⁽¹⁾
<i>gen</i>	with ⁽³⁾	<i>tih^a</i>	for, instead of ⁽⁴⁾
<i>her</i>	with ⁽³⁾	<i>tihday^a</i>	instead of ⁽⁴⁾
<i>torng</i>	with ⁽³⁾	<i>geei^a</i> ¹	for, to ⁽⁶⁾

¹ Distinguish the verb *geei* 'give', Class I, the postverb *geei* 'to', e.g. *woo daa le diannhuah geei ta* 'I rang him up', and the adverb *geei* listed in paragraph 9.1.4. Note also the three functions of the coverb *geei*, indicated respectively in paragraphs 8.1.1, 8.1.3, 8.1.4.

8.1.2. The following four coverbs occur in colligations 1-5 in Table IV. It should be noted that the words *tsornq*,¹ *you*,¹ *daa*,¹ *chiee*, *jiee*, *tzyhtsornq* 'from', and *yan* 'along' are described as prepositions and not as coverbs, since they may precede the topic, e.g. *tsornq neygeh dihfang tamen buneng jih banguo* 'they can't send parcels from there', *tzyhtsornq neygeh shyrho yihow ta meiyeu tzay lai* 'since then he's never come here again'.

<i>wanq</i> ^b	at ⁽⁶⁾	<i>chong</i> ^b	at ⁽⁶⁾
	towards ⁽⁷⁾		towards ⁽⁷⁾
<i>shiang</i> ^b	at ⁽⁶⁾	<i>li</i>	from ⁽⁸⁾
	towards ⁽⁷⁾		

8.1.3. The coverbs *baa*, *geei*,³ *jiang*, *goan*⁴ precede and mark the extension when the extension precedes the verb but follows the topic.⁵ *Baa* and *geei* occur in colligations 1-6 in Table I. *Jiang* and *goan* occur in colligations 1-4. Examples:

<i>Ta baa che kainihle</i>	He's fed up with his car
<i>Tamen jiang tzyhdean songgeei shiawjaang le</i>	They presented the dictionary to the headmaster
<i>Ta goan shuwufuh jiaow fuhchin</i>	He called his uncle father

8.1.4. The coverbs *geei*,³ *bey*, *air*, *show*, *jiaow*, *rang*, *you* precede and mark the topic when it is preceded by the extension. They occur in colligations 1 and 2 in Table IV. The verb in the complex is normally followed by the verb suffix *le* or *guoh*. Examples:

<i>Woo geei ta piannle</i>	I was cheated by him
<i>Yuehliang bey yuntsae jarvuhle</i>	The clouds obscured the moon
<i>Woo air ta daale</i>	He beat me
<i>Woo show ta chifwule</i>	I was bullied by him
<i>Farngtz jiaow shue gayshangle</i>	The house was covered in snow
<i>Woo rang ta mahle</i>	I was told off by him
<i>Sheauhartz you tzuufuh guann-huayle</i>	The children were spoilt by their grandfather

8.1.5. In 'comparisons' the coverbs *bii*, *meiyeu*, *gen*, *yeou*, *gow*, *budaw*, *bujyy*, *butzou*⁷ mark the substantival which is to be compared with the topic. Examples:

<i>Nii bii ta shuo-de genq kuay</i>	You speak even faster than he does
<i>Nii meiyeu ta shuo-de kuay</i>	You don't speak as fast as he does
<i>Nii gen ta shuo-de ryang kuay</i>	You speak just as fast as he does
<i>Ta yeou liowchyy gau ma?</i>	Is he as much as six feet tall?

¹ When these prepositions precede a 'place' substantival they do, however, normally follow the topic.

² This word is also pronounced *woang*.

³ cf. n. 6, p. 569.

⁴ This word has collocability with the verb *jiaow* 'call'.

⁵ cf. paragraph 5.6.

⁶ cf. n. 1, above p. 565.

⁷ *Bii*, *gen*, and *gow* occur in colligations 1-6 in Table V, *meiyeu* and *yeou* in colligations 1 and 2, and *budaw*, *bujyy*, and *butzou* in colligations 3 and 4.

7. *av bu v*

<i>av bu v</i>	<i>hair bu mae shu</i>	He's still not buying books
<i>av bu v ma</i>	<i>hair bu mae shu ma</i>	Is he still not buying books ?

8. *av s v*¹

<i>av-s v</i>	<i>tzao yihdeal chy fann</i>	We'll eat a little earlier
<i>bu av-s v</i>	<i>bu tzao yihdeal chy fann-de huah . . .</i>	If we don't eat a little earlier . . .
<i>av-s v ma</i>	<i>tzao yihdeal chy fann ma</i>	Shall we eat a little earlier ?

9. ADVERBS (*av*)

9.1. *List of adverbs.* In the following list of adverbs a translation is offered for each adverb when it occurs in the blank space in one of the following examples. The figure in brackets after the translation refers to the number of the example in which the adverb may occur.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>Tamen — haole</i> | They (have) (had) — recovered |
| (2) <i>Jehjang huah — hao</i> | This picture is — good |
| | This picture is — |
| (3) <i>Tamen — daw jehlai lai</i> | They — come here |
| | They will come here — |
| (4) <i>Ta — maele ibeen shu</i> | He bought — book |
| | He bought one book — |
| (5) <i>Ta — laile</i> | He came — |
| | — he came |
| (6) <i>Tamen — mae shu na</i> | They are — buying books |
| (7) <i>Woo — yeou yihdeal bu shoufuu</i> | I feel — unwell |
| (8) <i>bu gei chyan — bu sheu jinnlai</i> | If you won't pay — they won't let you in |

9.1.1. The following adverbs may be directly preceded or followed by *bu*.

<i>du</i>	all ⁽¹⁾	<i>shauuei</i>	a little ⁽⁷⁾ ²
<i>chyuan</i>	all ⁽¹⁾	<i>liuehuei</i>	a little ⁽⁷⁾ ²
<i>wanchyuan</i>	altogether ⁽¹⁾	<i>tzemme</i>	so ⁽²⁾
<i>shyrfen</i>	absolutely ⁽¹⁾	<i>jemme</i>	so ⁽²⁾
<i>jen</i>	really ⁽²⁾	<i>nemme</i>	so ⁽²⁾
<i>heen</i>	very ⁽²⁾	<i>yiyang</i>	just as ⁽²⁾
<i>tay</i>	too ⁽²⁾	<i>lao</i>	always ⁽³⁾
<i>dving</i>	excellent ⁽²⁾	<i>tzoong</i>	always ⁽³⁾
<i>tzuey</i>	first rate ⁽²⁾	<i>charrng</i>	often ⁽³⁾
	best ⁽²⁾		

¹ Only the adverbs *duo*, *shao*, *tzao*, *woan*, *kuay*, and *mann* occur in this colligation; cf. paragraph 9.1.2.

² *Shauuei* and *liuehuei* are preceded by *bu* in subordinate clauses only, e.g. *ta bu shauuei hao ideal dehuah*, . . . 'if he isn't a little better . . . '.

9.1.2. The following adverbs may follow but do not precede *bu*.

<i>ikuall</i>	together ⁽³⁾	<i>woan</i>	late ⁽⁵⁾
<i>tzay</i>	another ⁽⁴⁾	<i>kuay</i>	quickly ⁽⁵⁾
	again ⁽¹⁾	<i>mann</i>	slowly ⁽⁵⁾
<i>ling</i>	another ⁽⁴⁾	<i>jiow</i>	at once ⁽⁵⁾
<i>duo</i>	more ⁽⁴⁾	<i>jenq</i>	just ⁽⁶⁾
<i>shao</i>	less ⁽⁴⁾	<i>tzay</i>	just ⁽⁶⁾
<i>tzao</i>	early ⁽⁵⁾	<i>bubih</i> ¹	needn't ⁽³⁾

9.1.3. The following adverbs may precede but do not follow *bu*.

<i>yow</i>	again ⁽⁵⁾	<i>tyng</i>	very ⁽²⁾
<i>yee</i>	too ⁽⁵⁾	<i>feichang</i>	exceptionally ⁽²⁾
<i>tsair</i>	only then ⁽¹⁾	<i>jiue bu</i>	couldn't possibly ⁽³⁾ ²
<i>jiow</i>	then ⁽⁵⁾	<i>bing bu</i>	certainly wouldn't ⁽³⁾ ²
<i>biann</i>	then ⁽⁸⁾	<i>guay</i>	rather ⁽²⁾
<i>yih</i>	as soon as ⁽⁵⁾	<i>duome</i>	so ⁽³⁾
<i>gang</i>	just ⁽¹⁾	<i>maan</i>	very ⁽²⁾
<i>hair</i>	quite ⁽²⁾	<i>genq</i>	even more ⁽⁷⁾
	still ⁽²⁾	<i>dingran</i>	certainly ⁽²⁾
<i>jihu</i>	almost ⁽⁵⁾	<i>pian</i>	will ⁽³⁾
<i>kee</i>	but at last ⁽⁵⁾	<i>jiyuhao</i>	have to ⁽³⁾
<i>daw</i>	but ⁽⁵⁾	<i>meanchyang</i>	have to ⁽³⁾
<i>chiueh</i>	but ⁽⁵⁾	<i>faan</i>	nevertheless ⁽³⁾
<i>erl</i> ³			

9.1.4. The following adverbs do not colligate with *bu*.

<i>yiijing</i>	already ⁴	<i>fei</i>	must ⁽³⁾
<i>yiiran</i>	already ⁴	<i>bihshiu</i> ¹	must ⁽³⁾
<i>tserngjing</i>	already ⁴	<i>bihdeei</i>	must ⁽³⁾
<i>jiangyaw</i>	in the future ⁴	<i>geei</i> ⁶	
<i>jiang</i>	in the future ⁴	<i>bey</i> ⁶	
<i>hao</i> ⁵			

¹ *Bih* occurs only in collocation with *bu*. *Bihshiu* and *bihdeei* are described as syntagmemes in paragraph 9.1.4 below.

² *Jiue* and *bing* occur only in collocation with *bu*.

³ *Erl* occurs following the coverb *wey*, e.g. *ta wey byeren erl shisheng tzyhjii* 'she sacrifices herself for others'. It occurs also without *wey*, but was rejected as being written or very formal spoken style.

⁴ These adverbs are normally translated by 'tense' in English, i.e. the clause *tamen* — *laile* might be translated 'they had already come' with *yiijing* and *tserngjing*, and 'they will be coming' with *jiangyaw* or *jiang*.

⁵ There is no convenient translation for *hao*. An example *nii ban tiz lai woo hao shangchunh* would be translated as 'bring the ladder so that I can get up'.

⁶ There is no convenient translation for these adverbs, either. *Geei* occurs after the coverbs listed in paragraph 8.1.3, e.g. *tamen baa luih geei yahpyngle* 'they have put the roller over the road'. Both *geei* and *bey* also occur after the coverbs listed in paragraph 8.1.4, e.g. *woo bey ta geei chifwile* 'I was bullied by him'. When *geei* and *bey* are not preceded by a coverb they only occur in the colligation [E V], and only when the verb is followed by the verb suffix *le*.

9.1.5. A large number of words like *tsornglai* 'formerly', *haojeou* 'for a long time', *jeanjyr* 'simply', etc., are adverbial in meaning. But since they may precede as well as follow topics, they are described as 'clause words'¹ and are best described at the clause stage of analysis.

9.2. *Colligations of adverbs with other word classes in the complex.*

- 9.2.1. av c *woo tzay geei ta mae ibeen* 'I'll buy him a book too' (i.e. I may have bought one for someone else)²
- 9.2.2. av l *woo tzay chiuanne ta mae shu* 'I advised him again to buy some books'
- 9.2.3. av p *ta tzay yuannyih chiuh Jonggwo* 'He wants to go to China again' (i.e. he may not have been there before)
c, l, and p occur in place of v in colligations 1-7 in Table V
- 9.2.4. av m *ta yow meijeou lai* 'He is absent again'
m occurs in place of v in colligations 1 and 2 in Table V
- 9.2.5. av d *ta yee aman-jinqjing-de tzuoh tzay nall* 'He, too, is sitting there quietly'
- 9.2.6. av a *tamen yee chyuan laile* 'They all came, too'
- 9.2.7. av lv s bu v *woo yee chiuan ta bu mae jehbeen shu* 'I, too, advised him against buying this book'
lv s bu v occurs in colligations 1-4 and 6 and 7 in Table V
- 9.2.8. av pv bu v *woo yee yuannyih bu chiuh Shanghai* 'I should like to give Shanghai a miss, too'

TABLE VI. LINKVERBS (lv)

1. l		
lv-s v [s]	<i>chiuann ta chiuh Jonggwo</i>	I advised him to go to China
lv-s v	<i>chiuann ta chiuh</i>	I advised him to go
lv-s	<i>chiuann ta</i>	I advised him to
lv	<i>chiuann</i>	I advised it
2. l ma	<i>chiuann ta chiuh Jonggwo ma</i>	Are you going to advise him to go to China?
3. bu l	<i>bu chiuann ta chiuh Jonggwo</i>	I won't advise him to go to China
4. bu l ma	<i>bu chiuann ta chiuh Jonggwo ma</i>	Won't you advise him to go to China?

¹ cf. paragraph 5.7.

² cf. n. 2, p. 567 above.

5. lv bu l *chiuann bu chiuann ta chihh Jonggwo* Are you going to advise him to go to China ?
6. l bu lv *chiuann ta chihh Jonggwo bu chiuann* Are you going to advise him to go to China ?
7. l₁ bu l₁ *chiuann ta chihh Jonggwo bu chiuann ta chihh Jonggwo* Will you advise him to go to China or won't you ?
8. lv-s bu v
- lv-s bu v *chiuann ta bu chihh Jonggwo* I'll advise him against going to China
- lv-s bu v ma *chiuann ta bu chihh Jonggwo ma* Will you advise him against going to China ?
9. bu lv-s bu v
- bu lv-s bu v *bu chiuann ta bu chihh Jonggwo* I won't advise him against going to China
- bu lv-s bu v ma *bu chiuann ta bu chihh Jonggwo ma* Won't you advise him against going to China ?
10. lv₁ bu lv₁-s bu v *chiuann (ta) bu chiuann ta bu chihh Jonggwo* Will you advise him against going to China ?

10. LINKVERBS

10.1. *List of linkverbs.* Some linkverbs have colligability with the class 'verb suffix' and with the class 'verb operator' in the form [lv-vs-s v] and [lv-vo-s v], e.g. *woomen chiuannle ta chihh* 'we advised him to go' and *woomen chiuannbureau ta chihh* 'we'll never persuade him to go'. The superior letters ^{a b c d} after a linkverb in the following list indicate colligability, respectively, with the verb suffixes *le*, *j*, *guoh*, and with a verb operator.

A translation is offered for linkverbs when they occur in the blank space in one of the following eight examples. The figure in brackets after the translation refers to the number of the example in which the linkverb may occur.

- (1) *Woo buneng — ta shiee jemme* I can't — him to write a letter like this
ifeng shinn
- (2) *Woo buneng — chwutz tzay mae* I can't — the cook to buy another chicken
i-jy ji
- (3) *Woo buneng — twanjaang tuey* I can't — the battalion commander to
tade bing withdraw his troops
- (4) *Woo bu — ta guohlai* I won't — him to come over
- (5) *Woo buneng — ta shuo huah* I can't — him talking
- (6) *Jehbeen shu woo bu — ta geei woo* Now this book I won't — him to buy for
mae me
- (7) *Ta bunyaw — shyuesheng faand-* He doesn't want to — the students to
ney shin-de shianwjaang oppose the new headmaster
- (8) *Ta meiyecou — woo ku* He didn't — me cry

- 10.2.5. lv-s d *ta chiing sheauhairtz anan-jingjing-de tzuoh tzay nall* 'He asked the children to sit quietly over there'
d occurs in place of v in colligation 1 in Table VI

- 10.2.6. cv-s l cf. under 8.2, 9.2, 11.2, 12.2, 13.2

av l

pv l

mv l

dv l

10.3. *The linkverb with topics and extensions.*

- 10.3.1. [T] [lv-s v] [E] [woo] [chiuann ta kann] I advised him to see that
[nah pian diannyiing] film
- 10.3.2. [E] [T] [lv-s v] [M] [nahpian diannyiing] That film I advised him
[woo] [chiuann ta kann] to see twice
[leang tsyh]
- 10.3.3. [EC] [T V SE] [ta tzuoh jehjian shyh-chyng] [sheir cheang-pohle ta] Now who forced him to do this kind of thing ?
- 10.3.4. [EC] [T V SE] [shiee jehfeng shin] Now when it comes to
[niimen chiing ta] ma writing this letter
would you ask him to ?
- 10.3.5. [EC] [T V] [woo kann diannyiing] He doesn't want me to
[ta yee bu yuannyih] go to the pictures
either

10.3.1 and 10.3.2 show the operation of the verb complex [lv-s v], e.g. *chiuann ta kann*, at the clause stage of analysis. E in both cases is the extension of the verb, i.e. *kann diannyiing*. Colligations 10.3.3–10.3.5, however, show that some words in the class linkverb also occur as verbs having colligability at the sentence stage with extension clauses [EC]. In these colligations *cheang-poh*, *chiing*, and *yuannyih* are the exponents in the text of the class v, which in turn is operating at the sentence stage. *Cheangpoh* and *chiing* can then be assigned to Class I because they occur in the colligation [V SE E], and *yuannyih* to Class II because it occurs in the colligation [V E].

TABLE VII. PREVERBS (pv)

1. p

pv v [s]	<i>yuannyih mae shu</i>	I'd like to buy some books
pv v	<i>yuannyih mae</i>	I'd like to buy some
pv	<i>yuannyih</i>	I'd like to

- (3) *Woo — geei ta daa diannhuah — I ring him up ?*
ma ?
- (4) *Woo — yihdeal bu shwufwu* I — a little uncomfortable
- (5) *Ta bu — mae jehjian ishang* She doesn't — buy this dress
- (6) *Ta bu — tzuoh shiaowaang* He isn't — be a headmaster
- (7) *Jehkuay buh bu — tzuoh hann-shan* This piece of cloth isn't — make a shirt with
- (8) *Jehshie shooushuih bu — bann* These formalities aren't — cope with (coping with)

11.1.1. The following preverbs occur in colligations 1-10 in Table VII :

<i>shiwang^{abc}</i>	hope to ⁽¹⁾	<i>pah^c</i>	afraid to ⁽²⁾
<i>sheang^{abc}</i>	intend to ⁽¹⁾	<i>neng^c</i>	can ⁽²⁾
<i>jihhuah^{abc}</i>	plan to ⁽¹⁾	<i>nengder^c</i>	can ⁽²⁾
<i>daasuann^{abc}</i>	expect to ⁽¹⁾	<i>nenggow^c</i>	can ⁽²⁾
<i>yuhbey^{bc}</i>	getting all set to ⁽¹⁾	<i>keeyiⁱ</i>	can ⁽²⁾
<i>yuannyih^c</i>	would like to ⁽¹⁾	<i>huey</i>	can ⁽²⁾
<i>sheangyaw^c</i>	would like to ⁽¹⁾		might ⁽¹⁾
<i>yaw</i>	want to ⁽¹⁾	<i>keeneng</i>	might ⁽¹⁾
<i>jyueding^{ac}</i>	certain to ⁽¹⁾	<i>haoyihsy^c</i>	would be doing the right thing to ⁽³⁾
<i>ay^c</i>	love to ⁽²⁾		
<i>shihuan^{ac}</i>	like to ⁽²⁾	<i>jyueder^c</i>	feel ⁽⁴⁾
<i>keen^c</i>	willing to ⁽²⁾	<i>jyuedaw</i>	feel ⁽⁴⁾
<i>gaan^c</i>	dare to ⁽²⁾	<i>sh¹</i>	am ⁽⁴⁾

11.1.2. The following preverbs occur in colligations 1-7 in Table VI.

<i>gai</i>	ought to ⁽³⁾	<i>rongyih</i>	easy to ⁽⁸⁾	<i>gow</i>	enough to ⁽⁷⁾
<i>inggai</i>	ought to ⁽³⁾	<i>nan</i>	hard to ⁽⁸⁾	<i>jynder</i>	worth while ⁽⁸⁾
<i>ingdang</i>	ought to ⁽³⁾	<i>yong</i>	need to ⁽⁶⁾	<i>chiuh</i>	going to ⁽²⁾
<i>deei</i>	must ⁽³⁾	<i>haw</i>	like to ⁽²⁾	<i>lai</i>	coming to ⁽²⁾
<i>shuiyaw</i>	have to ⁽⁵⁾	<i>pey</i>	fit to ⁽⁶⁾		

11.2. Colligations of preverbs with other word classes in the complex.

- 11.2.1. pv c *woo sheang geei ta mae ibeen shu* 'I thought I'd buy him a book'
- 11.2.2. pv a *tamen yuannyih tzao ideal chy fann* 'They would like to eat a little earlier'
- 11.2.3. pv l *nei keeyi chiuann ta mae jeh been shu* 'You can advise him to buy this book'
- 11.2.4. pv p *woomen buneng jihhuah chiuh Jonggwo* 'We can't make plans to go to China'

c, a, l, and p occur in place of v in the colligations 1-10 in Table

VII

¹ In the G.R. transcription this word may also be written *shyh*.

- 11.2.5. pv d *ta yuannyih anan-jingjing-de* 'He wants to sit there quite quietly'
tzuohtzay nall

d occurs in place of v in colligation 1 in Table VII

- 11.2.6. cv p
av p
lv p
mv p
dv p

cf. under 8.2, 9.2, 10.2, 12.2, 13.2

11.3. *The preverb with topics and extensions.*

- 11.3.1. [T] [pv v] [E] [*ta*] [*yuannyih kann*] [*jehpian diannyiing*] He would like to see this film
- 11.3.2. E T [pv v] M [*jehpian diannyiing*] [*ta*] He wanted to see this film three times
 [*yuannyih kann*] [*san tsyh*]
- 11.3.3. [EC] [T V] [*kann diannyiing*] [*ta yee bu yuannyih*] He didn't want to go to the pictures either
- 11.3.4. [T V] [EC] [*ta yee bu yuannyih*] [*kann diannyiing*] He didn't want to go to the pictures either
- 11.3.5. [EC] [T V] [*woo kann diannyiing*] [*ta yee bu yuannyih*] He didn't want me to go to the pictures either

11.3.1 and 11.3.2 show the operation of the verb complex [pv v], e.g. *yuannyih kann* at the clause stage of analysis. E here is the extension of the verb, i.e. *kann diannyiing*. But 11.3.3–11.3.5 show that some words in the class preverb also occur as verbs having colligability at the sentence stage with an extension clause. *Yuannyih* in these last three examples is therefore described as a verb Class II operating at the sentence stage.

TABLE VIII. MEIYEOU (mv)

1. <u>m</u>		
mv v [s]	<i>meiyeou mae shu</i>	I didn't buy any books
mv v	<i>meiyeou mae</i>	I didn't buy any
mv	<i>meiyeou</i>	I didn't
2. <u>m ma</u>		
	<i>meiyeou mae shu ma</i>	Didn't he buy any books ?
3. <u>yeou m</u>		
	<i>yeou meiyeou mae shu</i>	Has he bought any books ?
4. <u>v le mv</u>		
v le [s] le mv	<i>mae le shu le meiyeou</i>	Has he bought any books ?
v [s] le mv	<i>mae shu le meiyeou</i>	Has he bought any books ?
v le [s] mv	<i>mae le shu meiyeou</i>	Has he bought any books ?
v le mv	<i>mae le meiyeou</i>	Has he bought any ?

THE HSIEN-FÊNG INFLATION

By JEROME CH'ÊN

' And thick and fast they came at last,
And more, and more, and more—'

THREE details of the background ought to be explained before we come to discuss the subject itself: (1) the bimetallism of the Ch'ing currency; (2) the rigidity of the Ch'ing fiscal system; and (3) the financial stringency at the end of the Tao-kuang period.

The legal tender in China under the Manchu rule was the copper money, *wên* 文, which was minted both at the Imperial mints in the capital, Pao-ch'üan 寶泉 and Pao-yüan 寶源, and at the mints in the provinces. The metal for minting was brought to the capital from Yünnan. Apart from the *wên*, silver which China acquired through overseas trade was used as a *de facto* legal tender, at an official rate of exchange of one tael to a string (1,000) of *wên*. This rate was fixed by an Imperial edict of 1647¹ and remained fairly stable until 1830, with fluctuations from time to time within a range of only 20 per cent.

Around 1830, an important change took place. The import of large quantities of opium caused the outflow of silver. The Ch'ing government tried various methods to tackle the monetary crisis, but the guiding principle of these policies was rather curious. The copper money and silver were regarded by the government as substitutes, in the sense that a pen is a substitute for a pencil or a watch for a clock. A shortage of either could be compensated for by increasing the supply of the other. Since silver was officially permitted to circulate because of a money shortage, therefore when silver itself became deflated, the policy-makers thought that the remedy was to increase the supply of money, in an attempt to keep the total amount of currency in circulation intact.² The natural result of this could only be serious copper money inflation. So in 1846, the Tao-kuang Emperor formally acknowledged a long established fact and announced the new official rate of exchange of 1,500 *wên* to one tael.³

With regard to the public finance of the Ch'ing, the main sources of the government's revenue were land and population, salt and merchandise. From land and population, the government collected *ti-ting* 地丁 (land and pool taxes), *ts'ao-liang* 漕糧 (the grain tribute), and other minor taxes; from salt, a licence fee and from merchandise, the maritime and the inland tariff. The ratio of these three main revenues was roughly 80 : 10 : 10 during the last

¹ *Ch'ing-ch'ao-wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*, *chuan* 13, p. 4987b.

² Tsung Chi-ch'ên 宗稷辰, 'A memorial on the traditional money and the laws of money', *Tao-hsien-t'ung-kuang-tsou-i* (THTKTI), *chuan* 38, p. 9a. Censor Tsung states that the 'way to tackle a shortage of silver in the Tao-kuang period was to issue more money'. Wu Wen-yung 吳文鎔 also refers to 'the replacement of the diminishing amount of silver by issuing more and more money' during the Tao-kuang reign (see *Huang-ch'ao-chêng-tien-ler-tsuai* (HCCTLT), *chuan* 64, p. 16b).

³ *Ch'ing-shih-lu* (CSL), Tao-kuang, 26, x, *chia-hsu* (10 December 1846), *chuan* 435, pp. 16a-17b.

decade of the Tao-kuang reign.¹ On the expenditure side, the main items were defence, salaries, and the Imperial household expenses: about 50 per cent or more on defence and the rest on the other items.²

As early as 1712, the K'ang-hsi Emperor had the total amount of *ti-t'ing* fixed at the level obtained in that year.³ Thus nearly 80 per cent of the total income of the State became rigid. Because of this rigidity, the government was compelled at times to fall back on other devices to secure fiscal flexibility. The most important of these was the manipulation of the salt tax. As this was a tax on a commodity in universal use, it provided a classic example of the type of indirect taxation in which a minor increase would provoke a great deal of popular resentment. Often the result was an increase in salt smuggling and illegal manufacturing—known as *ssü-yên* 私鹽—which eventually rendered the collecting machinery ineffective.

Potentially, both the maritime and the inland tariff could become a more important source of revenue for the government, if favourable conditions of production, transport, and marketing existed. But they did not. On the contrary, the civil war ruptured the flow of goods from place to place and an expansion of China's overseas trade in time of war could hardly be hoped for.

With such a rigid revenue, Tao-kuang paid an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars after the Opium War. And in 1843, the Emperor suddenly discovered that there was a deficit of 9,252,000 taels in the Treasury⁴—a sum equal to a quarter of the government's annual income. It was discovered later that this deficit was due to corruption and embezzlement. When Hsien-fêng came to the throne, there was a meagre surplus of only 556,110 taels in the Treasury⁵ with which he had to face a strong challenge to his authority and to finance the military expenses which were increasing at an enormous rate. The strain on the Treasury can easily be seen and inflation would be a natural result of it. Yet this is an aspect of the history of the T'ai-p'ing campaign which has hitherto attracted little attention.⁶

¹ *Ch'ing-ch'ao-hsu-wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* (CCHWHTK), *chuan* 66, p. 8225, Wang Ch'ing-yun's table (in 1,000 taels):

	<i>ti-t'ing</i>	salt	tariff
1841 . .	29,432	4,958	4,208
1842 . .	29,576	4,981	4,130
1845 . .	30,214	5,074	5,511
1849 . .	32,813	4,986	4,705

² CCHWHTK, *chuan* 67, p. 8232.

³ *Tung-hua-lu* (THL), K'ang-hsi, *chuan* 89, p. 3a. The edict says: 'The population increases while the area of land remains constant. Therefore it is necessary to instruct the Viceroys and Governors of the provinces to regard the present amount of revenue from land and population as fixed. Let there be no increase or decrease'.

⁴ *CSL*, Tao-kuang, 23, iii, *chi-tz'ü* (25 April 1843), *chuan* 390, pp. 32a-b.

⁵ CCHWHTK, *chuan* 67, p. 8232. Wang Ch'ing-yun's table on government expenditure of the Tao-kuang period.

⁶ So far I have only seen this problem discussed in Wu Han's 吳晗 article on Wang Mou-yin 王茂蔭 in *T'u-shih-chia-chi* 讀史劄記 and P'êng Hsin-wei 彭信威, *Chung-kuo-huo-pi-shih* 中國貨幣史, vol. XI. Wu's article is a biography of Wang while P'êng does not give a comprehensive survey of the inflation. Information about the inflation is indeed very scanty

The Rebellion broke out in the same year as Hsien-fêng ascended the throne. Sweeping through the Yangtze Valley, it cut off the three most important financial resources of the government—viz. the copper from Yünnan for minting¹; the rice from the southern provinces paid to the Court as the grain tribute; and the salt tax from the Huai area. For instance, the new Emperor instructed Tsêng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 to make use of the grain tribute, the merchants' contributions, and the salt tax of Chekiang to pay the troops in Kiangsi, but Tsêng reported that none of these was then available.²

In addition to these difficulties, the people, fearing the eventual collapse of the Ch'ing regime, got rid of their copper money—the legal tender—and transferred their savings into silver, mostly in the form of Spanish dollars. This can be proved by the rise in the price of the dollar in London. In 1852, the price ranged from 4s. 6d. to 4s. 10d. It rose to 6s. 2d. in June and 7s. 9d. in August of the following year. It is also interesting to note that, in September 1856, the quotation of the Spanish dollar at Canton, a comparatively safe city in the south, was 4s. 11d., while in Shanghai, under the threat of a T'ai'ping invasion, it was 7s. 9d.³ The general result of this rise in the demand for silver was a higher value of silver in terms of copper money.⁴

The government was simultaneously facing a reduced revenue, an increased and still increasing expenditure, and a growing disparity between the silver tael and copper *wên*. A discussion on this urgent financial problem began in 1850 and went on for several years and from it emerged four principal measures: the minting of 'big coins' (*ta-ch'ien* 大錢); the issue of paper money; the minting of iron money; and the introduction of the *likin* (釐金) system to increase revenue in order to meet swelling military expenses.

The Ch'ing government took seriously lessons learnt from the failures of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming paper money ventures.⁵ Therefore when the discussion began, the participants were reluctant to suggest the issue of paper money. Apart from Wang Mou-yin,⁶ the others who made their views known to the Court, such as the Board of Revenue, the Princes Kung 恭親王 and Hui

¹ *Ch'ing-shih-kao* (CSK), Biographies, *chuan* 214, p. 5b. Wang T'ung-shu 翁同龢 memorialized the Emperor in Hsien-fêng 6 (1856): 'It is now impossible to transport copper from Yünnan to the capital'. Ts'ên Yü-ying 岑毓英, the Viceroy of Yünnan and Kueichow, also memorialized the Emperor in Kuangsu 9 (1883) on the same matter and described the dilapidation of the mines after the outbreak of the Rebellion. See *THKT1*, *chuan* 38, p. 18a.

² See *Tsêng-wên-chêng-kung-ch'uan-chi* (TWCKCC), vol. v, p. 187.

³ H. B. Morse, *The international relations of the Chinese Empire*, I, 408-9. The quotations are for 15 September at Shanghai and for 27 September at Canton.

⁴ In the capital, the rate of exchange rose from 1,500 *wên* to a tael in 1852 to 2,000 *wên* in 1854; and in Shanghai, from 1,190 in 1857 to 1,650 in 1861. See *CSL*, Hsien-fêng, *chuan* 235, *passim*.

⁵ *CSK*, *Shih-huo-chih*, 5, p. 4a; and *OCHWHTK*, *chuan* 13, Money 1, p. 4976.

⁶ When he first made his proposal of issuing paper money, Wang was a censor. He was later, in the third year of Hsien-fêng, promoted to the post of the Vice-President of the Right of the Board of Revenue. Karl Marx has a footnote about him in *Das Kapital*, vol. I, ch. 3, n. 83: 'Der Finanz Mandarin, Wan-mao-m liess sich begeben, Dem Sohn des Himmels ein projekt zu unterbreiten, welches versteckt auf Verwandlung der Chinesischen Reichsassignaten in Konvertierbar Banknoten hinzielte'.

惠親王, Ho Shao-chi 何紹基, Tsai-ch'üan 載銓, were all metallists.¹ Chronologically, the minting of the Hsien-fêng 'big coins' came slightly before the issue of paper money. Both, however, had been mooted during the Tao-kuang period,² and were introduced in the third year of Hsien-fêng (1853). In the year before, the combined cost of military operations and the Yellow River conservancy³ had reached a total of more than 20,000,000 taels.⁴ Ho Shao-chi, the commissioner of education in Szechuan province, proposed to the Emperor the minting of 'big coins' to 'restore the ancient tradition and to meet current needs'.⁵ At first, the Emperor did not quite understand Ho's idea; however, he soon became convinced of the necessity of the measure.⁶ 'Big coins' of the denomination of 10 *wên* began to appear in the third month of the next year (1853). Each of these weighed 0.6 taels, representing a 50 per cent reduction in weight. In the same year, the seventh month, Wang I-tê 王懿德, the Governor of Fukien, began minting 'big coins' in his province, of the denominations of 10, 20, 50, and 100 *wên*. Before long, his example was followed by the Imperial mints in the capital, which issued 50 *wên* 'big coins' in the eighth month (weighing 1.8 taels each, a debasement of 70 per cent) and coins of 100, 500, and 1,000 *wên* (weighing 1.4, 1.6, and 2 taels respectively) in the eleventh month.⁷ According to *Ta-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 大清會典事例, the amount of 'big coins' issued in 1854 reached 266,000,000 *wên*.⁸

Two months after the minting of 'big coins', the Hsien-fêng paper money made its appearance.⁹ This followed the suggestions put forward by Wang Mou-yin, Wang I-tê, and Hua-sha-na 花沙納. Wang Mou-yin was the first and most consistent proponent of this policy. His plan can be summarized in four points: (a) in view of the disparity between *wên* and silver, the paper notes should all be silver notes of the face values of 10 and 50 taels; (b) there should be a limit to the total amount of notes issued; (c) exchange houses were to be set up in every town of the Empire, so the notes could be cashed on demand; and (d) severe punishment would be applied to those who forged the notes.¹⁰

¹ See *THTKTI*, *chuan* 38, for their memorials.

² In 1838, Ho Ch'ang-ling 賀長齡 advocated in a memorial the issue of paper money. He said: 'In monetary transactions, there are occasions at which the use of cash is unnecessary. A money note is enough. If the payee does not want the note, he naturally refuses to accept it', *ibid.*, pp. 11b-12a. Chu Tsun 朱禪 repudiated both the suggestion of issuing paper notes and of minting big coins. Chu's memorial was submitted in 1846; *ibid.*, pp. 3a-4a.

³ The river changed its course in that year.

⁴ *COHWHTK*, *chuan* 20, p. 7696a.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 7695b, and *HCCTLT*, *chuan* 59, p. 3b.

⁶ The step to debase copper money by minting 'big coins' was taken for a copper shortage. At first, the Emperor thought Ho's proposal was to increase the weight of each *wên*. Therefore he said in an edict: 'Now there is not enough copper for minting small coins, not to speak of big coins'. But in an edit of 1853, he instructed the Board of Revenue to mint 'big coins'. See *HCCTLT*, *chuan* 59, p. 3b.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 7696a, and *THTKTI*, *chuan* 38, p. 6b.

⁸ *op. cit.*, *chuan* 214, 215.

⁹ *CSK*, Basic Annals, *chuan* 20, p. 8b. 'The silver notes were issued on the *wu-shên* day, the fifth month of Hsien-fêng 3 (10 June 1853).'

¹⁰ Wang's first memorial on this subject was presented in 1851. See *THTKTI*, *chuan* 38, pp. 12b-14b, and Wu Han, *op. cit.*, 1956, 74.

Wang's proposal did not produce any immediate result. A year later, Wang I-tê made a similar suggestion which was cold-shouldered by the Emperor.¹ Another seven months later, Hua-sha-na, the Chief Censor of the Left, presented his plan of issuing definitive or non-convertible notes of 1, 5, 10, and 50 tael denominations for official use only.² The plan managed to convince the government. A discussion on this matter soon took place and an official project was later presented to and approved by the Emperor.³

In the preamble of the project, words like 'gradual' (*hsü-t'u* 徐圖) and 'tentative' (*cho-hsing* 酌行) were used and the authors stated 'instead of taking completely new steps, we have decided to make fuller use of existing financial resources'.⁴ These points showed clearly a cautiousness and half-heartedness springing from their lack of confidence in the experiment. The project was doomed to failure from the very beginning.

The Board of Revenue's decision was to issue two kinds of notes: silver (of the face values of 1, 3, 5, 10, and 50 taels) and copper money (of 250, 500, 1,000, 1,500, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000, and 100,000 *wên*). The copper money notes were under the control of Nei-wu-fu 內務府 (the Fisc) which set up official exchange houses in the capital for the holders to cash their notes. The silver notes were the Board's own concern and were backed by (a) 30 per cent of the capital for loan of pawnshops and other money dealers, and (b) the grain purchase fund in the provincial treasuries. These funds should be sent to the government by the provincial authorities. In return, the authorities and pawnshops would get silver notes. They were allowed to sell the notes to private persons whose intention was to buy official titles. And official titles and academic degrees could be bought with these notes. Furthermore people were allowed to pay 30 to 50 per cent of their taxes in notes.⁵

For the exchange of silver paper notes, three exchange houses were established in the capital. They were private firms chartered by the government and provided with capital by the Board of Revenue. The Board further proposed that the salaries of civil officials of the fourth rank and above, and of military officers from the second rank upward should be paid half in paper money and half in silver.⁶

According to Prince Hui and his joint memorialists, the paper money was a success at the beginning,⁷ and therefore was extended to other spheres of public expenditure. The main taxes, such as the maritime tariff, *ti-ting*, and salt tax, could be paid partly in paper notes, and soldiers' and officers' salary was also partly paid in these. In the twelfth month of Hsien-fêng 5 (1856), the proportion of paper money in military wages in general reached 50 per cent.⁸

¹ *OSK*, Biographies, *chuan* 214, pp. 1a-b; *THL*, Hsien-fêng, *chuan* 9, p. 37a.

² *Ch'ing-shih-lieh-chuan*, *chuan* 41, pp. 32a-33a.

³ *HCCTLT*, *chuan* 60, p. 7b. Hua-sha-na's memorial was submitted in the ninth month and the discussion was held in the month following.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 8a.

⁵ *HCCTLT*, *chuan* 60, p. 8a.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 8b.

⁷ *CCHWHTK*, *chuan* 20, p. 7697a.

⁸ *TWCKCC*, vol. v, p. 187.

Beside the issue of 'big coins' and paper notes, further suggestions were also made to ease the financial situation. In 1854, the Governor of Fukien, Lu Ch'üan-sun 呂佺孫, requested the Emperor's permission to mint iron money in his province.¹ He proposed that the weight of each coin should be fixed at 0.16 taels, and that each coin should have the same value as a copper *wên*. The reason behind this proposal was the lack of copper for minting while Fukien had its iron ores readily at hand.

At the same time, within the Imperial Court, Princes Hui and Kung also jointly memorialized, advocating the issue of iron coins. The suggestions were at once adopted as an official policy, and Shansi iron was bought for minting in the Imperial capital.² The effect of the monetization of iron can be seen from the fact that between 1854 and 1855 the price of Shansi iron rose from 6 *wên* to 40 *wên* per catty.³

The 'big coins', paper money, and iron money went some way to meeting urgent military needs. But in 1853, the fall of Nanking to the T'ai'ping ended, for the foreseeable future, all prospect of recovering the rich tax resources of the Yangtze estuary to the Imperial Treasury. Even as early as 1852, when the military situation had not deteriorated so far, the financing of the campaign was extremely difficult, for hardly a single province was able to remit its full assigned amount of taxes to the Court, and provinces were even sometimes unable to supply the regional military commanders who were fighting the T'ai'ping.⁴ Clearly further measures were needed.

The position of Tsêng Kuo-fan, as mentioned above, was typical. Having failed to cover his expenses from the salt and other taxes, he now proposed to collect a general rate of *likin* in Shanghai, thereby to raise the required funds to pay his troops. A little earlier than this, Lei I-hsien 雷以誠, the army paymaster at Yang-chou, had already evolved a successful system of *likin*, by levying a one per cent *ad valorem* tax on many commodities.⁵ This tax, 'of very little impact on the payers' as its author described it, was a triumph. To begin with, it was only collected in Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei⁶; later, in 1857, it was extended to all provinces.⁷

The burden of the war against the T'ai'ping was therefore shouldered by having recourse to inflation and to the new excise tax, *likin*. Before long, however, the defects of the inflationary measures were exposed. The 'big coins' of 1,000 *wên* denomination, for instance, weighed about 2 taels each, while a string of copper money, the *wên*, actually weighed 120 taels and half of its metallic content was pure copper. If a man melted one string of *wên*,

¹ *THTKTI*, *chüan* 38, pp. 11a-b.

² *CCHWHTK*, *chüan* 20, p. 7697b.

³ Tsung Chi-ch'ên 宗稷辰, 'A memorial on the traditional money and the laws of money', *THTKTI*, *chüan* 38, p. 9b. It is also interesting to note that the profit of minting iron money was enormous. A catty of iron could be made into 100 coins of 0.16 taels each. But the price of iron at the beginning was only 4 *wên* per catty.

⁴ *CCHWHTK*, *chüan* 66, p. 8225b.

⁵ *ibid.*, *chüan* 49, p. 8037a.

⁶ *CSL*, Hsien-fêng, 10, fifth month, *chi-hai* (24 June 1860), *chüan* 318, p. 23b.

⁷ Lo Yu-tung 羅玉東, *Chung-kuo-li-chin-shih*, 1954, vol. II ch. 1, pp. 1-24.

he could obtain nearly 60 taels of pure copper from which some thirty 1,000 *wên* 'big coins' could be made. The profit was any businessman's dream. A further defect was that the 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 *wên* 'big coins' were almost identical in size and weight. The only distinction between them was the characters impressed on them. But many of their users were illiterate! ¹

Since the profit from private minting of 'big coins' was so high, it is hardly surprising to learn that the Ch'ing government was unable to prevent people from doing so. The appearance of illegal 'big coins' which lacked uniformity either in form or in weight made people suspicious and reluctant to accept them.² Their value fell. In 1854, a 'big coin' of 1,000 *wên* was worth about 400 or 500 *wên*; but in 1857, when he was granted an audience, Wu T'ing-tung 吳廷棟 reported to the Emperor: 'The prices of goods are 20 per cent higher, when a shopkeeper finds out that his customer is to pay 20 per cent in big coins'.³ In Kiangsu and the Huai River area, 'big coins' were subject to a discount of 20 to 40 per cent and from 1854 to 1859 there were many records of 'big coins' lying idle in the Treasury.⁴ The new currency, in fact, found little outlet outside the capital.⁵

A few months after their issue, the Board of Revenue proposed that the 'big coins' of 500 and 1,000 *wên* should be called in. This was done in the seventh month of that year.⁶ Those of the denominations of 50 and 100 *wên* were withdrawn from circulation in 1857 and 1858. A year later, Chao Shu-chi 趙樹吉, a censor, made the strongest attack on the 'big coins'. He said:

'Now there are big coins everywhere in the capital, but not a single piece to be found a hundred *li* outside it. Hence in the capital, a tael of silver is quoted at the rate of 17,000 or 18,000 *wên*, and silver becomes the sole medium of business transactions. The common people are those who suffer most. Their ten-days' wages are not enough for a good meal. Among them, the old ones are now beggars and stronger ones thieves and bandits. The banner-men who do not run a business of their own are starved. . . .

From this, I can only conclude that if the big coins are not abolished at once, the prices will never be stabilized and people's suffering will never end'.⁷

In spite of Chao's plan, the coins of 10 *wên* and privately minted 'big coins' remained until 1888.⁸

Other inflationary experiments were less disastrous than this. The paper money covered about 40 per cent of the military expenses⁹ and it was used to

¹ Wang Mou-yin, 'Further discussions on the minting of big coins', *THTKTI*, *chuan* 38, pp. 7b-8a.

² *ibid.*, p. 7a.

³ *HCCTLT*, *chuan* 59, pp. 9b-10a.

⁴ Tsung Chi-ch'ên, *op. cit.*, p. 9b, and *COHWHTK*, *chuan* 20, pp. 7698-700.

⁵ Tsung Chi-ch'ên, *op. cit.*, and Chao Shu-chi, 'A plea for the abolition of big coins', 1859, *THTKTI*, *chuan* 38, p. 9b.

⁶ P'êng Hsin-wei, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 543.

⁷ Chao Shu-chi, *op. cit.*, p. 9b.

⁸ P'êng Hsin-wei, *op. cit.*, p. 543, and *HCCTLT*, *chuan* 60, p. 11b.

⁹ *CSL*, Hsien-fêng, 10, second month, *chia-ch'ên* (1 March 1860), *chuan* 307, p. 22b.

recall 'big coins' of 500 and 1,000 *wên* denominations in 1854. However, it had its indigenous difficulties. According to the official plan, the paper money did not have full legal tender. It was issued by the Board of Revenue as 100 per cent silver or copper money, but the government did not allow people to pay taxes in more than 50 per cent of it. So from the people's point of view, it had only half of its face value. Therefore it suffered different rates of discount in different provinces. In Honan, for instance, where paper money was used to cover part of the expenses of the Yellow River conservancy work, notes of 1 tael or of 1,000 *wên* face value were discounted 50 or 60 per cent in the year 1855.¹ Similar rates of discount prevailed in the capital. Under such circumstances, if a corrupt official insisted upon all taxes being paid only in silver, he could use the silver to buy paper notes and pay into the Treasury up to 50 per cent of the total taxes collected in these notes. In this way, he could make a handsome profit. And this was exactly what happened. Li Chün 李鈞 reported in the second month of the seventh year of Hsien-fêng (1857) that the prefects and magistrates of Honan refused to accept either silver or copper money notes from tax-payers. On the other hand, they paid the River conservancy workers in 80 per cent notes and only 20 per cent silver. He said that similar things were going on in Shantung.² Such practices could hardly help to rally people's confidence in the notes. So the exchange rate in 1858 was only 200 *wên* to a tael denomination note and three years later this fell to 52 *wên*.³

There were also the privately issued paper notes, authorized by the government.⁴ By the time of the Anglo-French Joint Expedition, the issue of private paper money had become so chaotic that its market had to close down.⁵ The official exchange houses were scarcely in a happier position. Soldiers and other people went to the exchange houses to cash their official money notes and found the houses besieged by crowds of people from morning till evening. The cashiers were so busy that they had no time to count the notes which they took and the money which they handed out. People who gave up 20,000 *wên* of paper money only received one or two thousand *wên* of cash in exchange. If they went to private money dealers, they could get no more than seven or eight hundred *wên* of 'big coins' for every 1,000 *wên* of paper notes.⁶ This was the monetary situation when China entered into war against the combined Anglo-French forces.

Nor did iron money escape debasement at the hands of private minters,

¹ CCHWHTK, *chuan* 20, p. 7701a.

² THL, Hsien-fêng, *chuan* 35, p. 44a.

³ CSK, *Shih-huo-chih*, 5, p. 4b, and P'êng Hsin-wei, op. cit., p. 541.

⁴ CCHWHTK, *chuan* 20, p. 7699a.

⁵ CSL, Hsien-fêng, 10, fourth month, *t'ing-hai* (12 June 1860), *chuan* 322, p. 8b.

⁶ *ibid.*, and Tsung Chi-oh'ên, op. cit., p. 9b. The same thing happened again in the fifth month of Hsien-fêng 11 (1861). See *Ch'ou-p'an-i-wu-shih-mo*, Hsien-fêng, 11, sixth month, *chuan* 80, pp. 32b-33a. This was brought to Prince Kung's notice, because some of the people who went to the houses to cash their notes claimed to be representatives of Russian firms.

though in itself it represented a debasement of the old copper coin.¹ As an inferior kind of money, it also tended, exemplifying Gresham's law, to drive the copper coins, small and big, out of circulation.²

Nonetheless, the inflationary measures made it possible to carry on the military operations of the day, at the cost of disrupting the financial system of the country as a whole. Apart from what has been said above, this can also be seen from the fact that, throughout the reign, the Board of Revenue repeatedly urged the provinces to send in the balances of their assigned amounts of taxes; while the provinces in turn sought from the government exemptions from, or reductions in, the amounts of taxes at which they had been assessed. The *ti-ting* taxes provide an example. From the first to the ninth month of Hsien-feng 10 (1860), Shansi owed the Treasury 1,000,000 taels; Shantung 500,000; Honan 650,000; Shensi 136,000; and Szechuan 290,000 taels. Chekiang owed 300,000 taels and Shantung 180,000 taels in salt tax. And the Customs House of Kiangsu (Chiang-hai-kuan 江海關) owed 600,000 taels.³ At the end of the ninth month of 1860, there were only 200,000 taels left in the Treasury—an amount which was far from enough to pay the military expenses of the following month.⁴

The military outlook by then was as black as the financial situation was desperate. Chang Kuo-liang 張國樑, the Chief Commander of the South Yangtze Army, had been killed in action and his troops completely wiped out by the T'ai-p'ing.⁵ In the north, Peking was under the occupation of Anglo-French Expedition forces. The first Summer Palace, Yüan Ming Yüan, had been burnt down and the Imperial family was in exile. Prince Kung was authorized to sue for peace with the victorious foreign powers. Those were indeed the darkest days of the Ch'ing regime.

¹ In 1854, the four Imperial mints turning out iron coins used up 12,000,000 catties of pig iron. *COHWHTK, chuan* 20, p. 7700a.

² 'Copper coins became rare after big coins were introduced. But when iron money appeared, copper coins simply vanished.' Tsung Chi-ch'ên, *op. cit.*, p. 9b.

³ *CSL*, Hsien-feng, 11, eighth month, *jen-hsu* (10 September 1861), *Mu-tsung chuan* 2, p. 19b.

⁴ *CSL*, Hsien-feng, 10, ninth month, *hsin-hai* (3 November 1860), *chuan* 331, p. 18a.

⁵ Lo Erh-kang 羅爾綱, *Chung-wang Li-hsiu-ch'êng tsü-chuan-yüan-kao-ch'ien-cheng*, 1954, 122-3.

TĀMBRALĪŅGA

By O. W. WOLTERS

I. TĀMBRALĪŅGA AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS POLITICAL STATUS IN EARLY SOUTH EAST ASIAN HISTORY

IN this essay an attempt will be made, with the assistance of Chinese sources, to define the political status of TāmbralīŅga in South East Asian history from the end of the tenth century until the early thirteenth century. This subject has been bedevilled by a textual error in the *Sung shih* in connexion with an embassy from TāmbralīŅga to China in 1001, with the name for TāmbralīŅga rendered as 'Tan-mei-liu 丹眉流'; the transliteration should have been 'Tan-liu-mei 丹流眉'.¹ The error was a minor one, but unfortunately it has had consequences out of proportion to its size. In particular, it seems to have been indirectly responsible for an exaggerated estimate of the extent of Śrīvijayan influence in the Malay Peninsula during a considerable part of that empire's history.

TāmbralīŅga is one of the small and shadowy States in early South East Asian history. Only its geographical identity has been established with some certainty. The State is associated with the coastal lands round the Bay of Bandon in the narrowing waist of the Malay Peninsula. Sometimes it is referred to as the State in the Ligor area. Little is known of its extent north or south. To the south it may have reached towards the State of Langkasuka which scholars to-day tend to locate in the Patani area.² To the north it may have extended at least as far as Jaiyā and probably further.

The evidence for its geographical identification has been drawn from a variety of documents. The two inscriptions of Vāt Hvā Vian in the Jaiyā area, dated as late as 1230, refer to the 'Śrī Dharmarāja called Candrabhānu' who was 'the Lord of TāmbralīŅga' and have suggested that the Jaiyā area at any rate, which is some distance north of Ligor, was at that time in the State of TāmbralīŅga.³ Some have wondered whether the reference to 'Tambalingam' in the *Niddesa* is to the same region,⁴ but in view of the doubts which modern historical geographers have placed on the value of Ptolemy's *Geography* as evidence of 'transgangetic India' in the second century A.D. it would be unwise to regard the *Niddesa* as evidence of TāmbralīŅga in very early times. Mr. Wheatley seems to suggest that the evidence of the *Geography* could be more usefully related to the place-names in the Tanjore inscription of 1030-1.⁵

¹ See section III below.

² R. Braddell, 'Notes on ancient times in Malaya', *JMBRAS*, xxiii, 3, 1950, 34; P. Wheatley, 'Langkasuka', *TP*, xliiv, 1956, 387-412.

³ G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, II, Bangkok, 1929, 41-3.

⁴ For example: G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948, 72-3; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, Madras, 1949, 21.

⁵ *JMBRAS*, xxviii, 1, 1955, 83.

This inscription includes a reference to 'Mādamāliṅgam' which is thought to be another reference to Tāmbraliṅga.

Candrabhānu's title of 'Śrī Dharmarāja' in the 1230 inscriptions has suggested a further series of allusions to the Ligor area. 'Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja' was the later Thai name for the area in the inscription of Rāma Khamhèng of 1292.¹ The early fifteenth century Pali Chronicle, the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, also referred to a king of 'Siridhammanagara' called 'Sujita' who may have intervened in the Monland wars between Lavo (Lopburi) and Haripunjaya (Lamp'un) at the end of the tenth century and conquered Lavo.² 'Śrī Dharmarāja' or 'the Lord of the Doctrine', the title of Candrabhānu, may therefore have been an ancient title of the ruler of this territory. An enduring association with Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have been one of the few consistent themes running through its history.

The political status of the Ligor area in early South East Asian history has been less certainly established. It has yielded, for example, the famous Sanskrit Ligor inscription of 775 with its references to the ruler of Śrīvijaya.³ On the other hand, the inscription on the 'Buddha of Grahi' of 1183 and the inscriptions of Vāt Hvā Vian at Jaiyā in 1230 are in the Khmer language, though the script of the former has been shown to exhibit affinities with the Sumatran script and that of the latter with the Javanese *kawi* script.⁴ The statuary of the area is equally ambiguous, with resemblances to both Angkorian and Archipelago art.⁵

The ambiguity in the archaeological evidence has been matched by a lack of precision in references to the area in literary records. The Ligor inscription of 775 is clear evidence of a Śrīvijayan connexion with the area, but after that date nothing is very clear. Tāmbraliṅga may have been independent at the end of the tenth century when Sujita was fighting in the Menam valley, but the southern Indian Tanjore inscription in Tamil has suggested to most historians that not long afterwards it was qualifying as an object of Cola fury against Śrīvijaya.⁶ The texts of the Vāt Hvā Vian inscriptions of 1230 have suggested that Tāmbraliṅga was by that date again independent, but just before 1230

¹ *Recueil*, I, 1924, 48.

² G. Coedès, 'Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental', *BEFEO*, xxv, 1925, 23 ff., 158. This event is also mentioned in the sixteenth century Pali *Jinakalamālinī*; *ibid.*, 80.

³ 'Victorious is the king, the lord of Śrīvijaya, whose sovereignty is recognised and whose commands are obeyed by the neighbouring kings . . . ' K. A. N. Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, 121.

⁴ G. Coedès, 'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya', *BEFEO*, xviii, 6, 1918, 33-4.

⁵ For a detailed investigation of the art history of the Tāmbraliṅga region see: P. Dupont, 'Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'āiṣya', *BEFEO*, xlii, 1942, 103-8. Dupont criticized too comprehensive a definition of the 'Art of Śrīvijaya'. His analysis of the linguistic and archaeological evidence from the region seems to tally with the conclusions about its political history suggested in this essay.

⁶ G. Ferrand, 'L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya', *JA*, xxi, 1922, 44-5, 224; *Recueil*, II, 5-6; *Les états*, 240-2; K. A. N. Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, 81; R. Braddell, *JMBRAS*, xiii, 3, 1950, 29.

the reference to the *sruk* of 'Grahi' in the 1183 inscription on the 'Buddha of Grahi' and Chao Ju-kua's reference in 1225 to 'Chia-lo-hsi' 加羅希, a dependency of Śrīvijaya and thought to be a transliteration of 'Grahi' in the area of Jaiyā, have suggested that part at least of the Ligor area was still under Śrīvijaya in the 1183–1225 period.¹

Even less is known of the people who lived in Tāmbralīṅga. The presence of Mon loanwords in the languages of the aborigines of the southern Malay Peninsula and evidence, according to an inscription dated 1699, that Khmer was still spoken at Patalung south of Ligor, suggest that the indigenous population may have belonged to the Austro-Asiatic language group.² Perhaps the ordinary people were a mixture of pre-Mon peoples and Mons, with a Khmer and to a lesser extent Sumatran Malay or Javanese element among the inscription-writing class. It seems to be agreed that at the head of the Peninsula in early times was the Mon State of Dvāravatī, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Mons lived further south too. The Mons seem to have been one of the passive peoples in early South East Asia whose tale is told almost entirely in terms of foreign pressure on them. Tāmbralīṅga history may be another chapter in that tale.

The vagueness of the knowledge concerning the political status of Tāmbralīṅga can be partly attributed to the meagre and ambiguous data provided by Chinese references to the area. Three Chinese place-name transcriptions have been associated with Tāmbralīṅga. They are 'Tan-mei-liu 丹眉流' in respect of 1001³ and 'Teng-liu-mei 登流眉' and 'Tan-ma-ling 單馬令' in respect of 1225.⁴ The difficulty has arisen over the alternatives for 1225, and the major historical reconstructions of early South East Asian history have been influenced at an early stage by Professor Coedès' decision in 1918 that the more likely rendering of Tāmbralīṅga in 1225 was 'Tan-ma-ling' which appeared in Chao Ju-kua's work.⁵ To Professor Coedès 'Tan-ma-ling' seemed a very probable rendering of 'Mādamāliṅgam' which appeared in the list of Cola targets in the Tanjore inscription of 1030–1 referring to the great raid of 1025. Professor Coedès knew that the *Sung shih* referred to a 'Tan-

¹ *Recueil*, II, 6–9. Chao Ju-kua, *Chu fan chih*, 1225, Chung hua shu chu, Peking, 1956. Later Professor Coedès looked to Malayu for Grahi's suzerain. *Bijdragen*, LXXXIII, 1927, 468 ff. Professor Coedès knew that Chao Ju-kua stated that there was a Cambodian province of 'Teng-liu-mei' somewhere in the area but he was unwilling to accept it as Tāmbralīṅga, among other reasons because there would have been a Śrīvijayan enclave at Jaiyā in the middle of it. *Les états*, 304, n. 5; 310, n. 2. See below for his treatment of the problem.

² W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, II, 377 ff.; Dupont, 'C'āya', 108.

³ *Sung shih*, Ssü pu ts'ung k'an collection, Po-na edition, 489, 24 a–b.

⁴ *CFC*, 7, 10, 17; F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg, 1911, 53, 57–8, 62, 67–8. Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非, the author of the *Ling wai tai ta* 嶺外代答 of 1178 (henceforth referred to as *LWTT*), also referred to 'Teng-liu-mei': Pi chi hsi shou ta kuan collection, 上, 5, 2a.

⁵ 'Le royaume de Śrīvijaya', *BEFEO*, XVIII, 1918, 6, 15–18. Pelliot would not express an opinion about the location of 'Tan-ma-ling' except to argue that there were objections to its being a phonetic reconstruction of 'Tanah Malayu' (Takakusu) or to its location outside the Peninsula and in eastern Sumatra (Schlegel). *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, 328, n. 6.

mei-liu' in connexion with an embassy to China in 1001 and that Chou Ch'ü-fei, in the *Ling wai tai ta* of 1178, and Chao Ju-kua, in the *Chu fan chih* of 1225, referred to 'Teng-liu-mei', but, in spite of Pelliot's identification in 1904 of 'Tan-mei-liu' with 'Teng-liu-mei' and with Ligor, Professor Cœdès was never very happy about the geographical problem which this rival to 'Tan-ma-ling' created and he chose to cling to 'Tan-ma-ling' as the orthodox version of the name at least in Chao Ju-kua's time.¹

The choice of 'Tan-ma-ling' has therefore saddled Tāmbralinga with the implications of Chao Ju-kua's statement that in 1225 'Tan-ma-ling' was a dependency of Śrīvijaya. It is not surprising that Śrīvijaya should have been given the benefit of the doubt when the question of the uncertain political status of Tāmbralinga arose. Such has been the fame of Śrīvijaya as a result of the compliments paid to its Mahārāja by early Arab writers and of the references to its militant commercial policy by Chinese writers in a later period that it has been easy to take the risk of including Tāmbralinga among its dependencies in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary. The long shadow of the Ligor inscription of 775 has no doubt played its part in this tradition.

The Ligor inscription is undeniable evidence that in 775 Śrīvijaya exercised some form of political influence in the middle of the Malay Peninsula, taking the place of the earlier Mekong State of Funan. The emergence of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century was connected perhaps with the progress made in trans-oceanic navigation from southern China to India, a development which gave a new significance to States straddling the route through the Straits of Malacca. But Ligor lay some distance off the route. The only Peninsula port which seems to have had early fame and to have retained its fame when trans-oceanic sailing became the practice was the port known to the Arabs as 'Kalah'

¹ P. Pelliot, 'Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle', *BEFEO*, iv, 1904, 233-4. Pelliot did not have at his disposal the *Sung hui yao kao*. (See n. 4, p. 592, below.) Nevertheless he foresaw the identification of 'Tan-mei-liu' with 'Teng-liu-mei'. He chose, however, to give credence to the former name because Ma Tuan-lin had a similar rendering in the form of 'Chou-mei-liu 州眉流' and because the *Sung shih* gave a lengthy geographical description of it. With Pelliot's sponsoring of 'Tan-mei-liu', its survival in the histories of South East Asia was guaranteed. This has had unfortunate consequences. Because it only appeared in 1001, the problem arose of finding its equivalent in 1225. The unanimity among historians in accepting 'Tan-mei-liu' (1001) as Tāmbralinga disappeared when confronted with the problem of 'Teng-liu-mei' or 'Tan-ma-ling' (1225). Professor Cœdès chose 'Tan-ma-ling', and Professor Sastri and Sir Roland Braddell followed him: *History of Śrī Vijaya*, 90; *JMBRAS*, xxxiii, 3, 1950, 34. The effect of this tradition has been to leave 'Teng-liu-mei' high and dry and, as this essay will suggest, to introduce a Śrīvijayan rather than a Cambodian bias into the history of the mid-Malay Peninsula. Hirth and Rockhill, without great conviction, were content to follow Pelliot in identifying 'Teng-liu-mei' with Ligor. See their joint publication, *Chao-Ju-kua*, 57-8. Dupont, in the field of art history, seemed to exclude Śrīvijaya from the area after the beginning of the eleventh century: 'C'āiya', 108. Mr. Briggs lumped all places beginning with 'T' under Tāmbralinga and decided that Tāmbralinga was free from Śrīvijayan control from the eleventh century, but he compromised by including 'Tan-ma-ling' among the variety of names by which the Chinese knew Tāmbralinga: 'The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula', *FEQ*, ix, May 1950, 291-2.

and to the Chinese as 'Ko-lo 哥羅'.¹ It is sometimes associated with Kedah.² The interest of Śrīvijaya in 'Kalah' is understandable, but the reasons for its interest in the Ligor area are not so evident.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to contradict the evidence of the Ligor inscription that there was a connexion between Śrīvijaya and Tāmbralīṅga in 775. The question arises: when did that connexion come to an end? The Tanjore inscription and Chao Ju-kua's record have usually been interpreted in a manner which prolongs the connexion between the two almost to the end of the history of Śrīvijaya itself.

It will be suggested below that the only undeniable evidence of a Śrīvijayan connexion with the Ligor area is the Ligor inscription itself and that there is a strong likelihood that between 775 and about 971 Śrīvijayan control disappeared from the area never to return.

II. TĀMBRALĪŅGA AND THE PALI CHRONICLES

The first circumstance which makes it difficult to connect Śrīvijaya with the area at least at the end of the tenth century is the reference in the Pali Chronicle to the King Sujita of 'Siridhammanagara', the father of 'Kambojarāja' and, as Professor Coedès believes, of Śūryavarman I of Angkor, who attacked and conquered Lavo perhaps at the end of the tenth century.³ This reference suggests that whatever may have been the relationship between Tāmbralīṅga and Śrīvijaya it did not prevent the former from undertaking military and naval adventures on its own account.

Professor Coedès has on several occasions wondered whether Sujita's family was of Malay origin.⁴ The basis for his suggestion is that 'Jivaka', an alternative name for Sujita, may indicate an Archipelago ancestry and that the title of 'kamptvan' used by Śūryavarman I and the importance of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Cambodia during Śūryavarman's reign may point to a southern origin of this ruling house. Śūryavarman in fact seems to have been a usurper on a grander scale than was usual even by Angkorian genealogical standards.⁵ It is therefore possible that this family may have been descended from a Śrīvijayan *dātu*, governing a province of that empire, who threw off the imperial connexion, a possibility which must frequently have worried the Mahārājas if one remembers the curses thundered against disobedient governors in the Old Malay inscription of Telaga Batu, found near Palembang, at the end of the seventh century.⁶ According to Professor de Casparis, the governors could have

¹ On the identification of these place-names see Additional note (1).

² See Additional note (1).

³ 'Documents', 23 ff., 158 ff. Professor Coedès upheld the suggestion in 1948: *Les états*, 231-2.

⁴ 'Documents', 24-5; *Recueil*, II, 10; *Les états*, 229. But Dupont ('C'āiya', 108), who was one of the few writers to give some weight to the 'Khmer' connexion with the Tāmbralīṅga area, suggested that some vaguely Khmer element in the local population would have assisted Śūryavarman I in becoming ruler of Cambodia without cutting too foreign a figure.

⁵ *Les états*, 229.

⁶ J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, II, Bandung, 1956, 15-46. See also: Coedès, 'Les inscriptions Malaises de Çrīvijaya', *BEFEO*, xxx, 1930, 48-9.

been members of the royal house, and it is not impossible that the 'de facto' rulers in Ligor had some family connexion with the Śailendra family at Palembang.¹

Thus it would seem from the evidence of the Pali Chronicle that at the end of the tenth century an independent Ligor State decided to intervene in the affairs of Monland and seized the opportunity of a quarrel between the rulers of Lavo and Haripunjaya to do so. At any rate Sujita's success would have brought him close to the Cambodian border and to the Mahāyānist elements growing up in Cambodia during the second half of the tenth century in opposition to the powerful Śivaite families entrenched in high position at Angkor since the time of Jayavarman II.² Whether or not Śūryavarman I attacked Cambodia from the west or from the east is uncertain.³ At least from Lavo he would have been in an advantageous position to intervene in Cambodia.

Nevertheless, in spite of the hints of the Pali Chronicle that Tāmbralinga was behaving as an independent State at the end of the tenth century, Śrīvijaya could have resumed or tightened its control over the region after Śūryavarman had established himself at Angkor. If this had happened, Śrīvijaya would have been suzerain of Ligor in time for Ligor to have been one of the targets of Cola retaliation against the Śrīvijayan empire. The Tanjore inscription has generally been associated with a Cola attempt to break the commercial power of Śrīvijaya and its dependencies, and the likelihood that Śrīvijaya was the main objective of the raid of 1025 is suggested by the inscription's reference to the capture of the king of Kaḍāram, the Śrīvijayan ruler of Kalah (= ? Kedah). Should one therefore conclude on the strength of the Tanjore inscription that by 1025 Ligor was again a dependency of Śrīvijaya ?

III. 'TAN-LIU-MEI', 'TENG-LIU-MEI', AND 'TAN-MEI-LIU'. THE ELIMINATION OF 'TAN-MEI-LIU'

Not only would this view have to take into account Śūryavarman's acquiescence in a Śrīvijayan reconquest of his ancestral home. Further evidence for believing it to have been unlikely that Śrīvijaya staged a comeback in the early eleventh century is found in the *Sung hui yao kao*.⁴ This work contains

¹ Casparis, *ibid.*, 17-18. Briggs, *FEQ*, ix, May 1950, 292, speaks of the 'conquest' of Tāmbralinga by Sujita. It is more likely that Tāmbralinga drifted into a semi-independent and then completely independent status.

² L. P. Briggs, *The ancient Khmer empire*, Philadelphia, 1951, 134, 140, 146.

³ G. Coëdes and P. Dupont, 'Les stèles de Sôk Kāk Thom, Phnom Sandak et Práh Vihār', *BEFEO*, XLIII, 1943-6, 71-2; *Les états*, 228. See also n. 3, p. 596, below.

⁴ For a note on the *Sung hui yao kao*, see Ssu-yu Teng and K. Biggerstaff, *An annotated bibliography of selected Chinese reference works*, Harvard University Press, 1950, 162-3. The relevant passages in the *Sung shih* were based on the *Sung hui yao kao*, though the subject matter of the latter was much fuller. The *Sung hui yao kao* was not published (in a photolithographic edition) until 1936 and was therefore not available to Pelliot in 1904. One assumes that Ou-yang Hsuan and Wang Ying-lin, the compilers of the *Sung shih* and the *Yu hai* 玉海 respectively, and also Ma Tuan-lin had access to the same official documents for many of the events included in these works. For Pelliot's views on the relationship between the texts used by Ma Tuan-lin and Ou-yang Hsuan, see *BEFEO*, III, 1903, 651.

several notices of a 'Tan-liu-mei 丹流眉' over a span of years stretching from just before 976 to 1070 and gives the impression that 'Tan-liu-mei' was an independent State in this period.

In order to identify 'Tan-liu-mei', it is first necessary to remove from the field of speculation a spurious State which has crept into histories of early South East Asia owing to a copying mistake by the compiler of the *Sung shih*. This is the 'State' of 'Tan-mei-liu 丹眉流', mentioned in the *Sung shih* as sending an embassy to China in 1001.¹ The text states that its ruler was 'To-hsü-chi 多須機' and that his envoys were 'Ta-chi-ma 打吉馬', 'Ta-la 打臘', and 'P'i-ni 皮泥'; altogether nine envoys were sent. But the names of the ruler and his envoys are identical, with unimportant variants in respect of two of the envoys, with the names of the ruler and envoys of 'Tan-liu-mei' of the *Sung hui yao kao* for the same year.² The latter text retains the ruler's name and gives two of the envoys' names as 'Ta-ku-ma 打古馬' and 'Cha-p'i-ni 割皮泥'. Since 'Tan-mei-liu' has no other history except in the account of the embassy of 1001 contained in the *Sung shih* and in Ma Tuan-lin's encyclopaedia under the form of 'Chou-mei-liu 州眉流',³ while 'Tan-liu-mei' has a history in the *Sung hui yao kao* from before 976 to 1070 and also at the end of the twelfth century in the *Ling wai tai ta* and at the beginning of the thirteenth century in the *Chu fan chih* under the form of 'Teng-liu-mei',⁴ it seems reasonable to conclude that the orthodox rendering of this State was 'Tan-liu-mei' or some similar name.⁵ The order was always in the form of 'liu-mei' and never the reverse. And indeed the *Sung shih* itself, in the article on Cambodia, referred to 'Teng-liu-mei 登流眉', a neighbour of the Cambodian dependency of 'Chen-li-fu 眞里富' and lying to its south-west.⁶ Evidently the compiler of the *Sung shih* and Ma Tuan-lin before him both made errors or used faulty documents in respect of 'Tan-mei-liu's' embassy of 1001. Whatever may be said of 'Tan-liu-mei', it is certainly improper to attempt to give 'Tan-mei-liu' a history by associating it with the later 'Tan-ma-ling'. 'Tan-mei-liu' never disappeared, to return under the guise of 'Tan-ma-ling' and to become a dependency of Śrīvijaya at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Conversely, 'Teng-liu-mei' was in the direct line of descent from 'Tan-liu-mei'.

¹ *Sung shih*, 489, 24a-b.

² *Sung hui yao kao*, Ta tung shu chü, Peking, 1936, 蕃夷 7, 14b. *Hsu tzü chih t'ung chien ch'ang pien*, Che Chiang shu chü, 1881, 49, 3b, stated that 丹流眉 was in diplomatic relationship with China for the first time as a result of this mission which was sent by 多預機. The envoys were 打古馬, 打臘, and 割皮泥; the party included nine persons. *Yu hai*, Chiang Ning t'ao kuei t'ing, 1738, 154, 30b, stated that in 1001 丹流眉 sent a mission to China.

³ *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, Wan-yu wen-k'u edition, 332, 2612.

⁴ *Ling wai tai ta*, 上, 2, 5a; 下, 7, 1a. *Chu fan chih*, 7, 10. The editor of the *LWTT*, 下, 7, 1a, observed that the 范大成桂海虞衡 referred to 丁流眉 and the *Sung shih* to 登流眉.

⁵ In the absence of further evidence Pelliot took the opposite view. *BEFEO*, iv, 1904, 233.

⁶ *SS*, 489, 11b.

It is therefore suggested that the 'State' of 'Tan-mei-liu' should be allowed to disappear from its undeserved place in histories of early South East Asia.

Where then was the genuine State of 'Tan-liu-mei'/'Teng-liu-mei'? The geographical references in the Chinese sources are not as explicit as one would wish, though the *Sung shih* provided it with no less than nine land and sea directions, including directions to Java, Canton, and India, which indicates that it was of some importance in the communications of the period.¹ From all accounts it was during the Sung period in the Cambodian pattern of geographical knowledge; the later the evidence, the more explicitly was its connexion with Cambodia stated. The *Sung shih* said that it was west of Cambodia with 'Lo-hu' (羅斛 = ? Lavo)² and Canton to its north-east and that it was south-west of 'Chen-li-fu' (眞里富 = ? Chantabun),³ which was a Cambodian dependency south-west of Cambodia.⁴ Chou Ch'ü-fei said that it was 'adjacent to' (其旁) Cambodia, that Cambodia was its 'trading centre' (都會), that Cambodia had many kinds of incense, and that the 'Teng-liu-mei' product was the best.⁵ Chao Ju-kua said that it was a dependency of Cambodia; it was west of Cambodia and had its own ruler 地主.⁶

None of these references relate the State to Śrīvijaya. Whatever doubts there may be about its political status during the Sung period (960-1279), at least it was never under Śrīvijaya as far as the Chinese were concerned. Nor was 'Chia-lo-hsi' 加羅希, whose identification with Jaiyā has caused so much difficulty, part of its territory. The *Sung shih* stated that Cambodia reached in the south as far as 'Chia-lo-hsi', and from the context it appears that 'Chia-lo-hsi' was as independent of Cambodia as Champa and Pagan were.⁷ Chao Ju-kua said that 'Chia-lo-hsi' was immediately to the south of Cambodia and a dependency of Śrīvijaya.⁸ The only conclusion which can be reached is that 'Chia-lo-hsi' lay beyond Cambodia or territory connected with Cambodia and that 'Tan-liu-mei' may have been the Cambodian territory furthest away from Cambodia in a south-western direction and therefore

¹ *SS*, 489, 24a.

² Pelliot located 'Lo-hu' in the region of the lower Menam; *BEFEO*, iv, 1904, 233-4. Professor Coedès thought that it was Lavo = Lopburi; *BEFEO*, xli, 1941, 292, n. 1; *Les états*, 304.

³ L. P. Briggs, 'The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula', *FEQ*, ix, May 1950, 285. There are a number of references to 'Chen-li-fu' in the Chinese sources, and the *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 99 ff., has a special section on this State. See Additional note (4) below on the problem of its embassy in 1200. A study should be made of 'Chen-li-fu' and of Pānduranga which seem, in spite of their being under Khmer and Cham suzerainty respectively, to have been capable on occasion of diplomatic relations with China. Tāmbraṅga was in the same position, but for good reasons. Any information on the nature of vassalage in early South East Asia would be helpful in making possible a fuller understanding of Śrīvijayan history. It might for example throw light on the relationship between Kalah and Jambi and the suzerain.

⁴ *SS*, 489, 11b; 24a.

⁵ *LWT*, 上, 2, 5a; 下, 7, 1a. The meaning of the term 都會 = 'mart' is defined in 上, 2, 4b.

⁶ *CFC*, 7-8, 10. Nevertheless 'Tan-ma-ling', which also had a ruler 地主, was mentioned by Chao Ju-kua as sending tribute to Śrīvijaya (*ibid.*, 17).

⁷ *SS*, 489, 11a.

⁸ *CFC*, 7-8, 13.

had 'Chia-lo-hsi' as its southern neighbour. All that is in fact known is that 'Chia-lo-hsi' was the name of a Śrīvijayan province. It is merely surmise that it ever included the modern site of Jaiyā. If 'Chia-lo-hsi' was a transliteration of Grahi and at one time included Jaiyā, the northern frontier of the Śrīvijayan province may have been pushed south of Jaiyā many years earlier, though the province retained its old name.

'Tan-liu-mei' may perhaps be a satisfactory rendering of 'Tāmbralīṅga'. The ultimate test, however, must be whether the 'Tan-liu-mei' = Tāmbralīṅga equation makes sense in the light of what is known of Tāmbralīṅga from other sources.

IV. THE EMBASSY TO CHINA IN 1001

According to the *Sung hui yao kao* about 971 'Tan-liu-mei', together with other important trading centres in South East Asia, came to trade; this was immediately after the new Sung dynasty had occupied Canton and overseas trading could be resumed.¹ Among the items imported by these States were elephant tusks and sapan wood, items which were to be included in the 1001 tribute mentioned by the *Sung shih* under the erroneous name of 'Tan-mei-liu'. In 1001 the ruler for the first time sent envoys with tribute, including 10,000 斤 of sapan wood.² The quantity of this item may have been fairly-considerable by contemporary standards. The important Javanese embassy of 992 brought as its largest item only 4,423 斤 of sandalwood.³ The 'Tan-liu-mei' envoys were admitted to the 'Tsong Teh' palace and entrusted with a letter for their ruler as a token of imperial esteem.⁴

In 1014 the Sung government, in response to a request from a number of South East Asian countries including Śrīvijaya and 'Tan-liu-mei' that they might send envoys, instructed the officials in charge of escorting them to the capital to improve reception arrangements for them.⁵ In 1016 it was decreed that the envoys of 'Tan-liu-mei' should not be accompanied by a staff of more than ten persons, a ruling which indicated that this State was regarded as a second-class trading power, on the same level as Champa, Borneo, 'Mo-chia 摩迦', and 'Ku-lo 古邏' = ? Kalah.⁶ Then there was a long gap in the entries until 1070 when 'Tan-liu-mei' again presented tribute.⁷

¹ SHYK, 職官 44, 1a.

² *Caesalpinia sappan*, L. I. H. Burkill, *A dictionary of the economic products of the Malay Peninsula*, Oxford, 1935, I, 386-93, states that it is found throughout Malaysia. In the Peninsula it is found in the centre under the mountains. He quotes Linschoten's statement that at the end of the sixteenth century it was exported from the Patani area. 'Chin' 斤 means 'catty' but, in view of probable changes in the value of the measure, it is prudent not to render it as 'catty' in the context of the early eleventh century.

³ SHYK, 蕃夷 4, 97a.

⁴ SS, 489, 24a-b.

⁵ SHYK, 蕃夷 4, 30b; HZ, 83, 2a-b.

⁶ SHYK, 蕃夷 7, 20b. The first-class powers were the Arabs, the Colas, Śrīvijaya, and Java or, in other words, the chief competitors in the international trade of those times.

⁷ SHYK, 蕃夷 7, 31b.

These notices give the State a life of nearly a century, and the fact that about 971 it was in a position to trade with Canton suggests that already before that date it was powerful and organized.

What is the background of events which can be supplied to interpret this bare framework of dates? The striking fact in the Chinese notices is the coincidence of the year 1001 as the time for an important and successful embassy from 'Tan-liu-mei' with, according to Professor Coedès, what may have been a time of crisis in the history of the State of 'Siridhammanagara' and certainly in the history of Sūryavarman I according to his inscriptions in Cambodia in the same year and his claim to have begun to rule there in the following year.¹ In other words, the 'Tan-liu-mei' embassy took place not long after the Tāmbraṅga attack on Lavo and about the time that Sujita's son was invading Cambodia. Could 'To-hsü-chi' of the *Sung shih* have referred to Sujita's son? The convergence of the evidence seems to make it likely. Further, a recorded history of sea trade for 'Tan-liu-mei' from at least as early as about 971 makes an attack on Lavo with a fleet less of a bolt out of the blue.² It is even possible that the conquest of Lavo was regarded as a stage in the conquest of Angkor.

In the absence of a more satisfactory identification of the State of 'Tan-liu-mei' it is therefore suggested that the embassy of 1001 should be interpreted as an embassy from Tāmbraṅga and an attempt by Sūryavarman to obtain Chinese sympathy for his undertaking in Cambodia.³ It is likely that one reason why South East Asian States sent embassies to China at that time was to obtain diplomatic support after some violent action had been perpetrated which upset the established order and therefore might alarm the Chinese government which, under the Sung dynasty, had a considerable vested interest in uninterrupted international trade. In the same period both the Matarām kingdom in Java in 992 and Śrīvijaya at the end of 1017 or the beginning of 1018 sent their most lavishly endowed missions probably in connexion with similarly violent actions.⁴ Nor in the case of Cambodia is it too improbable to imagine that Sūryavarman

¹ *BEFEO*, xxxiv, 1934, 420, n. 4, 422; *ibid.*, xi, 1911, 400. Unfortunately there are no references on these inscriptions to the time of the year.

² 'Documents', 80, 158.

³ The embassy arrived in China (or at the capital of K'ai Feng in the north) on the third day of the seventh month. Would the invasion of Cambodia have already begun? Those with an intimate knowledge of the climate of Cambodia will be able to suggest the likely month when campaigning would begin. If Professor Coedès is correct in concluding that the 1001 inscriptions of Sūryavarman in the eastern part of the country suggest that the campaign began there, one presumes that the invading army travelled by sea. A fleet would not have sailed until the north-east monsoon at the beginning of the year had blown itself out. Mr. Briggs assigns the conquest of Lavo by Sujita to some time after the conquest of Cambodia by Sūryavarman. This view seems to be based on an unrealistic interpretation of the relationship between the father and his son. 'The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula,' *FEQ*, ix, May 1950, 286. See Additional note (2).

⁴ This suggestion is encouraged by M. Damais' revised date for the destruction of the Matarām *kraton*. See Additional note (3) on the briskness of Śrīvijayan diplomacy in the early eleventh century.

hoped to obtain some support from China, for in 1076 the Chinese themselves seem to have entered into an alliance with Cambodia against Tongking.¹

Against whom then may Tāmbralīṅga have been insuring itself? A hint is offered by Dr. Bosch's suggestion that Śūryavarman was ejecting a dynasty at Angkor whose two rulers in 1001, Udayādityavarman I and Jayavīravarmān, had a Balinese and Javanese connexion.² If tradition is correct and art history reliable, there were precedents in Cambodian history for Javanese attacks on Cambodia, and perhaps Śūryavarman had foreseen the possibility and therefore sent a precautionary embassy to China.

This interpretation of the embassy of 1001 is not upset by what happened in the subsequent period. 'Tan-liu-mei' was still independent in 1016 and probably had a privileged status in the Cambodian empire over which its own ruler was king. In 1025 the Cola raid took place and included 'Mādamāliṅgam' among its targets. But if Tāmbralīṅga were an independent State whose ruler was also the powerful king at Angkor, why should it have been attacked when Rājendra I was challenging the maritime power of Śrīvijaya in the western Archipelago? It is, of course, possible that the Colas were striking blindly at all economic rivals. They may have been merely after booty. But could there have been an additional motive explicable in terms of contemporary diplomatic alignments in South East Asia? It was suggested above that Śūryavarman may have feared Javanese support for his rivals at Angkor. But the east Javanese kingdom of Matarām was also at that time the deadly enemy of Śrīvijaya, unless the latter had been prepared to forgive the raid of 992 which is out of the question. A common fear of Java in addition to the possibility that Śūryavarman was distantly connected with the ruling house of Śrīvijaya could account for a close relationship between Tāmbralīṅga and Śrīvijaya even though it is not possible to interpret the Tanjore inscription as a catalogue of Śrīvijayan dependencies. The relationship, strengthened by the accession of Cambodia, would have worked advantageously for Śrīvijaya and given it friends who were prepared to co-operate in its commercial and naval policy. The Tāmbralīṅga fleet would have been available to give a boost to the alliance, and it is perhaps significant that the Tanjore inscription described Tāmbralīṅga as 'capable of strong action in dangerous battles'.³ The conclusion is therefore suggested that the Colas were ranging themselves against a Śrīvijaya-Tāmbralīṅga-Cambodia bloc. The Colas' allies in sympathy would have been the eastern Javanese, though the latter would at that time have been in no position to support them.

V. THE LATER HISTORY OF TĀMBRALĪṅGA

Not until the early thirteenth century does Tāmbralīṅga history again

¹ G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Ohampa*, 1928, 145.

² F. D. K. Bosch, 'De laatste der Pāṇḍava's', *Bijdr.*, civ, 1948, 542-69. His view is discussed by Mr. Briggs in *The ancient Khmer empire*, 1951, 148.

³ K. A. H. Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, Madras, 1949, 80 and n. 14.

become so lively. For that time, however, the material has to be sought in non-Chinese sources. After the eleventh century the Chinese sources seem to offer little evidence except that Tāmbraliṅga remained in the Cambodian sphere of influence and was an important trading State.

The Colas came and went, and one imagines that Tāmbraliṅga under the care of Sūryavarman I recovered from the shock. No more embassies were registered from 'Tan-liu-mei' until 1070.¹ There is a similar gap in the list of Śrīvijayan embassies in the same period. Between 1050, when Sūryavarman may have died, and 1066 when his son Udayādityavarman II died the Angkorian State seems to have suffered from rebellions. In 1065 there were revolts in the north-west and in the east.² The viceroy at Ligor may have felt that the time was coming when he should throw off the connexion between Tāmbraliṅga and Angkor; this would explain the embassy of 1070. Professor Cœdès has wondered whether Jayavarman VI, who came to the throne of Angkor in 1080 and seems to have had no connexion with Sūryavarman I's family, was the governor of a province who exploited the weakness of the central government to win the throne.³ The viceroy of Tāmbraliṅga, who might have been a member of the Sūryavarman family, would have been content to revive the independence of Tāmbraliṅga.

Many years pass before there is further evidence of Tāmbraliṅga's independence in the form of Candrabhānu's inscription of 1230. Even Chao Ju-kua as late as 1225 stated that the ruler of Tāmbraliṅga was a vassal of Cambodia. During this long period it could have been possible for Śrīvijaya to recover the position it lost there between 775 and about 971, but the only evidence is the inscription on the 'Buddha of Grahi' of 1183 with its reference to the Mahārāja Śrīmat Trailokyārāja Maulibhūṣanavarmadeva, a name which Professor Cœdès once thought indicated a Palembang ruler and later a Jambi one.⁴ Could it rather have been the name of an independent ruler or a Cambodian vassal who kept alive an ancient Śrīvijayan link in his name? The most reasonable surmise is that Tāmbraliṅga was brought back into the Cambodian empire under Sūryavarman II (1113-?50). This ruler may have been one of the greatest warriors produced by the Khmers and he interested himself in Monland. He also possessed a fleet.⁵

¹ SHYK, 蕃夷 7, 31b. This is a quotation from the YH

² *Les états*, 234-5.

³ *ibid.*, 258-9.

⁴ In 1948 Professor Cœdès was still impressed by the way in which this title recalled later titles used by Jambi rulers and wondered whether the author of the 1183 inscription was a ruler of Malayu; *Les états*, 301. Professor Sastri disagreed; *History of Śrī Vijaya*, 92. Both these scholars saw the problem in terms of Sumatran power politics.

⁵ For the fleet, an unusual Khmer weapon, see G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, 155, quoting later Viet sources. Professor Cœdès, *Les états*, 274, on the strength of a quotation from Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation of Ma Tuan-lin's *Méridionaux*, implied that Sūryavarman II was involved in trading relations with China. Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, Genève, II, 1883, 487. This leads one to inquire what further evidence may be available about the commercial activities of the Angkor kings. Unfortunately, the

The latest Chinese records throw very little light on the political status of Tāmbraliṅga. Towards the end of the twelfth century diplomatic exchanges between Sung China and the South East Asian countries were coming to an end. The last embassy from Champa was in 1168, from Java in 1170, from Śrīvijaya in 1178, and from Cambodia in 1128, 1131, 1155, or 1200.¹ The reasons for this falling off have never been studied. Clearly the absence of embassies in this period is no evidence of the non-existence of South East Asian States. It is more likely that the Sung government was becoming alarmed by the consequences of the large amounts of copper cash which were leaving China on account of the foreign trade and was therefore turning a cold shoulder on official trade missions. At any rate, the period of frequent friendly missions encouraged by the Chinese was over. Thus there was no embassy from Tāmbraliṅga to prove the fact of its recovery of independence from the Khmers. Perhaps disorders during the lifetime or after the death of Jayavarman VII gave the local ruler his chance.²

The latest Chinese notices about Tāmbraliṅga were more concerned with its economics than with its politics. This was on account of the excellent gharu wood which it produced. According to the *Ling wai tai ta*, the price of

translation is inaccurate. *WHTK*, 332, 2605, seems only to refer to a routine mission and the arrangements made to pay for the presents offered by the envoys. The year was 1131.

紹興元年。廣南市舶司言其國附到蕃信與知州提舉。詔勿受。如可備官用。即估直償之。仍以省物回賜。

'In the first year of the *chao hsing* period (1131-33) the Kuang Nan trade commissioner reported that this country (i.e. Cambodia) had sent a letter (by messenger). The letter had been handed over to the *chih chou t'i chu*. The imperial instruction was that the (gifts) should not be accepted. If any of these goods were in the category of "official goods", their value should be estimated and paid for. Moreover gifts from the province should be given in return.'

The trade of Cambodia is still an obscure subject. Chao Ju-kua said that the country was rich in natural resources, and Chou Ta-kuan at the end of the thirteenth century indicated that there was considerable Chinese economic penetration, reflected perhaps in the stacks of porcelain excavated at Angkor and in the Ta Prohm (1186) and Preah Khan (1191) inscriptions with references to Chinese articles including mosquito nets. A Chinese sailor guided the Cham fleet to Angkor in 1177.

Who handled Cambodian foreign trade? Was there such a person as a Khmer merchant? There were at least two. They are mentioned in the *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 28b. In 1008 they were thrown out of Tongking into southern China where they were given assistance.

¹ These dates are based on evidence at present available and should be regarded as provisional. There seems to be no reason for upsetting 1178 as the date of the last Śrīvijayan mission. *SS*, 489, 15a; *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 55b-56a. For Champa see *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 82a-b. Champa's diplomatic relations with China were complicated by its piracy and its preparations for the Cambodian campaigns of 1170 and 1177. Professor Coedès' latest date for Java, based on Groeneveldt, was 1109. *Les états*, 268. This was an embassy. The Sung emperors were conferring honours on the Javanese rulers after that date. Groeneveldt, translating the *Sung shih*, 489, 17b-18a, supplied the date 1132, while the *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 98a, supplied further dates until 1170. It is assumed that the occasions for these honours were missions, but this is not certain. See Additional note (4) for problems connected with Cambodian missions in the twelfth century.

² See Additional note (4) on the doubtful embassy from Cambodia in 1200 and the suggestion that, though Jayavarman VII might still have been living then, his control over the south-western provinces had weakened, a circumstance which would help to account for the drifting of Tāmbraliṅga into independence early in the thirteenth century.

Hainan incense in 1178 was exorbitant and officials had to rely on that of Tāmbralinga which produced the only comparable incense.¹ According to another account,

‘Beyond the seas the Teng-liu-mei gharu wood ranks next to that of Hainan. It is first-rate. Its trees are a thousand years old . . . It is like something belonging to the immortals. Light one stick and the whole house is filled with a fragrant mist which is still there after three days. It is priceless and rarely to be seen in this world. Many of the families of the officials in Kuangtung and Kuangsi and the families of the great ones use it.’²

Chao Ju-kua, a Trade Superintendent in Ch’üan Chou and professionally interested in grades of imports passing through his hands, noted that Tāmbralinga produced three kinds of incense wood.³

The final period of Tāmbralinga history before the Thai conquest is fragmentarily documented in some Pāṇḍya inscriptions from southern India, in the supplement to the Ceylon *Mahāvamsa*, and in the Pali *Jinakālamālinī* Chronicle of Laos. Professor Cœdès has reconstructed the attempts of Candrabhānu and his successors to obtain holy relics from Ceylon and the possibility that for a time there was a Tāmbralinga colony in Ceylon.⁴ There may have been at least two Tāmbralinga invasions of Ceylon in the middle of the thirteenth century. In this way the strength of the little State would have been frittered away and left in no condition to resist the Thais.

The interest of the final chapter of Tāmbralinga history lies in the zeal of its rulers to obtain relics from Ceylon. Ceylon was by that time the holy land of Theravāda Buddhism. Tāmbralinga, on account of an ancient Śrīvijayan connexion, had always been associated with Mahāyāna Buddhism. Something must therefore have happened to change completely the basis of Buddhism in Tāmbralinga. It is known that Theravāda Buddhism made its influence felt first among the Burmans and Mons of lower Burma. It is also known that Theravāda Buddhism seems to have possessed the soul of Monland and swept eastwards with revolutionary results in Śivaite-Mahāyānist Khmerland. Is it possible that there were still Mons at this time in Tāmbralinga who, like their kinsmen elsewhere in Monland, were fired by the new faith to the extent of converting their rulers?⁵

VI. CONCLUSION

In the Sung period the Chinese sources throw light on Tāmbralinga at the

¹ *LWTT*, 下, 7, 1.

² From 葉實's 坦齋筆衡, quoted by Chuan Han-sheng, ‘External and internal trade of Canton during the Sung dynasty’, *Academia Sinica Bulletin* (Shanghai), VIII, 1939, 316-17.

³ *OFC*, 10.

⁴ *Recueil*, II, 8-9; *Les états*, 310-11.

⁵ Professor Cœdès pointed out that the language of the 1230 inscription, though in Sanskrit, showed a strong Pali influence. He also called attention to the fact that at the end of the thirteenth century Hīnayāna was flourishing in Ligor. (*Bydr.*, LXXXIII, 1927, 471.) Dupont believed that there were Ceylon influences in the origins of the ‘School of C’āyā’ art though no exact dating could be assigned to them; ‘C’āyā’, 111-13.

end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century and at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Owing to the error in the *Sung shih*, the reconstruction of Tāmbraḷiṅga history has tended to go awry with the result that a misleading Śrīvijayan bias has been given to its later history and as a consequence to its whole history. By the correction in Chinese nomenclature it is possible to study Tāmbraḷiṅga in terms of a relatively long span of coherent Chinese evidence. This in turn permits a surer analysis of its political status, and it is suggested that the evidence for a Śrīvijayan connexion with the region is limited to the Ligor inscription of 775. The Tanjore inscription should certainly no longer be regarded as being only a description of the Śrīvijayan empire.

It seems, therefore, that the persisting power of Śrīvijaya in the middle of the Malay Peninsula has been exaggerated and that it is necessary to accept a contraction in that empire before the end of the tenth century. The notion of an ebb and flow in Śrīvijayan fortunes over its long history is not an extravagant one, for it seems to have been a somewhat artificial political structure.

On the other hand, the Cambodian bias which can now be introduced in Tāmbraḷiṅga history puts the embassy of 1001 in perspective, reinforces Professor Coedès' suggestion made long ago that the Pali Chronicle seemed to throw some light on the antecedents of Śūryavarman I, and re-emphasizes the great debt which students of early South East Asian history owe Professor Coedès.

But apart from these jigsaw puzzle aspects of the subject, two further comments can be briefly made.

In the first place, the history of Tāmbraḷiṅga suggests that at the beginning of the eleventh century there was considerable complexity and liveliness in South East Asian international relations, including perhaps contacts between mainland States and the Archipelago. The stresses and strains of international relations in early South East Asia have not been sufficiently studied in their own right, though art historians have attributed 'foreign' influences in the art of Cambodia and Champa. It is possible that in the Sung period and indeed earlier there were some bitter rivalries created as a result of the great expansion of the Chinese consumer market. The interplay of economic and political factors in early South East Asia might be a rewarding field for further study.

In the second place, though Tāmbraḷiṅga belonged to the Khmer sphere of influence from the beginning of the eleventh century, it did not linger in a commercial backwater. To what extent were the Khmers not only in Tāmbraḷiṅga but in their own rich country much more interested in sordid matters of trade than has been suspected?

Matters such as these have to be considered before a balanced account of early South East Asian history is possible. The study of Tāmbraḷiṅga, for long a 'no man's land' between the mainland and the Archipelago, reflects some of the variety in its themes when the field is enlarged to include trade and diplomacy as well as cults and temples.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

(1) *Kalah*

There is no absolute certainty about the identification. Sauvaget and Sir Roland Braddell have summarized opinions on the subject.¹ Pelliot, Sauvaget, and Sir Roland favoured the Kedah area as the site of 'Kalah', though Sauvaget recalled that Pelliot was unwilling, on phonological grounds, to equate the Sung 'Ku-lo 古邏' with the T'ang 'Ko-lo'.² According to Pelliot, it was only for 'Ko-lo' that the identification seemed acceptable without too great a chance of error. But though there may have been local or even trans-Peninsula ports in the mid-Peninsula area,³ there can hardly have been two important trans-oceanic ports on the same strip of coast, and the antiquity of the Kedah excavation sites is impressive.⁴ Moreover the sailing programme would have been in favour of a port further south than the Kra isthmus which Ferrand favoured as the 'Kalah' area for phonological reasons.

Further advances in knowledge of Śrīvijaya will have to include information about 'Kalah'. For the Arabs of the ninth century there seems to have been no obligation for their shipping to leave the direct course from the Persian Gulf to China via the Straits of Malacca, an obligation which existed towards the end of the twelfth century.⁵ Sometime between 851 and 1178 an important change would therefore have taken place in Śrīvijayan commercial policy. Al-Mas'ūdī, and possibly Abū Zayd before him, referred to the meeting of Arab and Chinese ships at 'Kalah' when political conditions in southern China at the end of the ninth century became too disturbed for the Arabs.⁶ This is an important statement if it is credible and suggests a possible dividing point in the history of Śrīvijaya as a producing/collecting empire with access to spices, which it was pre-eminently for the Arab writers in the middle of the ninth century, and as an entrepôt power too. By the end of the tenth century Arab articles were appearing in Śrīvijayan tribute items, and in 1011 the king of Champa presented to the Sung emperor a lion which had come from 'India' to Śrīvijaya through Arab hands.⁷ These scraps of evidence may mean that by the end of the tenth century the process of providing entrepôt facilities, brought into being as a result of Arab reluctance to visit China towards the end of the T'ang period, was well under way. Perhaps the Śrīvijayan authorities,

¹ J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris, 1948, 43; R. Braddell, *JMBRAS*, xxiii, 1, 1950, 21 ff.

² P. Pelliot, 'Deux itinéraires . . .', *BFEFO*, iv, 1904, 351-3. Also his review of Hirth and Rockhill's *Chao Ju-kua*, *TP*, xiii, 1912, 453.

³ K. A. N. Sastri, 'Takusapa and its Tamil inscription', *JMBRAS*, xxii, 1, 1949, 25-30; *Recueil*, ii, 49, 57.

⁴ According to the *T'ung tien*, Wan-yu wen-k'u edition, 188, 1007, 'Ko-lo' had been heard of in Han times.

⁵ *LWTT*, 上, 2, 5b.

⁶ G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans, et turks relatifs à l'extrême-orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1913, i, 83, 96.

⁷ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 68b-69a; *YH*, 154, 21a. These references answer Maspero's query about the origin of the lion; *Le royaume de Champa*, 132, n. 7.

realizing the advantages of the 'Kalah' entrepôt trade, gradually came to the conclusion that it would be better to bring it under their direct control at Palembang.

It is in the light of these speculations that the Śrīvijayan embassy to China in 904 should be considered. It was the first one since 742. It might have been an attempt to inform the Chinese authorities in southern China that in the absence of Arab traders Śrīvijayan traders had access to Arab goods and were prepared to sail, or to continue sailing, regularly to China.

Whatever may be the truth of these surmises, it is necessary to establish the period when the charges against Śrīvijaya made by the *Ling wai tai ta* in 1178 first become valid. Statements about Śrīvijaya have tended to be made without taking into account the specific period in which the evidence for them first appeared.

(2) *The embassy of 1001*

Mr. Briggs associated the embassy of 1001 with Sujita and assigned the conquest of Lavo by Sujita to some time after the conquest of Cambodia by Śūryavarman I.¹ He thought that the Lavo war came later than the Cambodian war because the Pali Chronicle stated that Kambojarāja/Śūryavarman bore that name 'because of his previous exploits (deeds)'. In other words, he had already become famous in the Cambodian campaigns.

The situation is a confused one, and no assistance is given by the Pali Chronicle except by the statement that Kambojarāja tried to conquer Haripunjaya three years after his father, Sujita, had conquered Lavo. There are three possibilities. Śūryavarman could have attacked Haripunjaya before, during, or after the Cambodian war. It is unlikely that he would have been free to do so during it, for it seems from inscriptions to have been a bitter one and lasted nine years. The Haripunjaya campaign could have taken place after the Cambodian war, but it is difficult to imagine that Śūryavarman would have undertaken the major Cambodian campaign in his own name if his father had still been alive and merely the ruler of little Tāmbraliṅga; nor was he likely to have played a subordinate role to his father in the Lavo war if he had been king of Cambodia. Nor would the troubled times to which Mr. Briggs referred have made Sujita attack Lavo for reasons of personal security if his son had been king of Cambodia. It is possible, of course, that Sujita was in fact Śūryavarman and that Kambojarāja was his son, but in view of Śūryavarman's death in 1050 his son would have been too young. The most reasonable possibility, therefore, is that both the Mon wars took place before the Cambodian war. In the Lavo war Kambojarāja could have distinguished himself, though his name would have been given to him retrospectively on account of his later and more famous career in Cambodia. Sujita probably died before his son undertook the next stage in the family policy of expansion in the north and east. It is suggested, therefore, that the Lavo

¹ 'The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula', *FEQ*, ix, May 1950, 284, 286.

war took place some years before the end of the tenth century which would have given Śūryavarman time to recover from his reverse at Haripunjaya and to make plans for the Cambodian campaign.

This line of reasoning puts into perspective the embassy of 1001 by connecting it with the forthcoming or already launched invasion of Cambodia. 'To-hsü-chi' would have been Śūryavarman I.

(3) *Śrīvijayan diplomacy in the early eleventh century*

M. Damais suggests 1016/17 as the date for the destruction of the Matarām *kraton*, and he is supported by Professor de Casparis.¹

The brisk Śrīvijayan diplomatic activity at this time may have been connected with its anti-Javanese policy. It was particularly brisk in the period when a raid on Matarām would have been planned and executed and when repercussions might have been expected.

The following chronicle of Chinese-Śrīvijayan relations in the early eleventh century may be of interest.

In 1003 a mission was sent to announce the erection of a temple in honour of the Sung emperor Chen Tsung.² Another mission was sent in 1004.³ Another was sent in 1008, and the envoys were honoured by the emperor.⁴ In 1014 another mission was sent.⁵ In 1016 Śrīvijaya was described in an imperial decree as a first-class power in terms of the staff who were permitted to accompany its envoys.⁶ In 1017 Śrīvijaya presented a memorial and its envoys were received with honour.⁷ In the last month of 1017 or in the first month of 1018 Śrīvijaya sent a large stock of tribute in the only detailed tribute inventory from that State in its 960-1028 sequence of embassies.⁸ The quantities of some of the items seem very great. They included 81,680 斤 of frankincense, a number of articles of Arab origin, 19,935 斤 of sandalwood, 10,750 斤 of pepper (*Piper nigrum*), 2,674 斤 of nutmeg, and 30 斤 of cloves.

It is tempting to believe that Śrīvijaya in this last embassy was flaunting before the import-minded Chinese government its valuable access to Arab goods and also booty from the raid on Java in 1016/17. Nutmegs and cloves may also by that time have been coming in quantity from the eastern Archipelago.⁹ Moreover Chao Ju-kua mentioned sandalwood from Javanese centres as well

¹ L. C. Damais, 'Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, III', *BEFEO*, XLVI, 1, 1952, 84-5, n. 2; J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, II, 1956, 297, n. 68.

² *SS*, 489, 13b. *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 15a, adds that it was in the ninth month but did not mention the temple.

³ *SS*, 490, 19b.

⁴ *SS*, 489, 14a. Confirmed by *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 17a.

⁵ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 30b. Confirmed by *HZ*, 83, 2a-b.

⁶ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 20b.

⁷ *SS*, 489, 14a. The *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 21a, quoting the *YH*, omits a reference to the memorial and states that in the sixth month the Śrīvijayan envoys were allowed to present incense at a festival in honour of the dynasty's ancestor. *YH*, 154, 22a. *HZ*, 89, 15b.

⁸ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 21a-b, quoting the 山堂考索.

⁹ I. H. Burkill, *A dictionary of the economic products of the Malay Peninsula*, I, 961 ff.; II, 1522 ff.

as from Śrīvijaya.¹ In Crawford's time it was thought that the further one went east in the Archipelago, the better was the sandalwood. It is perhaps significant that the largest tribute item in the important Javanese embassy of 992 was 4,423 斤 of sandalwood.² In 1018 Śrīvijaya offered more than four times that amount.

But much more remains to be known about this confusing period in South East Asian international relations. It is of interest that the Colas sent their first mission to China in 1015 and included frankincense among the items.³ And already by the following year the Cola envoys were granted first-class status together with the Arabs, Śrīvijaya, and Java.⁴ The rapid recognition by the Chinese government suggests that the Colas were making a successful as well as a determined bid for the Chinese market, a bid which could hardly fail not to be connected with the Cola raids on Śrīvijayan territory which culminated in the great raid of 1025. Śrīvijayan diplomatic activity in this period may therefore have also been connected with the growing threat of Cola encroachment on its commercial interests. Unfortunately, in the present state of knowledge of Śrīvijayan history, it is impossible to define exactly what those interests were.

(4) *Cambodian embassies in the twelfth century*

The sequence of embassies which may have come from Cambodia in the twelfth century raises problems. Professor Coedès believed that embassies were sent in the following years: 1116, 1120, 1128, 1155, and 1200.⁵ His sources were translations from the *Sung shih* and Ma Tuan-lin.⁶

There is no objection to attributing the embassies of 1116 and 1120 to Cambodia.⁷ The *Sung shih* assigns the next embassy to 1128 and Ma Tuan-lin to 1129.⁸ A further embassy date can be included in 1131 if it is assumed that the letter sent from Cambodia to the Chinese government in 1131 was accompanied by a mission. This is the passage inaccurately translated by Hervey de Saint-Denys.⁹

In 1147 favours were conferred on Cambodia and the east Javanese State on the advice of the Chinese ministers.¹⁰ There may have been a mission at this time.

The mission arriving in 1155 raises a special problem. According to the *Yü hai* it came from 'Chen-la (= Cambodia) Lo-hu; two elephants were given'.¹¹ The *Sung hui yao kao* stated that 'Chen-la State Lo-hu State presented tame elephants'.¹² The precise meaning of the expression is not clear. For the purpose of this note it is sufficient to raise a doubt whether in fact the embassy

¹ *OFC*, 108.

² *SS*, 489, 21b. *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 20b.

³ *Les états*, 270, 274, 275, 291.

⁴ *SS*, 489, 11a; 11b.

⁵ See n. 5, p. 598 above.

⁶ *YH*, 154, 33b. 眞臘羅斛貢象二.

⁷ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 47a. 眞臘國羅國貢馴象.

⁸ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 97.

⁹ *SHYK*, 蕃夷 7, 20b.

¹⁰ *BEFEO*, *xxix*, 1929, 328.

¹¹ *SS*, 489, 11b. *WHTK*, 332, 2805.

¹² *WHTK*, 332, 2805. *SHYK*, 蕃夷 4, 98a.

of 1155 came from Cambodia; a weakening of central authority after the death of Śūryavarman II may have been accompanied by a secession movement in the Menam valley and the sending of an embassy from Lavo to China.

The least satisfactory attribution of an embassy from Cambodia is that of 1200. Five separate passages in Chinese sources attribute it to 'Chen-li-fu', Tāmbraliṅga's north-eastern neighbour.¹ The *Sung shih* passage, which has been taken as a reference to a Cambodian embassy, can hardly be construed in this way even though it appears in the context of an account of Cambodia. It is clearly preceded by the statement that 'Chen-li-fu' was a dependency of Cambodia and followed by the statement that in 1200 its ruler had been established 20 years. Then follows the reference to his embassy.² The *Sung hui yao kao* gives the additional information that the route to China was via 'Po-szū-lan' and *past* Cambodia.³ The embassy seems to have amused the Chinese court and it was clear to the Chinese that 'Chen-li-fu' was only a small country. Nevertheless 'Chen-li-fu' persevered and sent further missions in 1202 and 1205.⁴ It was then excused from further attendance at the Chinese court.⁵

The authenticity of the 'Chen-li-fu' embassy of 1200 raises a query about the length or the circumstances of the reign of Jayavarman VII. According to Professor Coedès, Jayavarman might have been about 75 years old in 1200.⁶ One of the remarkable achievements of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient has been to restore Jayavarman VII to his proper status in the history of Cambodia and not only to assign his monuments to their rightful century but even to identify distinct sub-periods in the art of the Bayon temple, the centre of his capital and empire. An implication, however, of the work of the art historians has been that Jayavarman must have lived into extreme old age to permit his building programme to be achieved, and it is now generally accepted

¹ YH, 154, 33b. WHTK, 332, 2605. SS, 489, 11b. SHYK, 蕃夷 4, 99 ff. SHYK, 蕃夷 7, 56a.

其屬邑有真里富。在西南隅。東南接波斯蘭。西南與登流眉爲鄰。所部有六十餘聚落。慶元六年其國主立二十年矣。遣使奉表貢方物及馴象二。詔優其報賜。以海道遠涉。後毋再入貢。

'Among its (Cambodia's) dependencies is Chen-li-fu. It is in the south-western corner of Cambodia. At the south-east of Chen-li-fu is Po-szū-lan. At the south-west of Chen-li-fu is Teng-lu-mei which is its neighbour. Chen-li-fu has sixty and more settlements. In the sixth year of the 慶元 period (1195-1201) its ruler had been ruling for twenty years. This ruler sent an envoy with a memorial and tribute in local goods and also two tame elephants. The emperor thanked him. But, because the voyage was a long one, the emperor decreed that thereafter there was no need for tribute to be sent.'

² 欲至中國者自其國放洋五日抵波斯蘭次崑崙洋經真臘國數日至賓達榔國數日至占城界十日過洋...

³ SHYK, 蕃夷 4, 99 ff.

⁴ It is of interest that the chapter about 'Chen-li-fu' in the *Sung hui yao kao*, 蕃夷 4, 99b, contains a reference to Chinese trading vessels visiting this country with cargoes of silk goods and porcelain. The number of unmistakable references to Sung shipping in South East Asia are few, and this addition is a welcome one.

⁵ BEFEO, xxxix, 1929, 327 ff.

that he lived until about 1219.¹ It would be imprudent to suggest on the strength of the 'Chen-li-fu' embassy of 1200 that Jayavarman died much earlier than is believed. Perhaps his Champa wars had led to a weakening of his hold on the south-western provinces, a situation which would help to account for the independence of Tāmbralīṅga about this time.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
- Bijdr.* *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl.-Indië.*
- 'C'āiya' P. Dupont, 'Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'āiya', *BEFEO*, XLII, 1942, 103-8.
- OFC* Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适, *Chu fan chih* 諸蕃志, 1225. Commentary by Feng Ch'eng-chün 馮承鈞. *Chung hua shu chu*, Peking, 1956.
- 'Documents' G. Coedès, 'Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental', *BEFEO*, XXV, 1925, 1-200.
- HZ* Hsü tsü chih t'ung chien ch'ang pien 續資治通鑑長編. Che Chiang shu chu, 1881.
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- Les états* G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948.
- LWTT* Chou Ch'u-fei 周去非, *Ling wai tai ta* 嶺外代答, 1178. Pi chi hsi shou ta kuan collection, Chin pu shu chu, Shanghai, undated.
- Recueil* G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 2 vols., Bangkok, 1924-9.
- SHYK* *Sung hui yao kao* 宋會要稿. Recompiled from the *Yung Lo ta tien* by Hsü Sung 徐松, 1809-10. Facsimile edition published for the Peking National Library. Ta tung shu chü, Peking, 1936.
- SS* *Sung shih* 宋史. Ssü pu ta'ung k'an collection, Po-na edition, Shanghai, 1920-2.
- TP* *T'oung Pao.*
- WHTK* Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨, *Wen hsien t'ung k'ao* 文獻通考, second half of the thirteenth century. The page references are to the photolithographic edition by the Commercial Press of 1936 which reproduces the whole *Shih t'ung* 十通 and also forms part of the second series (Ti erh chu 第二集) of the Wan-yu wen-k'u 萬有文庫.
- YH* *Yu hai* 玉海. Compiled by Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 1223-96. Chiang Ning t'ao kuei t'ing, 1738.

¹ *BEFEO*, XXIX, 1929, 327 ff. Also see: G. Coedès, 'L'année du lièvre, 1219 A.D.', *India antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, 83-8, for a reasoned argument in favour of Jayavarman VII's extreme old age in spite of the absence of evidence to prove it. An inscription which may contain the date equivalent to 1204 is attributed to Jayavarman and would be his latest inscription if the date could be verified. The last firm date associated with him has always been 1200 on the strength of the embassy which in fact came from 'Chen-li-fu' and not from Cambodia.

VARIETIES OF HU'O'NG-HỎA (香火): A PROBLEM OF VIETNAMESE LAW

By HENRY McALEAVY

A. INTRODUCTION

FOR a definition of the term *huong-hỏa*, we can do no better than give two quotations, one from a Frenchman, the other from a Vietnamese. 'Le *huong-hỏa*', says Professor M. R. Deloustal 'est une institution trop connue pour qu'il soit nécessaire de s'appesantir longuement sur sa description. En principe, c'est une portion de patrimoine, quelquefois une certaine somme d'argent, dont les revenus servent à entretenir l'encens (香 *huong*) et le luminaire (火 *hỏa*) sur l'autel des ancêtres, c'est-à-dire à subvenir aux frais de leur culte et à l'entretien de leurs tombeaux.'¹ Mr. Le Van Dinh tells us 'La masse de biens créée pour le service du culte ancestral, c'est le *huong-hoa*, biens de "l'encens et du feu", biens susceptibles d'assurer au culte qu'ils desservent tout l'éclat, toute la splendeur désirables, ainsi qu'une pérennité temporelle et spatiale'.²

Of the various topics of Vietnamese law, none has aroused greater interest in Vietnam and in France than this institution, and naturally so, for the subject is well adapted to attract the attention of the lawyer and of the sociologist. The veneration of ancestors, the dedication of property for the support of the cult, the suggestion that the dead from the spirit-world exercise a potent control over the actions of the living—all these have combined to produce an atmosphere charged with religious awe which, in its turn, has inspired scholars to write not only with learning but also with eloquence. In this short paper, putting aside all religious and sociological considerations, an attempt will be made to discuss some points of purely legal interest relating to *huong-hỏa*, as it existed in the last century about the time of the French occupation. The developments since then, by judicial decisions and legislation, cannot at this moment be studied adequately outside of Vietnam and France, but it is fair to say that they are essentially a superstructure erected on what has been considered the true Vietnamese law of *huong-hỏa*.

No doubt, the most important work which has been written on *huong-hỏa* is still the book by Camille Briffaut which appeared as long ago as 1907.³ In the second place must be mentioned the important appendix on the subject added by M. R. Deloustal to his translation of the Lê Code.⁴ Both Briffaut and Deloustal are so justly celebrated for their immense erudition in the field of Vietnamese law, that it may well seem to be the height of temerity for one who

¹ BEFEO, XI, 1911, 50.

² Le Van Dinh, *Le culte des ancêtres en droit annamite*, Paris, 1934, 11.

³ Camille Briffaut, *Étude sur les biens culturels familiaux en pays d'Annam*, Paris, 1907

⁴ BEFEO, XI, 1911, 50-64.

has never set foot in Vietnam to express disagreement with their analysis of an institution which they had the opportunity of studying for many years at first hand. Yet the present writer must admit that having come to look at *huong-hôa* from the standpoint of Chinese law he has been much perplexed by the descriptions given of it by French and Vietnamese lawyers, and that on examining the documents produced by Briffaut and Deloustal in support of their theories he cannot help dissenting from the interpretation put upon the texts by these great scholars.

It is admitted on all sides, and indeed the fact is self-evident, that *huong-hôa* is a product of the most profoundly Chinese part of Vietnamese culture. For this reason, it appears desirable, before discussing the institution as it existed in Vietnam itself, to see what equivalent phenomena existed in China. Such an inquiry will be all the more profitable because it will serve to clear up a profound misunderstanding of Chinese law which has led at least one eminent European authority into very serious error.

B. CULT-FUNDS IN CHINA

The great importance attached in China to the offering of sacrifice to the *manes* of dead ancestors has shaped the whole scheme of the Chinese family. In theory—and the theory formed the background of enacted law until the end of the Manchu dynasty—the duty of offering such sacrifice was not only transmitted through the male line of descent but was concentrated in one person in that line, namely the eldest son by the wife. It was he who offered sacrifice to his dead father and his father's ancestors, while his brothers either by his own mother or by his father's concubines assisted only in a very subordinate capacity in the ritual, and on his own death the important duty was in like manner transmitted to the eldest of any sons his wife had given to him.¹ Yet even if we concede the greatest possible force to this theory of primogeniture, it applied only to the succession to the duty of ritual sacrifice, and not to the succession to property, which was governed by quite a different set of rules. In the latter case, when there was partition of the family property, no right of primogeniture was acknowledged, and all sons, whether by wife or concubine, took equal shares.²

Furthermore, before the end of the Empire, even as regards succession to the duty of ritual sacrifice the theory of primogeniture had to all intents and purposes fallen into desuetude. In the Private Law of Formosa we read as follows :

'The old clan law has decayed. Sacrifice to the ancestors is not a privilege of the eldest son by the wife, but all sons are competent to perform it. In the Peking district even to-day (c. 1910) there are some vestiges of the theory of primogeniture to be seen in the fact that although all sons jointly carry out

¹ *Taiwan shihô* 臺灣私法, Tokyo, 1910-11, II, 1, 498-546.

² *Taiwan shihô*, II, 1, 546-96.

the sacrifices to ancestors the eldest still is in charge of the ancestral tablets, the family temple, and the family records, and lives in the main apartment, where the ancestral shrine is. But in the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung, and especially in Formosa, even this right of control is not a privilege of the eldest line. The ancestral temple and tombs and the business of sacrifice are in charge of all the sons or grandsons either jointly or one at a time. To preside at the sacrifices, no attention is paid to any main line of descent, but there is chosen either the eldest of the descendants or one with an academic degree or special ability. As for the main apartment, it does not necessarily pass to the senior line, but usually, when partition is made by lot, it is taken out to be held in common. Sometimes, indeed, it goes to a junior line.¹

After reading these words, which are fully borne out by the reports of more recent investigators, it is with great surprise that one finds the late Professor Escarra has an entirely opposite opinion. He says :

‘ On sait que, traditionnellement, la succession, en Chine, est avant tout une succession au culte. L’héritier, c’est à dire en principe le fils aîné de la femme légitime, est seul habile à continuer le culte de son père décédé et des ancêtres de celui-ci. Aussi la succession au patrimoine est-elle considérée comme une suite normale de la succession au culte, une part importante des revenus de ces biens étant affectée aux dépenses cultuelles. Par voie de conséquence, les personnes qui ne succèdent pas au culte (fils autres que l’aîné, filles, filles mariées, etc.) n’ont pas droit à la succession au patrimoine, encore que le défunt ou l’héritier soit libre, de par la loi et la coutume, d’abandonner une part des biens héréditaires à ses frères et sœurs.’²

As Professor Niida points out, there is a twofold misunderstanding in this passage. In the first place, the exclusive right of primogeniture in the succession to the ancestral cult long since fell into total desuetude. And in the second place, succession to the cult, and succession to property have always been distinct.³ We are left to wonder how in the world Escarra contrived to fall into such an error.

Yet when all is said and done the problem remains complicated. For a sober and well-reasoned summing-up, we can do no better than refer to the opinion of another eminent Japanese authority, Mr. Shiga Shūzō. He points out that even to-day strong traces of the old theory of primogeniture are noticeable in Chinese custom. It is still felt that a senior line of descent should not be broken, as is shown by the fact that an elder son should not become the adopted successor to another line, but should remain as successor to his own father, allowing a younger son to go out into adoption. Furthermore, what is of greater importance to this discussion, although all sons have an equal capacity to perform sacrifices to the ancestors, the conduct of the ritual demands

¹ *Taiwan shihō*, II, 1, 499.

² Jean Escarra, *Le droit chinois*, Peking-Paris, 1936, 19-20.

³ Niida Noboru 仁井田 陞, *Chūgoku no nōson kazoku* 中國の農村家族, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1954, 154-5.

a chief actor, and this part is frequently played by the eldest son, who, in many places, as a corollary of this duty receives, on partition of the family property, an extra amount, over and above the equal share he has with his brothers, to enable him to see to the family worship. In some places, again, an extra amount is given to the eldest grandson—in the sense either of the eldest son of the eldest son or of the first grandson born in the family, irrespective of the seniority of his father. The amount varies greatly according to circumstances. Sometimes it will be as much as a full portion. (In that case, if it went to the eldest son, he would receive in effect two shares.) Again it may be a good deal less.¹

All this is abundantly confirmed in a sociological study made by a Chinese scholar, Professor Ch'en Ta on the Overseas Chinese. Speaking of a Chinese emigrant family of means, in which there are two sons, one by a wife, the other by a concubine, Professor Ch'en tells us:

'If an emigrant householder has, let us say, two sons and one daughter and an estate of \$300,000, he will as likely as not set aside \$80,000 or \$100,000 as a fund for his own maintenance in old age—when the family business will have passed into the hands of his sons or other younger members—and also for his funeral and the subsequent rites in his memory. He will earmark \$10,000 or \$20,000 as a dowry for his daughter. The remainder will be divided into three shares, the son of his wife receiving two, and the son of his concubine one. If the son of the wife has a son, a sum of about \$2,000 will be set aside as an "incense fund" for the boy, so as to make sure of his full participation in the rites of ancestor worship.

From the old-age fund of \$80,000 the head of the household will set aside \$30,000 for living expenses—\$20,000 for his own, \$5,000 for those of his wife, and \$2,500 each for two concubines. The remaining \$50,000 probably will be invested in real estate, as a fund to perpetuate the veneration of his memory in after years. While he is alive the interest from this fund may be added to defray the living expenses of the old man, of his wife, and of his concubines; or the interest may be allowed to accumulate so as to support them if the money set aside for their maintenance should prematurely be exhausted before their death, or if they do not need it to swell the fund available for their commemoration after death. The duties of this pious veneration which as will be seen may in some cases involve the administration of considerable funds, fall on the sons who usually will in rotation take charge of the properties, the income from which is to provide for the expenses.'²

There is only one further point to make about the extra amount given to the eldest son of the wife, or to the eldest grandson, and that is that the duty to apply it towards the maintenance of the ancestral cult is of a moral or social nature. Nothing is found to suggest that the recipient is under any legal

¹ Shiga Shūzō 滋賀秀三, *Chūgoku kazokuhō ron* 中國家族法論, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1951, 156-60.

² Ch'en Ta (陳達), *Emigrant communities in South China: English version edited by Bruno Lasker*, Oxford University Press, 1939, 133.

obligation as to its use, or that he is answerable for it in any legal way to the rest of the family, still less that he is merely the usufructuary and not the owner. Having made this observation, we may go on to look more closely at the fund specifically charged with the upkeep of the ancestral cult.

In the example given by Professor Ch'en, which we have just quoted, this fund is taken out from the family property before partition occurs. During the father's life the interest goes to his support. After his death the sons usually administer the fund in turn, and apply the income to the ancestral worship. During this latter period, who is the owner of the fund? The question attracted the Japanese investigators in Formosa half a century ago. They believed that the Chinese population of the island tended to look, in general, upon the deceased father as the owner. To illustrate this, they produce several considerations, as, for example, that from time to time cases are found when the dead man is named as a party to legal transactions connected with the property. Furthermore, they say, family property existing in an undivided state was felt not to have passed into the ownership of those entitled to share on partition.¹

The idea that the souls of the dead may continue in the next world to retain the dominium of things in this was not, apparently, repugnant to Leibnitz,² and in China it is possible to find some support for the notion that the dead may not only retain some rights they enjoyed in this life, but may even acquire new ones. However, in this particular instance, the Private Law of Formosa hastens to make it clear that any such belief is the result of loose thinking. The naming of the dead man in such transactions was no more than an act of piety or a convenient way of indicating that the property was being administered for the upkeep of the cult. As for the second argument, the Private Law of Formosa rejects it out of hand by pointing out that family property is held, after the father's death and before partition, in common by all those entitled.³ Indeed we might go further and say that even in his lifetime the father, as family head, was only an administrator and coproprietor and after his death could hardly be supposed to have had his interest enlarged into sole ownership!

There can be no doubt, then, that such cult-property remained after partition of the other family property as undivided family property. But whereas before partition family property was usually under the administration of one person, the most senior male, such cult-property as was withdrawn from partition, because of the equal capacity of succession to the cult enjoyed, as we have seen, by all sons was nearly always administered by all the sons in turn for one year at a time. This is illustrated by the example quoted from Professor Ch'en, where the two sons, of the wife and of the concubine, administered it in turn. Of course, this was by no means the only way a cult-fund could be established. Sometimes, for instance, instead of consisting of a part of the family property left in its undivided state on the partition of the rest, it was created by the sons

¹ *Taiwan shihō*, I, 2, 401.

² T. E. Holland, *Jurisprudence*, 13th ed., 1928, p. 163, n. 3.

³ *Taiwan shihō*, I, 2, 402-3.

themselves who, after partition, contributed out of their shares to make a fund for the maintenance of the ancestral ritual.¹

There were no restrictions on the nature of the property from which a cult-fund could be constituted, though obviously it would be one producing an income to maintain the ritual. In Professor Ch'en's example, the fund consisted of money which would be invested in land. Interests in land, as may be imagined, formed by far the most usual kind of cult-funds. The interest might not be of a nature to carry with it a right to possession of the land—a rent-charge on occasions was applied to establish a cult-fund.²

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss in any detail the legal position of the coproprietors of these funds. Nevertheless a few points should be noticed.

What was the individual interest of each coproprietor—for instance, in the case cited by Professor Ch'en, of each of the brothers? It consisted of a right in turn to administer the fund, using it and collecting income from it, and on partition to take an equal share. This interest was transmitted proportionately to successors. Suppose two brothers A and B were coproprietors of a cult-fund, and that A died leaving two sons C and D, and B died leaving one son E. C and D had a right to one-quarter each on partition and E to one-half. As for administration, either C and D administered it jointly for one year, and E for one year alternately, or C and D administered it for one year each separately and E for two years. The interest could never be alienated to an outsider, but could be transferred to one or more of the other coproprietors.

During his term of office, the administrator's powers were strictly limited. He could not alienate the property or any part of it, or encumber it in the case of land with a lease to last longer than his own period of administration. For all these acts, the concurrence of the whole body of coproprietors was necessary.

At the time the cult-fund was established the intention was often, or even usually, expressed that it should never be alienated and indeed any alienation, except for urgent cause, would incur social reprobation. Yet there is no doubt that alienation concurred in by the whole body of coproprietors was valid.³

Enough has been said, for our present purpose, of cult-funds in China. We may sum up our findings as follows:

(1) All sons had an equal capacity to be cult-successors.

(2) The maintenance of the ancestral cult was often provided for by the creation of a fund owned by all the sons in common, and the administration of such a fund was usually carried out by the sons separately in turn for a year at a time.

(3) However, so much of the ancient theory that only one son—in the first place the eldest son by the wife and after him his eldest son—could be the cult-successor remained in modern custom that an eldest son was often given an extra amount on partition, in consideration of his prime

¹ *Taiwan shihō*, I, 2, 407.

² *Taiwan shihō*, I, 2, 421.

³ *Taiwan shihō*, I, 2, 413–38.

duty of maintaining the ancestral cult. Sometimes an extra amount was given to the eldest grandson.

Bearing this in mind, we now proceed to look at the situation in Vietnam.

C. CULT-FUNDS IN VIETNAM

The first thing to remark is the name *hương-hỏa* itself. It is, of course, a perfectly good Chinese term, but whereas in Vietnam it seems to be the only name applied to cult-funds, in China it is one out of many similar expressions, meaning 'incense-fire', 'incense-smoke', 'incense-lamp', etc., and not the most popular one.¹ And in China, these terms are used merely to denote the ritual of ancestral worship, not the fund to maintain the worship, unlike the Vietnamese usage, in which, as we have seen, *hương-hỏa* is the cult-fund itself.

All the authorities, both French and Vietnamese, seem to agree that in a Vietnamese family only one person could succeed to the ancestral cult. 'Le fils aîné, prononce justement un arrêt, est la continuation de la personne du père', says Briffaut. 'Il hérite donc théoriquement de tous ses pouvoirs, religieux et administratifs : il est faux de dire qu'à la mort du père de famille, il y ait une période d'indivision.'² On a later page the same authority goes into more detail. He says :

'L'institué de postérité, fiduciaire du fonds cultuel, doit être un descendant direct de droite lignée, choisi par ordre de prééminence ; par conséquent, en premier lieu l'aîné des mâles de droite lignée, à son défaut, non pas son frère cadet, mais son propre fils aîné ; s'il est mort sans postérité, son fils (*sic* : le deuxième fils ?) de droite lignée sera choisi ; puis ses fils, et à leur défaut seulement le troisième fils de droite lignée, jusqu'à épuisement de ces branches.

Par conséquent, l'aîné institué de postérité peut être un cadet de la famille, si le premier né est fils d'une femme de deuxième rang.

L'institué ne peut être un des mâles de commune lignée qu'à défaut de fils de droite lignée.

Pour reprendre les expressions du Code, l'institution de postérité par descendance directe respecte "la noblesse de la condition" entre les différentes branches, et "l'ordre de prééminence" entre les différents fils de même condition. Tels sont les deux principes dont on ne peut se départir qu'exceptionnellement.'³

Deloustal agrees : 'La seule règle fixe est l'attribution du *hương-hỏa* au fils aîné : le principe de la transmission de la "grande charge" de génération en génération par la voie du fils aîné issu de droite lignée est l'une des bases essentielles de l'institution du culte des ancêtres et n'a jamais varié. On ne s'en écarte que lorsque le fils aîné fait défaut ou qu'il est incapable de rendre le culte'.⁴

¹ See collection of documents, *Taiwan shihō* reference material, Vol. I, Pt. 3, pp. 318-413.

² Briffaut, 20-1.

³ Briffaut, 92-3.

⁴ *BEFEO*, xi, 1911, 53.

Now the principle of equal shares between all sons is stated very clearly by the Code of Gia-Long, and is unquestionably part of Vietnamese law. 'Le droit d'aînesse ne trouve aucune place dans le droit annamite', says Mr. Le Van Dinh.¹ Briffaut argues that *huong-hóa* does not conflict with the principle of equality. He says:

'Les avantages dont jouit cependant en fait le fils aîné à la mort du père ne portent aucune atteinte à ces principes, car ils lui sont accordés par la religion, et non par la volonté du testateur, ni des copartageants, et ne lui confèrent aucun privilège politique, ni aucune prépondérance au sein de la famille, autre que celle qui résulte de ses fonctions de chef religieux.

Il n'en est pas moins vrai que le *Huong-hoa* constitue un cas, l'unique, de substitution protéi-commissaire au profit d'une branche de la famille.'²

Enough has been said to show that, although there may be some dispute between the authorities as to the precise juridical nature of *huong-hóa* in terms of European legal science, there is no doubt as to its essential features. In Vietnam, apparently, there is only one cult-successor, and the post goes in the first place to the eldest son by the wife. He has the usufruct of the cult-fund during his lifetime, and on his death the fund passes into the administration of his eldest son.

That the Vietnamese, more Catholic than the Pope, should retain in its full vigour a practice long since obsolete in China, the country of its origin, is not in itself improbable. If Briffaut and Deloustal had contented themselves with asserting that from their observation the fact was so, the present writer would have been the last person to raise any doubt about their accuracy. But the two of them go further and produce documents to support their theory, documents to which even a Vietnamese lawyer like Mr. Le Van Dinh refers with respect.³ Yet when we come to examine these documents, the one in Briffaut, as it is hoped to show in this paper, either proves nothing at all, or, if it is evidence of anything, goes against Briffaut's theory, while the one in Deloustal seems to defy any interpretation which will not be a complete refutation of his analysis. Let us look at these documents, beginning with the one in Deloustal as the more important of the two. We find it in Appendix IV, entitled 'Du *huong-hóa*', in Deloustal's famous translation of the Code of the Lê Dynasty, and before going on to consider it we may stop for a moment to say a word about the provisions relating to *huong-hóa* which are found in Articles 387-99 of that Code.⁴

In China, provisions for cult-funds never formed any part of the statute law, except for the prohibition of the fraudulent sale of cult-land, re-enacted in Vietnam from the Manchu Code by the Code of Gia-Long, of which we shall speak later. For our present purpose, the provisions of the Lê Code may be summed up as follows:

- (1) There is one cult-successor, primarily the eldest son by the wife, and his eldest line.

¹ Le Van Dinh, 43. ² Briffaut, 53-4. ³ Le Van Dinh, 49. ⁴ BEFEO, x, 1910, 500-5.

(2) If parents have not made another disposition, one-twentieth of the family property is set aside on partition after their death, and dedicated to their cult. This cult-fund is managed solely by the cult-successor.

(3) The cult-fund is inalienable, although in process of transmission adjustments take place in its constitution.

Now these detailed provisions, although not found in any Chinese statutes, are, as Deloustal shows, of purely Chinese origin.¹ That they should have been enacted as law in Vietnam is evidence, certainly, of the importance attached to *huong-hôa* in that country. But, just as we have to be careful not to assume that Chinese statutes necessarily had the force of legal norms in regulating social behaviour, so it is safer not to be unduly confident that these provisions of the Lê Code, even at the time of their enactment in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, were not largely the expression of a Chinese ideal which was in process of becoming obsolete in China itself. When we come to more recent times, Deloustal himself tells us that the dedication of one-twentieth part of the family property as *huong-hôa*, in the absence of a contrary disposition by the parents, had long since disappeared and was quite unknown even to educated people.² For the position as it was on the eve of the French occupation, Deloustal reproduces, in translation, an act of partition made by an elderly couple in the year 1839.³ This document is of very great importance. It is quite long, and as it may readily be consulted in Deloustal's work, we may content ourselves here with noting its main points.

It begins by reciting that the disposition is made in the presence of the clan members. The old couple, from the property they themselves have been left as *huong-hôa* and other property they have acquired by their own work, indicate what is to be used for the ancestral cult, and what is to be kept for their own support. The rest is to be partitioned among their children. The following details are given :

(1) The ancestral temple is given into the care of the elder son who is to keep up the cult.

(2) A piece of land, dedicated to the cult of the husband's dead father, is given to the sons and grandsons who will cultivate it in turn. On the anniversary of the death of the person to whose cult it is dedicated, the curator for the time being will bring the sacrificial meats, etc., to the ancestral temple to offer them in sacrifice. Of what remains of these meats after sacrifice, a plate will be reserved for the elder son, and the remainder will be shared among the other sons and grandsons present.

(3) A piece of land, dedicated to the cult of the husband's dead mother, is given to the sons to cultivate in turn. On the anniversary of the death of the person to whose cult it is dedicated, the curator for the time being will prepare sacrificial meats, etc., and what is left after sacrifice will be shared as in (2).

(4) The husband keeps a piece of land for himself to support him during

¹ BEFEO, XI, 1911, 52.

² BEFEO, XI, 1911, 52.

³ BEFEO, XI, 1911, 62-4.

his life. After his death the land will be dedicated to his cult, being managed by the sons in turn, and sacrifices offered as in (2).

(5) A piece of land is kept for the wife, to support her during her life. After her death, it will be dedicated to her cult, being managed by the sons in turn, and sacrifices offered as in (3).

(6) Portion of Elder Son.

(a) *huong-hòa*. A fishpond, and two pieces of land.

(b) *Personal share*. Two pieces of land.

(7) Portion of Younger Son.

(8) Portion of Sister.

Suppose for a moment that it was possible for us to put out of our heads all that we have read of Vietnamese law as such, and look simply at the provisions about cult-funds contained in this document from the standpoint of Chinese law. We should see that a part of the family property was kept back from partition and devoted, some at once, some ultimately, to the support of the ancestral cult. Of this undivided family property, one piece, the ancestral temple, passed into the care of the elder son. The rest was to be cultivated by both sons in turn, who offered sacrifice alternately. The elder son enjoyed some pre-eminence but the younger had equal capacity as a cult successor. Apart from this family property which the brothers held in common, the elder brother was given an extra part, as *huong-hòa*, in addition to his normal share. But there is nothing whatever to suggest that this extra part is not given to him outright. In other words, the whole arrangement is in essentials identical with that quoted by Professor Ch'en.

The document quoted by Briffaut is also an act of partition made in the lifetime of the parents.¹ It is not dated, but we may assume it was used by Briffaut as an example of contemporary custom. It is much simpler than the document in Deloustal and provides merely that

(1) the family property should be divided into nine equal parts ;

(2) one part should go as *huong-hòa* to the eldest son ;

(3) one part should go to keep the parents, and to defray the cost of their funeral ;

(4) the remaining seven parts should be given to the sons and daughters as their personal shares.

Now the Chinese text, as copied by Briffaut, seems rather peculiar in places, but it is sufficient to notice that the *huong-hòa* is given to the eldest son with the addition of the words 認管奉祀 which Briffaut translates 'Il reconnaîtra l'avoir reçue, l'administrera pour rendre le culte aux ancêtres'.² This, no doubt, is perfectly accurate. But Briffaut follows his translation by a legal analysis of the text in which he says :

'L'auteur est laconique en ce qui concerne l'institution cultuelle, il se borne à désigner le fonds ad hoc, et à en confier l'administration à son fils aîné.

C'est qu'il s'en est remis à la coutume du soin d'indiquer les règles et les

¹ Briffaut, *opposite* p. 80.

² Briffaut, 80.

conséquences juridiques d'une institution dont il n'a précisé que les deux éléments constitutifs essentiels :

- 1 La disposition au profit du grevé ;
- 2 La charge pour lui d'administrer, qui implique celle de conserver et de rendre à un appelé.

Ces deux éléments suffisent au fidéi-commis.¹

In other words, Briffaut finds in the text proof for his theory that the eldest son is merely the usufructuary. Even Mr. Le Van Dinh, who himself holds this theory, points out that Briffaut is reading into the text things which are simply not there.² If we go further than Mr. Le Van Dinh and look at the words used when the children are given their shares, we find the expression 均自認管 which Briffaut translates, again quite accurately, as 'ils devront reconnaître l'avoir reçue et l'administrer'.³ In other words, exactly the same terms are used in the document to describe the eldest son's interest in the *huong-hòa*, and the interest of each child in his own share. If the eldest son is merely a usufructuary of the *huong-hòa*, then it would seem to follow that the sons and daughters are similarly usufructuaries of their personal shares, which is obviously absurd. Of course, nobody should look for precision of phraseology in such a document, but, on the other hand, the document cannot be used in proof of Briffaut's theory. If it is insisted that we should accept it as evidence, it goes, on the contrary, to suggest that the eldest son gets the legal dominium of the *huong-hòa*, subject merely to a moral duty to use it to maintain the cult.

D. CONCLUSION

We can now sum up our findings. The opinion accepted both by French and Vietnamese lawyers is that in Vietnam there was a strict scheme of cult-succession, by which one person at a time succeeded to the duty of ancestral sacrifice, and this succession had primarily to be transmitted through the eldest male line. As a corollary of this, property dedicated to the family cult could be managed only by this cult-successor, but as his duty of succession was transmitted on his death to another, so he enjoyed only the usufruct of the cult-fund, which was inalienable. It is true that Deloustal points out that in some places cult-property was managed by all sons in turn, who carried out sacrifices, but he regards this as merely a local deviation from the orthodox doctrine and comes down heavily on the side of cult-succession by primogeniture.⁴

It is submitted that the evidence adduced by Deloustal and Briffaut, far from supporting this theory, leads us to believe that cult-succession solely by right of primogeniture, in Vietnam as in China, was in total desuetude, and that all sons had equal capacity for cult-succession. It is submitted also

¹ Briffaut, 81.

² Le Van Dinh, 47-9.

³ Briffaut, 80.

⁴ BEFEO, XI, 1911, 57.

that the theory that there is or should be one uniform institution of *hương-hỏa*, under which a single cult-successor enjoys during his life the usufruct of a cult-fund, does not represent the Vietnamese customary law, as it existed at the time of the French occupation. That customary law, it is submitted, was, on the evidence, indistinguishable from the custom in China, and *hương-hỏa* fell into two classes. In the first class, it remained as family property, the management of which was vested either in the eldest son (as especially in the case of the ancestral temple) or, for most of the property, in all sons by turn. In the second class, an extra portion of *hương-hỏa* was given outright to the eldest son, as a vestigial recognition of the right of cult-succession by primogeniture, and his duty to apply this to the maintenance of the ancestral cult was moral and not legal.

Deloustal, while maintaining that the inalienability of cult-property had always been an 'absolute rule', confesses that such property was in fact often sold.¹ On this point, Philastre holds the view that it is only the fraudulent sale of cult-property which is forbidden by the Code of Gia-Long.² From what we have already seen, especially of the practice in China, it is submitted with confidence that Philastre is right, and that the prohibition against sale by the nineteenth century had only a moral force. Naturally, in the case of cult-property of the first class, the concurrence of the whole body of coproprietors was necessary to convey a valid title.

¹ *BEFEO*, xi, 1911, 56-7.

² P.-L.-F. Philastre, *Le code annamite*, i, 452-3.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE *ADHYĀŚAYASAMCODANASŪTRA*

By misplaced wording of a quotation in my *Buddhist Himālaya* (p. 50) Aśoka is made to appear as approving all later developments in Buddhist doctrine. His Bhabra edict did not say 'all which is well spoken is the word of the Buddha', but rather 'whatever has been said by the Buddha, is well spoken'. The new wording with its very different implications belongs to a work of a later period, the *Adhyāśayasamcodanasūtra*. The passage is quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (ed. Bendall, p. 15). Both Louis de la Vallée Poussin (*Études et matériaux*, p. 70) and Professor Étienne Lamotte (*Le traité de la grande vertu de la sagesse*, vol. I, p. 82, n.) refer to Śāntideva's quotation, giving the '*Madhyāśayasamcodanasūtra*' as its source. The title given by Śāntideva, however, has been reproduced quite correctly by Bendall. It is in fact *Adhyāśayasamcodanasūtra*, the 'Sūtra for inciting determination'. The Tibetan translation is to be found in the Narthang Kanjur, *dKon-brtsegs* V, ff. 244a-277b, entitled *lHag-paḥi bsaṃ-pa bskul-ba ṣes bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. (For the Peking edition, reprinted by the Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1956, see vol. xxiv, pp. 54-63.) Since Bendall's edition of the actual quotation is defective in parts, and was copied thus verbatim by Lamotte, it seems worth while to correct it from the Tibetan version. Italics indicate omissions and variations in Bendall's Sanskrit text.

Narthang edition, ff. 255a7-256a1 :

byams pa gzan yañ rgyu bzis na spobs pa thams cad ni sañs rgyas kyis
gsuñs par rig par byaḥo // bzi gañ ze na / byams pa ḥdi la spobs pa don dan
ldan pa yin gyi / don dan mi ldan pa ma yin pa dan / chos dan ldan pa yin
gyi / chos dan mi ldan pa ma yin pa dan / ñon moñs pa zad par byed pa yin
gyi / ñon moñs pa ḥphal bar byed pa ma yin pa dan / mya nan las ḥdas paḥi
yon tan dan phan yon ston pa yin gyi / ḥkhor baḥi ñes pa ḥphel bar byed pa
ma yin pa ste / byams pa rgyu bzi po ḥdi dag dan ldan na spobs pa thams cad
sañs rgyas kyis gsuñs par rig par byaḥo // byams pa dge sloñ nam / dge sloñ
ma ḥam / dge bsñen nam dge bsñen ma gañ su yañ ruñ ste / rgyu bzi po ḥdi dag
gi spobs pas spobs pa ḥam / spobs par ḥgyur yañ ruñ ste / de rigs kyi bu
ḥam rigs kyi bu mo dad pa car dag gis de dag la sañs rgyas su ḥdu ṣes bskyed
par bya zin ston par ḥdu ṣes byas nas dam paḥi chos mñan par byaḥo // de
ciḥi phyir ze na / byams pa legs par smras pa gañ ci yañ ba de dag thams cad
ni sañs rgyas kyis gsuñs pa yin paḥi phyir ro // byams ba de la gañ zag la
sdañ baḥi phyir ḥdi dag ni sañs rgyas kyis gsuñs pa ma yin no ṣes spobs pa
bzi po dag spoñ zin de dag la ma gus pa bskyed par byed pa des ni sañs rgyas
kyis gsuñs paḥi spobs pa thams cad spañs pa yin te / chos spans nas chos kyi
phoñs par ḥgyur baḥi las mñon par ḥdu byed pas nan soñ du ḥgro bar ḥgyur
ro //

Amended Sanskrit version :

api tu Maitreya caturbhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ pratibhānam sarvaṃ buddhabhāṣitaṃ
jñātavyaṃ / *kaiś caturbhiḥ* / iha Maitreya pratibhānam *arthopasaṃhitam*
 bhavati *nānarthopasaṃhitam* / *dharmopasaṃhitam* bhavati *nādharmo-*
pasamhitam / *kleśahāpakam* bhavati na *kleśavivardhakam* *nirvāṇaguṇānu-*
śaṃsasandarśakam bhavati na *samsāradoṣavivardhakam* / ebhiś caturbhiḥ
kāraṇair upetaṃ Maitreya sarvaṃ buddhabhāṣitaṃ jñātavyaṃ / *yasya kasyacin*
Maitreya bhikṣor bhikṣuṇyā vā upāsakasya upāsikāyā vā hy ebhiś caturbhiḥ
 kāraṇaiḥ pratibhānam pratibhāti pratibhāsyati vā tatra śrāddhaiḥ kulaputrāiḥ
 kuladuhitṛbhir vā buddhasaṃjñotpādayitavyā / śāstrasaṃjñāṃ kṛtvā *sad-*
dharmah śrotavyaḥ / *tat kasya hetoḥ* / *yat kiñcin Maitreya subhāṣitaṃ*
 sarvaṃ tad buddhabhāṣitaṃ / tatra Maitreya ya imāni *catvāri*¹ pratibhānāni
 pratikṣipen naitāni buddhabhāṣitānīti / teṣu cāgauravam utpādayet pudgala-
 vidveṣeṇa tena sarvabuddhabhāṣitapratibhānam pratikṣiptaṃ bhavati /
 dharmam pratikṣipyā dharmavyasanasaṃvartanīyena karmaṇā² 'pāyagāmī
 bhavati /

Translation

Furthermore, O Maitreya, by four qualities all inspired speech may be known as 'spoken by the Buddha'. By which four? Here, O Maitreya, it is (a matter of) inspired speech which has sense and is not nonsense, which accords with the doctrine and does not contradict it, which destroys molestations and does not cause their increase, which shows forth the good points and advantages of *nirvāṇa* and does not cause increase of the evils of *samsāra*. If it is endowed with these four qualities, O Maitreya, all inspired speech may be known as 'spoken by the Buddha'. When the inspired speech, Maitreya, of any monk or nun, any religious layman or laywoman whomsoever, becomes manifest or shall become manifest with these four qualities, then believing sons and daughters will be induced to conceive an idea of the Buddha in that (teaching); when an idea of the Teacher has been produced, the holy doctrine is bound to be heard. For what reason is that? It is because, O Maitreya, whatever is well spoken, is spoken by the Buddha. So, Maitreya, whoever should reject these four (categories of) inspired speech, saying: 'These are not words spoken by the Buddha', thus showing no respect with regard to them, by his hatred for a person he rejects the whole inspired teaching of the Buddha-Word; having rejected the doctrine he goes to hell on account of an act which tends towards the doctrine's destruction.

Comments

(i) There are two Chinese translations of the *Adhyāśayasamcodanasūtra*, the earlier one by Bodhiruci (b. 572) in Taishō vol. XI, no. 310, and the other by Jñānagupta (b. 623) in vol. XII, no. 327. They support our restored text in

¹ 'four' appears in the Chinese and Tibetan versions.

² dharmavyasanābhisamkṛtena karmaṇā would reproduce the Tibetan more exactly.

a general way, but as is usual, they tend to introduce slightly different interpretations. Thus one may note for example that *tatra* (Sanskrit line 8), which I have translated as 'in that (teaching)' is represented in Tibetan by *de dag la* (= *teṣu*). *Tatra* is good enough and so remains unamended, but if one had only the Tibetan text available, one would translate this whole phrase as: 'believing sons and daughters will be made to conceive an idea of the Buddha with regard to them (viz. the monks or nuns whose speech was inspired). It is interesting to observe therefore that Bodhiruci has just this meaning: 'If virtuous sons and daughters have believing hearts, they will produce through that person (or those persons) an idea of the Buddha' 若善男子善女人等. 有信順心. 當於是人而生佛想 (p. 522c, lines 19-20). This is likely to have been the original sense.

(ii) In spite of his defective text Bendall's translation (*Śikṣhā-samuccaya*, translated by Bendall and Rouse, London, John Murray, 1922, p. 17) gives the required sense fairly well. He is wrong only in translating *pudgalavidveṣeṇa tena* . . . as 'such a hateful person does really reject all the utterances pronounced by all Buddhas'. In my translation 'hatred of a person' is to be understood as hatred of personal exposition as opposed to texts which this particular objector holds to be orthodox.

(iii) It is impossible to pass over the word *pratibhāna* without comment, for it occurs several times in this short passage and my translation 'inspired speech' seems to be a new one. For other suggested meanings see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva doctrine*, pp. 265-6, and Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary*. The literal meaning of 'shining forth, becoming manifest' is preserved by the verb *pratibhā*, which also occurs in the quotation above. But this will not do for the noun, which has developed a new meaning of its own. It still means 'manifestation', but of something in particular. The Tibetan term, *spobs-pa* 'daring', cannot by itself give the exact meaning, for the Tibetan translators have merely annexed this word, for want of a better presumably, to translate *pratibhāna*. At best it is a guide towards the sense. The inadequacy of 'confidence', a favoured translation probably suggested by the Tibetan, will be apparent, if one attempts to fit it into our quotation. Other interpretations, 'readiness in expounding' (Kern) and 'confidence of speech' (Rhys Davids and Stede) come much nearer the mark. The Chinese translation 辯才 *biann-tsair* 'skill in discourse' is not far removed. Actual speech seems to be certainly involved in the term and I would interpret it as 'speaking with inner conviction' in the manner expected of a competent religious teacher. But this is too cumbersome a translation and like the Chinese and Tibetans before us, we need a succinct conventional phrase. In justifying the use of 'inspired speech' one might point out that the followers of the *Mahāyāna*, while admitting sometimes the comparative lateness of their doctrines, insisted that they were none the less inspired. This is precisely the argument of our quotation, for it is concerned with testing 'inspired speech'. The Christian associations of 'inspiration' are not misleading at this stage of Buddhist doctrine, for if

it be asked 'Who inspires the monk or nun?', one can reply 'The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas'. But this is pressing the point too far, for we use the phrase 'inspired speech' in English without any further probings. This is just the sense of *pratibhāna*. In certain passages 'inspired teaching' or even just 'inspiration' (see quotation given below) seem legitimate translations, so long as actual speech is already implied by the context.

The *Adhyāśayasamcodanasūtra*, which is very short, tells how 60 bodhisattvas, who had fallen into distractions and laziness, were led by Maitreya to the presence of the Buddha, where he sought advice on their behalf. The phrase with which we are primarily concerned, 'whatever is well spoken, is spoken by the Buddha', occurs elsewhere in the work. At folio 256b6 it is repeated as demonstration of the fact that in spite of apparent contradictions with the last two of the four reasons with which 'inspired speech' should accord, yet 'because they perfect the (seven) factors of enlightenment (*bodhyāṅga*), it has been taught that the molestations (*kleśa*) are of benefit and the taking of interest in the *samsāra* has been praised; as for this, it is to be known that whatever is well spoken is spoken by the Buddha'.

An earlier occurrence on folio 254a is worth quoting in full:

ḥdi skad du yañ hphya bar byed de khyed ni rañ gi spobs pas chos ston
par byed kyi / de bzün gāegs pas gsuñs pa ni ma yin no // chos ḥdi ni khyed
kyis rañ dgar byas pa yin no // kyed kyis chos gañ bstan pa ni rañ bzor gzuñ
du byas pa yin gyis / khyed kyis ḥdi la ni gus par bya ba yañ med ri mor bya
ba yañ med do źes zer te / der sems can mañ po dag chos kyi rnam grans
ḥdi spon bar byed de / de skad smras pas skye bo mañ po mdun pa las bzlog
par hgyur ro // ḥdi skad du yañ dge slor de dag ni sbyin pa la sogs pa zañ
ziñ kun tu spyod pa yin gyi / mdo las ḥbyuñ ba dañ ḥdul ba las ḥbyuñ bañi
chos mi ston to // ḥdi ni chos ma yin gyis ḥdi la ri mor bya ba ma skyed cig
ces zer te / skyes bu blun po de dag gis ni legs par smras pa gañ ci yañ ruñ
ba de dag thams cad ni sañs rgyas kyi bkañ yin par de ltar mi źes so //

Translation

(Some bodhisattvas who are not skilful in means) 'scoff with words such as these: "You are teaching the doctrine on your own inspiration, for this is not what was spoken by the Tathāgata. You have made this doctrine to please yourselves. The doctrine you teach has your own creation as its source, so there is no need for you to show it respect, no need to show it veneration". Thus they cause many beings to ignore this demonstration of the doctrine and by speaking so they cause many people to turn back from going forward. Again they say: "Those monks may practise charity and such things, but they do not teach the doctrine which has its origin in the Sūtras and Vinaya. This is not the true doctrine, so do not show it veneration". Those fools do not know that whatever has been well spoken, all is the word of the Buddha'.

REVIEWS

ELSE CHRISTIE KIELLAND : *Geometry in Egyptian art.* (Tiranti Library.) x, 214 pp., 34 plates. London : Alec Tiranti, Ltd., 1955. 30s.

One of the characteristics of Egyptian art that strikes most observers is its extraordinary consistency. Closer study reveals that this consistency is not as great as is generally thought especially in the matter of detail. It must be admitted, however, that from the broader point of view certain conservative rules and procedures operated for 3,000 years and it is to these rules and procedures that we must ascribe both the regularly high standard of achievement technically at most periods and the inability of the Egyptian artist to expand his artistic horizon. Only in the Amarna Period was an attempt made to free the artist from his shackles and the art of this period is notable both for its unusual masterpieces and for the unusually large number of its failures. It may be surmised that most Egyptian artists were glad to return to the conventions of centuries when the old regime was restored ; for they were, for the most part, craftsmen and their products were the results of team-work rather than of individual inspiration.

The purpose of the book here reviewed is to examine the geometrical technique which produced the statues and reliefs with which we are so familiar. Mrs. Kielland begins with an examination of the Egyptians' approach to life in which she emphasizes the quality of order implicit in their attitude to most things and in their regard for most problems. She then surveys briefly what is known of Egyptian geometry from written sources and she examines the views of scholars on the construction of the grids found on many unfinished reliefs and paintings. (It should be noted that on p. 18 she wrongly talks of Lepsius' Canon with 19 squares from feet to headband ; this should be 18 squares.) The introductory section ends with a discussion of Lange's law of frontality with the revised views of Heinrich Schäfer.

Basing her examination on the Ancient Egyptians' preoccupation with geometry and their orderly approach to most matters, the author then treats at length the representation of the human figure in the round and in the flat. Flat representations can only be understood in relation to round sculptures : 'In conceived Egyptian flat pictures of the human figure where it is possible to measure the height of the picture surface, and the length

of the figure's base-line, it is found that these two dimensions have a definite geometrical relation to one another, which exists in constantly new variations. In various ways this relation determines the juxtaposition of the figure about its three axes and also its dimensions'. Further : 'All three axes are treated as central axes for the figure, and . . . both profile and horizontal descriptions can be demonstrated in relation to them'.

To prove her thesis Mrs. Kielland analyses various well-known reliefs and statues reducing the principal features to fit within geometrical frameworks which she maintains were those in the mind of the Egyptian master-artists who produced the original layouts and which were probably planned by the artist in his studio, possibly on a sand table. Here there is no room to examine her theory in detail because drawings are necessary for its understanding. There are many reasons, however, which lead one to doubt the validity of her method. In the first place, we have no precise evidence from the Ancient World that geometrical methods were used in the way she describes for the planning and construction of works of art. Furthermore, we may doubt that the Ancient Egyptians had the geometrical knowledge necessary either to construct such drawings or to understand their mathematical bases. The author would find support for her belief in the demonstrable geometrical layout of pyramids and their precise orientation to heavenly bodies. 'There is no reason to believe that the sculptors and painters worked less consciously than the architects, who placed their pyramids in relation to the heavenly bodies. They were all priests working for the same purpose.' There is surely a great difference between the primitive survey methods used for laying out buildings (of which we know something) and the precise geometrical layout of a painting or relief (of which we know nothing beyond the use of the grid).

In dealing with problems of this kind of which little is known it is absolutely essential to base everything on what was possible to the Ancients and not to rely too much on what modern analysis reveals. If a representation can be shown to be based on a geometrical figure of some complexity with certain fixed relations between height, base, the position of axes and other salient features, that does not mean that this was the method of construction used by the ancient artist. One must work from the known to the unknown, not in the opposite direction.

The volume ends with a series of analyses of

reliefs and paintings. While one admires the skill of analysis used by Mrs. Kielland one cannot fail to doubt that she has over-emphasized the Ancient Egyptians' knowledge of geometry. In most cases a large part of her geometrical analysis lies outside the limits of the representation discussed. Her answer to this objection is that this is understandable if we consider that the reliefs and paintings were planned in studios by master-artists, probably priests, and that the craftsmen were supplied with finished drawings within grids ready for transference to the wall. We know nothing, however, of this procedure.

It is a pity that in a book which deals specifically with the careful analysis of works of art so many of the illustrations are too small or too poor for the reader to see clearly what is being analysed.

T. G. H. JAMES

F. CANTERA and J. MA. MILLÁS: *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España*. xv, 475 pp., 36 plates, 158 figures in text. Madrid: [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas], 1956.

Each of the two authors has, in the course of the last 25-30 years, made an outstanding contribution towards our knowledge of the history and literature of the Jews in Spain. To them belongs the credit of having initiated a new era in this field of research. Their earlier work included some three dozen articles, by each, on Hebrew inscriptions in Spain—many of these had been newly discovered and were being published for the first time. The compilation of the present corpus has therefore been undertaken by those best fitted for the task.

In Jewish epigraphy the term 'inscription' refers almost exclusively to epitaphs. Although there were Jews living in the Iberian Peninsula in Roman times, we have no dated epigraphic material from before the eleventh century, with the possible exception of a tombstone of 919-28.¹ However, some of the undated inscriptions might belong to the tenth century or even an earlier time; two stones are probably of the sixth century.² Going through the dated material it struck me that after the middle of the fourteenth century it becomes scanty, and that from the fifteenth only one single dated fragment³ and three undated

possibles are recorded. It would be interesting to know what the authors think could be the reason why so long a period left so very little—the expulsion did not take place till 1492. Even if all the tombstones were subsequently taken for building or domestic purposes (such use—or misuse—was a common practice, of course), we would expect at least as many from this period to have come to light as from corresponding, earlier ones. After all, the refugees of 1492 could not have taken the stones with them on their journeys, as they did with the numerous MSS from the period in question—the fifteenth century alone accounts for more Sephardic MSS than all the previous centuries together.

There is another inexplicable gap, and the authors point it out: the inscriptions come from all over Spain but none are from certain towns, although these had important and flourishing Jewries, e.g. Saragossa, Burgos, Vitoria, Calahorra, Valencia.

The authors have arranged the inscriptions on a regional basis—that of the medieval kingdoms. There are 282 numbered entries but to the palaeographer these correspond to slightly fewer items, as inscriptions made on the same occasion in different parts of a room or building really constitute a single specimen. Many of these 282 entries record epitaphs whose originals are no longer in existence. According to my count only 174 have survived and are thus of relevance to our study of the script. Of these 174 the majority are, unfortunately, very fragmentary, many containing only a few words, some only a single word or merely a letter or two. 33 items¹ bear a date (excluding those with a date which, for one reason or another, is uncertain). 103 entries treat of inscriptions whose originals are no longer extant: the text of ten of these² is not known. The text of the other items (91, in 93 entries) has been preserved in copies made by scholars. By far the majority of these texts were saved providentially in the following manner. Someone³ had copied out 76 epitaphs from stones in the cemetery of Toledo: his MS finally came to the Royal Library of Turin, which was, however, gutted by a fire in 1904. But the MS had already been copied about a century earlier by J. Almanzi and this copy was published in 1841 by S. D. Luzzatto.⁴

¹ Nos. 1-6, 9-10, 23, 71, 82, 85, 99, 103-4, 106-7, 114-5, 132, 168, 170-2, 176, 197, 201-2, 213, 226, 230-9, 246.

² Nos. 8, 208, 247, 255-6, 272, 274, 278, 280-1.

³ See n. 4.

⁴ In four cases, however, the originals are extant (they were mostly found during the last five decades); the lost ones are Nos. 25-70, 72-81, 83-4, 86-98, 100. The original MS

¹ No. 205.

² No. 198, the well-known trilinguis of Tortosa, and No. 243, discovered a couple of years ago at Tarragona—which is not far from Tortosa—apparently also a trilinguis.

³ No. 201 (apart from a lost Toledan one, No. 100).

Four entries in our volume are not of Spanish-Jewish origin: two or three¹ are the work of learned Christians—and should, therefore, not have been included in this book, since the authors exclude this category from their compilation (p. xii). One or two² are of Italian origin. One entry³ is a tombstone without an inscription. The total is accordingly reduced to 277 entries.

The book is divided into two sections: the first is devoted to epitaphs (224 entries),⁴ the second to other material (53 entries)—⁵ seals, silverware, etc., and some monumental inscriptions. An appendix contains six Jewish inscriptions in Greek and Latin, from the third to the eighth centuries⁶ and four apocryphal Hebrew inscriptions.⁷

In the opinion of the authors the epitaphs fall into two distinct groups: those from the lands of the Crown of Aragon are in laconic prose, while those from the kingdoms of Leon and Castile are long and are couched in poetic form. It seems to me rather striking, however, that the long poetic epitaphs belong almost exclusively to the group of lost Toledo epitaphs. Could this mean that the original collector was not interested in short epitaphs and only copied out the more elaborate ones? Or does the time factor play a rôle here? The small amount of early material that is preserved from Toledo, although fragmentary, appears to have formed part of plain texts. Might it be that the fashion in literary epitaphs only started in about 1200? The authors themselves point out that the epitaphs of Gerona are typically literary (p. 240) and that No. 170 is on almost as high a level as the Toledan texts (p. 241)—and yet, according to their classification, Gerona belongs to the Aragon group, which was, allegedly, the laconic one.

Two items of unusual interest might here be mentioned. No. 103 is located in the cathedral of Sevilla and is inscribed on the pedestal of the sarcophagus of Fernando III (St. Ferdinand).

seems to have contained no information about its writer, who he was, why and when he copied the epitaphs. Professors Cantera and Millás say they were copied by an anonymous traveller of the sixteenth century. There were, however, no Jews in Spain at that time and how could a foreign Jew have entered the country? The other lost originals, not belonging to this group, are Nos. 101-2, 111-2, 116-7, 140-3, 190, 194, 200, 206, 212, 214-6, 227, 230-1.

¹ Nos. 265, 267; 269. In addition, Nos. 270 and 271 are very doubtful.

² Nos. 276 and perhaps 269.

³ No. 217.

⁴ If we exclude No. 217.

⁵ If we exclude Nos. 265, 267, 269, 276.

⁶ Nos. 283-91.

⁷ Nos. 292-5.

It is one of four inscriptions there, all having the same contents, the others being in Arabic, Latin, and Spanish. To judge by the facsimile, it is in perfect condition, as clear as if it had been engraved only yesterday—the reason being that this inscription is inside a building. Among the other inscriptions in the book, few are in even a moderately good state of preservation. No. 226 is a building inscription on a gate tower in the town wall of Aguilar de Campóo (prov. Palencia). The inscription bears a date corresponding to 1381 (or 1380). It is unique by reason of its function and its language ('Judaico-Spanish').

The facsimiles in this volume are in half-tone. Hence the lettering is not perfectly clear, particularly when a stone is badly preserved, as the majority are. Most of the facsimiles cannot, therefore, be utilized for palaeographical research. But apart from that the book is beautifully produced.

I should like to express my gratitude to the authors for their services to scholarship by offering a few suggestions on points of detail.

To p. vii: The *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest* is by Ch. F. Jean. To p. xiv, last line: 'Sevilla' is to be deleted (because of Nos. 103 and 104). To p. xv: The *Jewish encyclopaedia* is an American publication. To No. 1 (and often): In the translation, the authors have rendered the three *yodhs* forming a triangle by the modern Bible scholar's transcription of the Tetragrammaton. Is that accurate? Since antiquity it had been replaced in pronunciation by the term 'the Lord' (which in writing was abbreviated in various ways). The rendering of this medieval abbreviation by a transcription of the Tetragrammaton is, therefore, incorrect. To No. 4 (and index): The date is 1102. To No. 123: Unless the year 5000 is intended, the *mem* ought to be followed by a *vaw*. However, the facsimile seems to confirm the suggested reading *shin*. If, by any chance, the mason (or the writer of the MS from which he worked) had accidentally omitted the *vaw*, then the *shin* is the initial letter of a numeral. It could not have been *sh*, *ss*, *sb*, *smn*, of course (sixteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first centuries). *Shy m'wt* is unlikely because the shape of the letters is not compatible with a date after 1440: If the *shin* were the initial of a digit, the date would be 1243, 1246, 1247, or 1248. Accordingly, it seems preferable to leave the date open. To No. 129: The suggested reconstruction of *bwtb l* as *ywbl bwtb l'wlmw* does not seem to me to be correct, the more so as 'May he rest for his eternity' is not a likely meaning. To No. 131: The last sign in the inscription appears to be the upper part of a *vaw* but a *yodh* is not impossible. As far as can be made out from the facsimile this was

the last letter in the line, so that the date would be 1148 or 1150. If, however, that was not so and it was followed by another letter then the sign might be part of a *gimel*, *hē*, *teḥ*, *nūn*, *ayin*, or *pe*, which would make the date 1143, 1145, 1149, 1190, 1210, or 1220. *To No. 168 (A)*: Line 1: If the left edge of the stone is preserved—and there can be hardly any doubt that it is—then there is insufficient space here for the suggested letters *sm*, both of which are large. Apart from that, we would be confronted by the problem as to whether the substitution of *hsm* for the Tetragrammaton or for 'God' (Deut. xxviii, 58) was in use at that particular period in that region. Line 2: The first letter looks very unlike the *nūn* in lines 3, 4, and 6; could it perhaps be a distorted specimen of such a *yodh* as the first one in line 3? But that does not seem to contribute to a satisfactory reading of the word. One is tempted to read []*thym* but the sign in question is very unlike the *lamedh*s in lines 3 and 7, and it is hardly possible to have the word divided over two lines, with the *aleph* standing by itself at the end of line 1. The next two words are *sr mr* 'he turned away from evil' (Job i, 1). The reading of lines 3–5 is *np̄r mywm 'brut ngy m'byrut* and the translation 'he departed from the day of wrath, [he was] pure of transgressions'. 'The day of wrath' (Job xxi, 30) suggests a reference to an event of general import, undisguised and completely intelligible to contemporaries. *To No. 169*, line 2: Misprint: *byšybt* instead of *byšybh*. *To No. 181*: The date seems to be *ttqw* (1148) or *ttsw* (1108) but the final letter might also be *heḥ* or *hē*; in the case of *ttq*: *heḥ*, *hē*, or *yodh* (i.e., the years 1148, 1145, 1150; 1108, 1105). *To No. 205*, line 6: The *pe* seems to be of the same type as in line 3. If so, it has not the final form and must therefore have been followed on the part of the stone that is broken off by one of the first nine letters of the alphabet. If the reading *t* '400' is accepted the date would be 919–28. *To No. 240*, line 2: The initial letters are *qr*—obviously the end of the word *hyqr*. The sequence *hyqr hnkbd* is a common one. The gap in line 1, no doubt, contained the word *hknbd*: it would fit into the available space, together with an ensuing *daleth*. The original right-hand edge of the stone is missing. This is also clear from the fact that there are no framing lines on the right. But probably not much is lost. Isaac is evidently the father of Moses and there were presumably no further honorifics before *hyqr hnkbd* so that we have only to supply *bn*.¹ The naming of the thing which Moses caused to be made or built, i.e. the

¹ *br[by]* is, of course, impossible because it would have to come immediately in front of the name, not be separated from it by honorifics.

grammatical object of the verb ('*sh*'), must have been in the lost right-hand part. According to our reconstruction of line 2 (*bn hy*) there was room for only about four letters. The second line might have been slightly longer than the first, as it is on the left-hand edge. So it might perhaps have been something like *'t h... hzh/hz't*, possibly *'t hbyt hzh*. *To No. 258*, line 2: The last of the suggested readings seems best. The name is Judah and he is the father of Jacob. Yehud is hardly possible and Yehudi most unlikely: What should the designation 'Jew' do on a Jewish tombstone? *To No. 265*: The text of this amulet shows some features which make its Jewish origin suspect. *Rwh qdwš* instead of *rwh hquš*: from the facsimile it is clear that there is no room for the article, the *qoph* following the *heḥ* without any gap. This means that *rwh* is erroneously construed as masc. What is '*šry*? A construct without its complement? Does *mnw'l* (and for that matter, some of the other words) occur in Jewish amulets? Or is *mnw'l* simply the Spanish 'Manuel'? And is that based on the Christian messianic interpretation of Is. vii, 14? What is *šwb* (translated 'Ultior o restauracion')? Many spellings are unusual: '*lh*' (instead of '*lh*' 'God'), *hkm* (*hkmh*), *ršyt* (*r'šyt*); what is normally, in Jewish usage, written *plene* is here defective and vice versa: *šb* (instead of *šwb*), *šp̄* (*šwph*), *hy* (*hwq*), *r* ('*wr*'), *šb't* (*šb'wš*); not one of the angels escapes injury: *g'bry'l*, *rph'l*, *mykh'l*, *b'rky'l*, and, finally, *wry'l*: it seems hardly possible that a Jew should have started a word with *waw* as a 'vowel letter'. Even assuming that the amulet was made by a non-Jewish artist from a Jewish MS, he would not have found in it the form of the *lamedh* we see here—the top and bottom strokes parallel and vertical. Finally: *yšw'* is not an abstract noun (the facsimile seems to exclude the reading *yšw'h* or even *yš'h*); it is a name, and here, obviously, the name Jesus of the NT not of the OT. All this makes the Christian origin of the item practically certain. *To No. 257*: It is very striking that both sides of this disc contain a Latin legend, and that each is a passage from the Vulgate: Our amulet is evidently not a Jewish one but the work of a Renaissance humanist. *To No. 269*: There are a number of striking features: The disc contains words in two Gentile languages—Latin and Greek; the Hebrew is quite untraditional (not Biblical, Mishnaic, or Rabbinic) and its obscurities cannot be explained as Cabbalistic; the youthful, laurel-crowned, beardless, hatless, Renaissance head: all these things point unmistakably to Christian origin. And yet the acrostic on the name Benjamin ben Elijah seems to be beyond doubt. Did perhaps

learned non-Jewish friends have the medallion struck for him? Who was he and where did he live? The nineteenth-century scholars who wrote about him gave the name Beer¹ after Elijah. Beer is Ashkenazic. An Ashkenazic individual might have lived in any country. The largest Ashkenazic community outside central and eastern Europe was in northern Italy, and the style of the medallion is described as Italian. It was found in Lyons. Whatever the explanation, there is evidently no connexion with Spain. This item should not, therefore, have been included in the corpus. *To No. 270* (of which there is no facsimile): This is described as containing a bust of Moses and that would not favour the idea of Jewish provenance, in spite of the legend, Exod. xx, 3. *To No. 272*: The case is not very different for the King Solomon piece. *To No. 276*: This item is not of Spanish but of Italian origin, and is thus outside the scope of this book. *To No. 279*: The initial letter of the last word seems to be an *ayin*. Apart from the first word (*mlk*) the facsimile is not legible.

We should like to conclude these remarks on a note of thanks: We are deeply indebted to Professors Cantera and Millás for having given us this monumental work. It is to be hoped that their example may be followed by other scholars in dealing with the inscriptions of other Jewish groups. The Ashkenazic material would offer a specially rewarding field, being much richer for the corresponding centuries (eleventh to fourteenth) than that of the Sephardim. From the two towns of Mainz and Worms alone, the files of the present reviewer contain records of 195 dated tombstones, as against the 32 from Spain.² Let us hope the compilation of such a work will not be

¹ In the encyclopaedias he appears under Beer, as if that were his surname. Around 1500 the Ashkenazim had no surnames. So if Beer is a name it would be a second personal name of his father: Elijah Beer ben X. But double-barrelled personal names were very rare at that time (apart from certain doublets, e.g. Judah Lëb [= 'lion', cf. Gen. xlix, 9], or Asher Zëlik [Asher = Zëlik]). Also the spelling with *aleph* instead of *ayin* would be most striking. So perhaps the initial letters *b*, *'*, *r* do not add up to a name.

² Comparative statistics:

	11th cent.	12th cent.	13th cent.	14th cent.
Spain	5	4	7	16
Mainz }	16	57	62	60
Worms }				

The Nos. in the book for the centuries are: eleventh century—Nos. 1-3, 9-10, 106; twelfth century—Nos. 4-6, 107; thirteenth century—Nos. 103, 132, 176, 196, 202, 213, 246; fourteenth century—Nos. 23, 71, 82, 85, 99, 104, 114-5, 168, 170-2, 197, 228, 230-9.

deferred to the year 2408—corresponding to the Spanish interval 1492-1956.

S. A. BIRNBAUM

P. VOORHOEVE (comp.): *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*. (Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti, vii.) xx, 542 pp. Lugduni Batavorum: in Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1957. Guilders 12.

The backbone of the collection of Arabic MSS in the University Library at Leiden is formed by the collections of the seventeenth century scholars Scaliger, Warner, and Golius. Snouck Hurgronje made two valuable additions to this collection, both of Indonesian origin, the Bantën collection in 1906 and the bulk of his manuscripts which came to the Library after his death. Mr. C. Adriaanse, chargé d'affaires for the Netherlands at Djidda, 1932-6, bought on behalf of the Library some 55 MSS of Yemenite provenance. The early Arabic collections, together with MSS in some other Oriental languages, were originally described by Dozy and de Goeje in a series of volumes comprising the *Catalogus codicum orientalium* issued during the years 1851-77. The fifth volume of this series comprised also descriptions of other Arabic collections in the Netherlands to be found at Groningen, Deventer, Leeuwarden, the Museum Meermanno-Westhervianum (affiliated to the Royal Library at the Hague), the 'Societas Remonstrantium' of Amsterdam, and the Zeeuwsch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen at Middelburg. (This last collection was, unfortunately, destroyed during the Second World War.) A second edition of the parts of the catalogue referring to Arabic MSS was brought out by de Goeje, Houtsma, and Juynboll in the *Catalogus codicum arabicorum* during the years 1888-1907, but this edition stopped short at the first part of the second volume, leaving unpublished some 21 sections of the total of 35.

Dr. Voorhoeve has now performed a most valuable service on behalf of all Arabists in compiling the present handlist which to all intents and purposes represents a complete catalogue of all Arabic manuscripts in Holland, with the minor exception of those few that may be in private hands. It is arranged, like the Browne Cambridge Catalogues, in two parts, the first comprising all the titled manuscripts arranged in alphabetical order, and the

second listing in accordance with the classified arrangement used in the early catalogues all those manuscripts which have no definite title. The bare minimum of detail is given—title, author, foliation, reference to published catalogues—and the handlist is modestly described by its compiler as a 'makeshift', but it is obviously all that could practically be achieved at the present time, and it is surely preferable to publish a brief catalogue in the present form, than to wait decades or even whole centuries for a detailed *catalogue raisonné* such as our great libraries have produced in the past. An index of personal names is provided which, like the book, is very much on the austere side, giving reference only to the title (or page numbers in the classified section) where the name is to be found; thus it is frequently necessary to look in at least two places, not counting cross-references. Much labour would have been spared the consulter of the work, though not the compiler, if each entry could have been numbered consecutively and these numbers used for reference in the index.

We may hope that Dr. Voorhoeve's work will have many imitators in all Western countries where Oriental MSS are preserved. Germany has prepared a scheme for the cataloguing of the Oriental manuscript collections in both zones of that country and considerable advances have been made in Poland, as Dr. Streleyn has recently explained.

The handlist is embellished on p. 471 with a photographic reproduction of a page from the well-known *Glossarium latino-arabicum* which, on the authority of specialists in the West Gothic script we are now invited to date in the tenth century A.D., and to regard as the earliest document of Arabic studies in Europe. No mention, however, appears to be made of this important MS in the handlist. The bibliographer will note with interest that on pp. 412 and 413 are recorded catalogues of Arabic manuscripts in Mecca and Medina.

J. D. PEARSON

PHILIPPE LIPPENS: *Expédition en Arabie centrale*. xi, 215 pp., 24 plates, map. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1956. \$4.41.

The Arabian expedition of H. St. J. B. Philby and both G. and J. Ryckmans in 1951-2 has, as compared with the Wendell Phillips expeditions further south, attracted little attention and received hardly any publicity. Yet with its small personnel and relatively meagre

expenditure of money and equipment, it has achieved the distinction of discovering ancient Arabian inscriptions of the highest historical importance. The expedition had the incomparable initial advantage, of course, of drawing upon Mr. Philby's long experience and thorough understanding of Sa'udi Arabia; his character, in fact, permeates the entire book and his lively preface brings vividly home the atmosphere of eager purpose in pursuit of the past. The author also, however, conveys something of the quiet presence of the *chanoine* Ryckmans, and the energy of the younger members of the expedition, Jacques Ryckmans and himself. A charming colour photograph (p. 88) of the explorers sitting at breakfast in Wadi Haniq—exactly the same type of scenery as that of Southern Arabia—reminds one of the sing-song sound of muttered prayers in the early morning, the smell of burning thorn and coffee, the revving up of engines, rather tiny against the intense silence, the chill of early morning, and the first fierceness of the sun.

The text is a simple travelogue, the stages of which can be traced on the end map, south to Abha of 'Asir, Najran, the Yemeni border, and north, eventually to Riyadh. Most of the ground had already been covered by Mr. Philby in previous expeditions, particularly in *Arabian highlands*, but M. Lippens' description is a necessary piece of documentation, and is graced by two introductions, for Professor Ryckmans has contributed his foreword also.

If the account cannot include any 'adventures' it is for two reasons—the first Sa'udi Arabia knows a security to-day which it has never known before, but secondly says M. Lippens, quoting the French explorer Charcot, 'Une expédition qui a des aventures est souvent une expédition mal préparée'. There is, however, surely adventure enough in the discovery of 13,000 inscriptions and graffiti, the booty of the expedition.

'Soudain', says the author, 'j'entends le chanoine appeler Jacques. Il a un tel accent d'intérêt passionné dans la voix que je les rejoins à l'extrémité sud du cirque. Crayon en bataille, le chanoine escalade sans appréhension une paroi de 6 mètres. Il vient de découvrir martelée dans le rocher, une inscription historique du roi sabéen Abraha, d'origine abyssine.' This, then, was an account by Abraha, king of Saba and Ḥaḍramawt, of his Spring campaign against the territory in which the inscription was found in the year A.D. 547. Another inscription at Kaukab, dated 518, tells of a resounding victory of Dhū Nuwās. For the Arabist the magnitude of such a discovery needs no comment.

Some minor points of interest are the word *ḫaṣm* which I should have read as *ḫuṣm*, as a physical feature, also in common use

further south, further notes on the Wādī Ukhdūd which I believe must be connected with the *khadūd* of Ḥaḍramawt, a type of field, the use of *qaw* (p. 50) in greetings, also common amongst South Arabian Bedouin in the forms *quwīkum*, *qaw al-kull*, etc. The red dresses of the Dawāair women are also common further south, and there is an Islamic *ḥadīth* against the wearing of a red dress which might be worth re-examination when one considers how widely red is worn by Bedouin women. In regard to the vanished site of Ubar one might perhaps refer to the passage in al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1944), vi, 215-16 where Wabār is mentioned along with al-Dahnā' and Ramal Yabrīn. The Dīnn there are supposed to throw dust in the face of all who attempt to reach it; there are other legendary details of some interest.

Finally Mr. Philby says something of the changing conditions of nomads and of the sedentary peoples which the expedition was able to study. The horse has almost disappeared, camels are only used for transport over short distances, for meat, wool, and milk. The country is being rapidly stripped of wood for the kitchens of the towns and even game has retired to places inaccessible to the hunter. Such conditions are true of all present day Arabia.

B. B. SERJEANT

A. S. TRITTON: *Materials on Muslim education in the Middle Ages*. xii, 209 pp. London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1957. 35s.

This book gives a very wide meaning to the 'Middle Ages' for, as the author says, it 'deals with education in Islam from the beginning till the introduction of modern methods'. One finds references to teaching as early as the first century of Islam and as late as the eighteenth century A.D. But if one may question the correctness of the use of 'Middle Ages', there can be no question about the use of 'Materials' in the title, for the main purpose of the work is obviously to present a variety of items of information on the subject of Muslim education. In collecting these items the author has combed a very wide range of literature for relevant material. He deals with elementary and advanced education, with teachers and taught, with the theory of education and the classification of studies, with scholastic life and institutions, with the education of women and the attitude of educationists to Christians and Jews. He finishes by discussing such disciplines as

literature, philosophy, and the sciences, and providing information about books.

While the various aspects of the subject are dealt with separately the method of treatment is inclined to be somewhat disconnected, consisting largely of a number of details thrown together, sometimes without indicating the period to which reference is made. Many details are given without naming the person or persons concerned, sometimes with and sometimes without an indication of the dates, but this is done purposely, for the preface says, 'As far as possible, names of persons have been left out; this may cause some aridity in the narrative but it avoids an index full of ghosts'.

One may question the order in which the material is presented. For example, in the chapter on 'The theory', a reference to Nawawī (d. 676/1278) attending twelve classes daily is followed by a quotation from Abū Ḥanīfa. Next come some views expressed by Jāhiz, then after reference to the training of sufi novices, Ibn Khaldūn is quoted at length. Nuwairī, Ghazālī, and others are next quoted. While the information provided is interesting and important, one would appreciate its presentation in more strictly chronological order to indicate whether there was any development in the theory. Incidentally, in this chapter (p. 70), and in the index Ibn al-'Arabī is called al-Ma'ārifī. It should be al-Ma'āfirī.

Professor Tritton says that 'education suffered from the belief that the ancients knew everything, that the first generation of Muslims was the best, that a teacher could only pass on what he had received so no advance was possible'. In general this may be taken as a fair summing up, but it suffers from the weakness of all generalizations. So far as the conventional training of children and of those who followed the normal advanced curricula was concerned, there was a tendency to be overawed by respect for the past and to feel no need to venture on new paths. But the translation of Greek works into Arabic and the discussions, both philosophic and scientific, which followed must have had an effect on the most advanced stages of education. With regard to the sciences Professor Tritton acknowledges that Muslims made progress, but he has not been successful in discovering much information about their methods of teaching. One would expect that the progress made would have some effect on both the methods and the content of the teaching.

The question of payment for teaching seems to present rather conflicting views. There was quite a strong feeling that teachers should not receive payment, but obviously this could not be followed in practice. There was an under-

standable disapproval of receiving payment for teaching the Qur'ān and it is suggested that the disapproval was extended to all teaching because boys would presumably begin to learn writing by copying verses from the Qur'ān. That is possible, but there are so many pious views expressed regarding what should and what should not be done, that one wonders whether the objection to payment was not merely one of such views which did not affect actual practice. Obviously teachers, like other people, must live, and unless teaching is just a spare time job undertaken as a form of voluntary service, they must be paid. Professor Tritton remarks that frequent references occur in biographies to the fact that people took no pay for teaching. That in itself is sufficient to suggest that payment was the normal practice. Otherwise, the biographies ought to mention the acceptance of payment rather than the refusal to accept it.

A classified bibliography is supplied, but it does not include all the books mentioned in the footnotes. Most of those which are not detailed will be easily recognized by scholars, but younger people who are approaching the study may find it difficult to know where to look for some of the authorities quoted. There is also an index arranged in five sections.

This work is the result of wide research which has obviously left no likely source of information untapped.

JAMES ROBSON

OLEG GRABAR: *The coinage of the Tūlūnids*. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 139.) x, 78 pp., 3 plates. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1957. \$3.

The Tūlūnids were a renowned local dynasty who ruled in Egypt from A.D. 868 to 905, their success contributing to the impending disintegration of the Baghdad caliphate. Their coinage, as Dr. Grabar reminds us, acquired in later years an almost legendary value, as a symbol of a golden interlude between the rule of the various overlords to whom the country was successively subject. On the basis of the Philadelphia University Museum, the American Numismatic Society, and other collections, Dr. Grabar has compiled the first systematic corpus of the Tūlūnid coinage since that published by E. T. Rogers in 1877, since when many new types have come to light. The author classifies 97 varieties, predominantly in gold, which he illustrates with three good plates. This part of the monograph, in which Dr. Grabar has enjoyed

the assistance of that acknowledged master, Dr. G. C. Miles, is a model of accuracy and scholarly concision.

The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the commentary, which greatly exceeds in size the modest corpus. Coins can illuminate many a dark period of history: Bactria and early Islamic Central Asia form a case in point. They can throw light on economic conditions, political relationships, and religious beliefs, and record the names and dates of rulers otherwise unknown. This is not the case with the Tūlūnid period in Egyptian history, fairly well documented as it is by written sources making the numismatic material, which follows conventional Islamic models, seem reticent and jejune. Instead of giving us a connected picture of the Tūlūnid kingdom based on the manuscripts and monograph studies, in which we are left to delve for ourselves, Dr. Grabar launches into a dissertation on Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn's 'political and ideological relationship' to the caliphate, arguing that his life and career 'indicate a high degree of religious consciousness in all his activities'. Instead of using the historical and economic background to supplement and illustrate his list of coins, Dr. Grabar prefers to speculate on 'the ideological or theoretical frame within which this history took place'. Now numismatics is, or aspires to be, an exact science. Diffuse reflexions about whether the caliph 'felt the same way' or some other way in relation to Ahmad may be interesting, but this has little bearing on the coins and serves rather to confuse the issue. Dr. Grabar has a fondness for asking questions to which neither he, nor, perhaps, the reader knows the answer. Did the Tūlūnid dynastic coin device or 'trademark' originate in Egypt? Could a difficult word on certain coins be a metrological term? Or are we dealing here with some symbol? What led to the specific choice of mints? What was the function of coins struck in these mints in the economy and life of Tūlūnid controlled lands? Were the towns chosen indiscriminately? Were the capitals of the provinces chosen because the coins were actually struck there? Some of the questions asked are obvious, even trivial. Others it was Dr. Grabar's job to answer.

The impression given by this monograph is of a sound piece of numismatic scholarship, overweighted by an unbearably disjointed and verbose commentary which it should have been the editors' task to prune into proper shape. It is an unhappy example of what happens when relatively scanty material is inflated out of all proportion to its intrinsic significance for the sake of a fattish opus.

D. M. LANG

H. A. R. GIBB and HAROLD BOWEN: *Islamic society and the West: a study of the impact of Western civilization on Moslem culture in the Near East. Vol. one. Islamic society in the eighteenth century. Part II.* vii, 285 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1957. 35s.

The Part under review completes the first volume of this work, the preliminary 'survey of the social institutions in Turkey and its Arab provinces, prior to the introduction of Western influences'. There are chapters on taxation and finance, the 'religious institution', the 'ulemā', the administration of law, education, religious endowments, the Der-vishes, and the *dhimmis*. The first chapter includes a section on the currency which has the rare merit of being intelligible to the reader who is not a numismatist, and for which I for one am very grateful.

The character and scope of the work are sufficiently known from Part I, published in 1950 and reviewed in *BSOAS*, xvi, 3, 1954. In relation to the theme of the whole, Part II, being so much concerned with religion, is of great importance, for many peculiar features of the Ottoman reaction to the West are attributable to the 'religious institution' and the *millet* system. On the social function of religion, and on such complex subjects as the interaction of the Imperial Treasury with the feudal system and the decline of the 'ulemā', the authors' remarks are admirable for the clarity and balance with which they explain and assess the factors involved, and they could be read with profit by students of any period of Islamic history. The picture is inevitably blurred in detail and parts of the book are in some danger of falling between two stools, giving enough details to confuse the reader, but necessarily in a work of this scope, not enough to constitute a summary of all the important evidence. Thus we read on p. 2 that the produce of salt-works was among the revenues 'originally accruing to the Sultans'. If this is to be elaborated by the information on pp. 19 and 20 (with which we may now compare *Archiv Orientalní*, xxiv, 1956, 579) we should also take account of, for instance, the statement of Kyprianos that the salt lakes of Larnaca and Limassol were *mukāta'as* allocated to the payment of the janissaries stationed in Cyprus. But perhaps it is unfair to criticize a preliminary survey in this way. It may be that the reasons for this treatment will be apparent when the work is complete.

One obvious criticism is forestalled by the authors' admission that 'in several sectors

our expositions, in this as in the preceding volume, are being or likely to be quickly overtaken by current research'. This is more than ever true now that greater interest is being taken in the archives of the Turkish period by scholars in central and south-eastern Europe whose researches often appear in journals neither readily accessible nor usually intelligible to most British orientalisks. This is especially relevant to the chapters on taxation and on the *dhimmis*. In the latter the authors seem not to have used Fortescue's convenient handbooks, let alone the writings of scholars like Professor Dvornik, and have relied at times on encyclopaedia articles, some of which have suffered severely from compression and editorial mutilation.

Care has been taken to make this book easy to use and intelligible to the historian without a knowledge of oriental languages. It will, needless to say, be invaluable to the student of the history of the Arabic speaking countries who knows no Turkish and so has not access to the surveys available in that language.

There are a few inconsistencies in regard to proper names. There is no point in using both Ragusa and Dubrovnik. If we are to say Trebizond for Trabzon, why not Edessa for Urfa? Aghthamar, or the more common but less correct Akhtamar, would have been preferable to Aghtamin (p. 221, n. 3, and p. 227, n. 1). We are grateful to the authors for providing each Part with its own index. This is fairly comprehensive, though it could have been a little fuller (e.g. the reference to Aghtamin on p. 221 is not indexed) and, wherever I have tested it, it has been accurate. The text is happily innocent of a reference to the 'Patriarchate' of St. Petersburg which it contains. A cross-reference from Sarajevo to Bosna Sarayi would have been worth while.

The following are points of detail. '[Public] warehouses were sometimes termed . . . *mangan* (from the Greek *makhinē*) meaning "a press"' (p. 8, n. 2). *Makhinē* is no doubt a misprint for *mēkhanē*, but this is itself a mistake of Redhouse, s.v. *مَكْنَة*, for *manganon*. 'It [i.e. the tribute] was first paid regularly by Wallachia in 1417, by Ragusa in 1459, and by Moldavia in 1511' (p. 17). If the authors mean to refer to the time at which a recurrent tribute was first paid, these dates are all too late. Wallachia agreed to pay it in 1391 after the captivity of Mircea the Old, Ragusa after the conquest of Serbia, and Moldavia in 1455. On the other hand, the date 1459 for Ragusa suggests that the intention is to give the dates at which tributary status became more or less permanent; but even if we ignore Michael

the Brave, the subjugation of Wallachia cannot be called definitive before the downfall of Vlad the Impaler. The next sentence mentions the 'kingdom' of Transylvania; those rulers of Transylvania who used the title *rex*, did so as Kings of Hungary. The ruler of Transylvania as a separate state was a *princeps*. 'Scholars, before or after making the Pilgrimage, frequently spent some months or years in the Hijāz' (p. 156, n. 2); no authority or instance is quoted. It must surely have been rare for Muslims to spend years in the Hijāz before performing the Pilgrimage. The *umra* they could not postpone without being very uncomfortable, and it is hard to believe that they often postponed the Hajj beyond the first chance of completing it. On p. 181 we read that Imā'ilī 'revolutionary propaganda . . . gave birth to . . . the Carmathians', an opinion which, stated thus without qualification, few scholars would accept. The Bulgarian Patriarchate was not, as stated on p. 215, 'allowed to persist' after the conquests of Basil II. The see of Ochrida retained great autonomy but ceased to be a Patriarchate and did not become one again until the thirteenth century. The lucid account of the four main divisions of Jews in the Empire might have been supplemented with a mention of the absorption of the Ashkenazim by the Sephardim and a reference to Heyd's article (*Oriens*, vi, 2, 1953). 'It [i.e. the Orthodox Church] was governed by an oligarchy of patriarchs each of whom enjoyed a position within his diocese [sic] like that of the Catholic Pope' (p. 224). As no Orthodox Patriarch claims to be 'Vicar of Jesus Christ, Successor of the Chief of the Apostles, Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church', it is not easy to see what this is meant to convey. Perhaps the authors mean only that the Pope is himself a Patriarch.

The proofs have been read with care. I have noted the following points which might mislead the student. The events which 'brought fresh life' to the Hanbalī *madhhab* must refer to the Wahhābī revival of the eighteenth, not the nineteenth century (p. 74). The Tsarina Sophia, Zoe Palaeologa, was the niece of Constantine XI, not the daughter of Constantine IX; her father was the Despot Thomas of the Morea (p. 209, n. 2, and index). On p. 222, n. 4, for Michael VII, read VIII. On p. 228 for 1256, read 1258. The date of the Treaty of Passarowitz should be 1718, not 1715 (p. 243). On p. 247 and in the index, for Julius II read III. 1475 'when the Venetians succeeded to the Lusignan dynasty' (p. 225) should be altered either to 1473 or to 1489, accordingly as the authors wish to reckon Venetian rule from the accession or the abdication of Caterina Cornaro.

These are all minutiae which do not affect the argument of the book and it may seem pedantic to devote space to correcting them, but the auspices under which the book is published, its methodical arrangement, the ease with which it can be consulted, and above all the very high reputation of the authors make it certain that it will be treated as a work of reference in which every statement is liable to be quoted as authoritative.

C. F. BECKINGHAM

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH: *Islam in modern history*. xi, 317 pp. Princetown, N. J.: Princetown University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 40s.

This is an observant and informative book. It bears the marks of a personal experience deeply felt and responded to seriously and sincerely, and is therefore stimulating to read, but there is also something puzzling about it. Its purpose is to explain the problems posed for Muslims living in the modern world by the nature of their religion. Professor Cantwell Smith begins by laying stress on the importance of righteousness in Islam:

'It is in moral behaviour that the human and the divine meet. The eternal Word of God is an imperative' (p. 17).

How men act in the world, and in particular how they act towards each other, is therefore of vital importance. Human society is the field in which man's obedience and disobedience show themselves, and Muslim society is the community which 'has explicitly undertaken to live in accordance with God's plan' (p. 16). Hence the importance for Muslims of history, and of success and failure in history.

'In Islam God had spoken; through it He was acting. The brilliant success of the enterprise confirmed the validity of the whole conception. History confirmed faith' (p. 32)

—or seemed to do so, until the challenges of modern life revealed the inner weakness of the Muslim community, and plunged it into crisis:

'The fundamental spiritual crisis of Islam in the twentieth century stems from an awareness that something is awry between the religion which God has appointed and the historical development of the world which He controls' (p. 41).

How to restore the balance, and set Islamic history going again, so that 'Islamic society may once again flourish as a divinely guided society should and must' (p. 41)? Professor Cantwell Smith describes the answers given

to this question in the modern period: the answer of those who thought it was enough to return to the first purity of Islam, or who denied the existence of the tension by maintaining that nothing was wrong with Islam, or tried to break out of it by movements of violent protest, or wished to resolve it by grafting on to the doctrines of Islam the ideas in which seemed to lie the secret of European success—nationalism and liberalism. In an interesting passage on 'Islamic liberalism' he points out that, while the 'liberals' are almost a dominant minority in most Muslim countries, they have not had a permanent and profound effect on Islamic thought; but perhaps he underrates the extent to which their ideas have permeated and indeed transformed the law, institutions, schools, social life, and political opinion of all except the most backward Muslim countries.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the way in which the problem has presented itself to different national groups—Arab, Turkish, Pakistani, and Indian Muslims. Each group has had a different experience of Islam and of modern history. Thus the response of the Turks to the problem has been conditioned by their unique view of Islamic history. For them, it is not an early splendour followed by a long decline, but an uninterminated process in the later phases of which they have themselves played an active part. This gives them the confidence to abandon the traditions of Islam while not explicitly abandoning Islam itself. Professor Cantwell Smith clearly approves of this forward movement in principle, but sees its dangers:

'... the Turks, in rejecting the *shari'ah*, think of themselves as having discarded only the equivalent of what in Western civilization might be thought of as ecclesiastical positive law. They do not think of having abandoned the equivalent of what is embodied in Western tradition as the concept of natural law. If there is no transcendent justice in the universe to which a man's conscience can appeal, against the empirical actions and even the laws of a society, that man and that society are precarious in the extreme' (pp. 196-7).

The Turks are trying to build a society which is national and Western but also Muslim; Pakistan, by its origin and nature, is committed to the experiment of building an Islamic State. Failure would be fatal for it, and would show that Islam as a social ideal cannot be applied in the modern world. This is a modern version of an old problem, but the problem of the Indian Muslims is wholly new. Alone of large Muslim communities, they are neither wholly deprived of political power nor in undisputed possession

of it. Outnumbered but free, they share citizenship and responsibility with non-Muslims, although the attraction of Pakistan still pulls them away from their fellow-citizens.

Of the four groups, the Indians are those whose past greatness has most irrevocably disappeared; at the other extreme, in Professor Cantwell Smith's view, stand the Arabs, still living in memories of the past and fixed in an attitude of defence against external attack. The dangers of a purely defensive attitude, the temptation to dishonesty which it holds out, are made clear in a brilliant analysis of the periodical of the Azhar, *Majallat al-Azhar*. These are perhaps the most valuable and striking pages of the whole book; but perhaps the abundance of Professor Cantwell Smith's material, or perhaps the desire to give a sharp definition to the various Muslim attitudes, leads him to lay too much emphasis on this type of Muslim apologetics. The writings of Muhammad Farid Wajdi are typical of a certain kind of religious scholar in most Islamic countries, but they are not representative of the central trends in Arab Muslim thinking. The humanism of a Taha Hussein, suffused with a romantic vision of the past; the liberal interpretation of the teaching of Muhammad Abdu; the secularist nationalism propagated by movements as different as the New Destour in Tunis and the Baath in Syria—all these are more typical of the Arab world to-day than is *Majallat al-Azhar*.

This is not an easy book to read. It has at times a cloudy grandiloquence which only gives up its secrets if one reads slowly and more than once; and it is not always easy to disentangle, in the author's exposition, what Muslims think about their religion from what he himself thinks. As one reads, it gradually becomes clear that the book is written from the standpoint of a very personal theory of what Islam is, and what religion is. This theory emerges fully when the author notes, with evident approval, the boldness of the Turks in 'being ready to modify the central convictions and feelings of traditional Islam in their severe adjustment to the realities of modern history' (p. 84), and their 'recognition that, in some senses, the religious task today is creative not only of form but of essence. The truth of religion is itself developing' (p. 170). If this is indeed what the Turks believe, can we still call them Muslims? Yes, replies Professor Cantwell Smith, if they make their adjustments devoutly and responsibly, and with a full acceptance of God's good pleasure. In this acceptance lies the whole essence of Islam; for

'Whatever one may believe about Islam's transcendental essence, yet the earthly manifestation of Islam, both temporal and

spiritual, is the creation of Muslims The Islam that was given by God is not the elaboration of practices and doctrines and forms that outsiders call Islam, but rather the vivid and personal summons to individuals to live their lives always in His presence and to treat their fellow-men always under His judgment' (pp. 306-8).

Put in more general terms, Professor Cantwell Smith believes that the essence of religion is God's call to the individual soul; man's response to that call is free, and is wholly human—not only his forms of worship and his actions in the world, but his beliefs about the nature of God, the relationship of God to man, and what human actions are pleasing to Him. The historical religions are 'accumulating traditions', built up out of these individual responses, and as circumstances change the responses and the traditions alike can and indeed must change.

We do not intend to inquire whether this is a correct view of religion, although we hope Professor Cantwell Smith will some day expound it at length and show how he meets the grave difficulties it raises. We wish merely to ask whether such a theory provides a perspective in which the modern development of Islam can be seen clearly. For most Muslims, the 'Islam that was given by God' includes not only the vivid and personal summons to individuals, but the public and final revelation of a truth and a norm of conduct; faith is the submission of man's will to God, but it is also the assent of his mind to certain propositions about what God wills and how He acts. In some quite precise sense Muhammad is the Prophet of God and the seal of the Prophets, and the Qur'ān is the Speech of God. He may restate these propositions in new words or draw new implications from them, but he cannot, beyond certain limits, 'adjust' them to the 'realities of modern history'. For him, his central convictions *are* the realities of history; and if Islam and the world come into conflict it is the world which must 'adjust' itself. The problem of the believing Muslim in the modern world seems to us then to be more complex and difficult than Professor Cantwell Smith will have it, and his response to it more likely to be controlled by what have always been his 'central convictions'.

ALBERT HOURANI

RICHARD S. HARRELL: *The phonology of colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications, Series B—

Aids—No. 9.) [v], 90 pp. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1957.

This monograph—originally a doctoral dissertation—is wholly welcome. So little work in modern terms has been done in the important field of Arabic linguistics that the appearance of a lucid analysis, whatever one's views on its general theoretical orientation, gives real cause for satisfaction. The book has been carefully edited, and typographical presentation is of a uniformly high standard throughout.

There are a number of points over which issue may be taken with the author; the following is a selection:

p. 15: The circle is too small when final oxytonic prominence is made the condition of final vowel-length and vice versa.

p. 26: The terminological difference between 'dental sibilant' and 'palatal groove fricative' is by no means clear, at any rate to linguists on this side of the Atlantic.

p. 28: If it is thought necessary to include the (surely sporadic) fact that /l/ often has nasal resonance, it is certainly not enough to describe /y/ as 'high front unrounded semi-vowel' without reference to the high degree of palatal friction associated with final position, or to omit from the description of /r/ all reference to the contextually determined amount of trill.

p. 28: It is not true to say that '/q/ is almost non-existent in colloquial speech': on the contrary, voiceless uvular plosion is possibly the most important single mark of 'educated' speech, which is nominally the subject of the analysis.

p. 39: '... examples of /wC/ and /yC/ are usually borrowings from the Classical' and 'in colloquial these diphthongs [sc. Cl. /aw(C)/ and /ay(C)/] have become /o:/ and /e:/ respectively.' Cf. the regular colloquial pattern illustrated by *maʾnuqūd*. This is one of many examples in the book of the 'over-generalization' so frequent in phonemic analysis.

p. 41: It is difficult to see how 'the English ear'—or any other ear—can 'sometimes hear a non-existent vowel between /ʔ/ and /t/ʔ/ in 'dilwaʔta'.

p. 43: (concerning 'clusters of resonants'): 'Final: Non-occurrent are . . . clusters with /y/ as final member.' Cf. *ramy* 'throwing', *ʔawy* 'roasting', etc. Surely the author's criteria of 'transcriptional clarity and distributional simplicity' (p. 28) require the recognition of these as examples of final /Cy/, whatever the phonetic facts relating to the phonemic distinction made between /i/ and /y/.

p. 65: '/iya/ does not occur in ordinary colloquial speech'; cf. *riyaf* 'feathers' (s. *riif/a*), *takwiya* 'ventilation', examples of productive patterns, with which may be contrasted both *mistihiya* 'ripe (fem.)' (masc. *mistihi*) and *ʔagnabiyya* 'foreign (fem.)' (masc. *ʔagnabi*).

p. 73: *farmalla* 'brakes' (underlining indicates the extent of 'emphatic' articulation) is surely less usual than *faraamil* (s. *farmala*).

p. 75: Cantineau's *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre* was published in 1935 and can scarcely, therefore, be said to 'antedate the concept of the phoneme'.

p. 83 ff.: The appendix 'Morphophonological alternation' deals rather sketchily with some very important features. The 'junctural' treatment of -i ʔa- (with 'elision' of (ʔ)), for example, is a notable omission. In this respect the Egyptian colloquial provides an interesting parallel with certain Berber dialects.

p. 85: It is both insufficient and inaccurate to divide 'initial glottal stops' into one which is elided and one which is not, 'the first going back to an original radical /ʔ/, and the second to Classical /q/'; cf. *fiih* ʔeehʔ, *yomeen* ʔagaaza, ʔagaaza-b ʔizm, the possibility of both *ʔamali* eehʔ and *ʔamali* ʔeehʔ, etc.

pp. 87-8: 'To morphemes with allomorphs ending in the pattern /CV(:)CVC/ (e.g. *saafir* 'he travelled') correspond allomorphs of pattern /CVCC/ before a suffix of form /VC/'. Again the analysis has not gone far enough: with *maasik-maska* 'grasping' should be contrasted *malik-malika* 'king'-queen', which may in turn be compared with the different behaviour and vowel-pattern of *wihsaf-wihsa* 'unpleasant'.

Worthy of more detailed notice is the author's treatment of stress, final gemination, and 'emphasis'.

Contrary to the usual opinion of Arabic speakers stress is of the greatest interest and importance in Arabic phonology, and its special status, at least as far as eastern varieties of Arabic are concerned, is nowhere better shown than in Egyptian. Phonemics, however, does not provide a satisfactory conceptual or terminological framework for handling it. Since 'the position of the stress is not completely predictable in terms of other phonological elements [it] must be accepted as a phoneme'. This is to distort a picture in which stress—as, in part, vowel-quality—is part of the syllable structure of the whole word, surely a most interesting characteristic of the language. Those comparatively rare forms which do not lend themselves to a formulation covering 90% of the word-material are nevertheless perfectly regular

provided presentation is made within a framework of grammatical division. Similarly, the regularly paroxytonic *subuʕa*, *libisa*, etc., should not be dismissed as an inconvenient 'handful of lexical items'; rather do they exemplify the association of paroxytonic stress with a sequence of two close vowels in the first two syllables, contrasting phonologically with e.g. *kātaba* 'clerks', *ʕinaba* 'grape', etc., and grammatically with e.g. *kūtubu(h)* 'his books'. No doubt phonemics could deal with these facts, but one cannot help feeling that it would be a tortuous process and the feeling is strengthened by the fact that here at any rate the issue has been avoided.

The author makes a real contribution by drawing attention to the fact that in the past difference between final gemination and non-gemination has usually been accepted too readily. Apart from a need to remind him, however, that pedagogical statement presents its own problems to be solved in its own terms, it is also necessary to say once again that it is the demerit—and, paradoxically enough, the merit also—of phonemics that it selects from a given articulatory complex only those features that lend themselves readily to representation in terms of roman letters. Dr. Harrell can hardly be unaware of difference between the final stops of, say, *mustaʕid* and *mufʕid*, or of the length-difference between the penultimate vowels of *mustaʕid* and *murtáʕid*; it is in such cases that instrumental findings are particularly valuable, and it is a pity that the book is lacking in this respect. The author's opinions tend here and there to be somewhat sweeping: in the same way as many Aden speakers will observe a difference of final consonant length between, say, *ʕad* 'he counted' and *ʕadd* 'cheek', and a difference of length in respect of the final nasal in *fam(m)* 'mouth' is regularly observable between Benghazi and Jebel speakers in Cyrenaica, so there are speakers of Egyptian Arabic—among them educated ones—for whom the final plosive release differs as between *ʕad* 'he took' and *ʕadd* 'cheek'. So, having heeded Dr. Harrell's timely warning, let us beware equally of dogmatism and of swinging too far on the pendulum the other way.

The phonetic description accorded to 'emphasis' is not sufficiently detailed and the stress placed on 'pharyngeal striction' is misleading. The general flattening of the tongue noticeable in the production of an 'emphatic' consonant inevitably involves little volume of air in the pharynx, but this is equally true of a back open vowel (in contrast with, say, a front close one), a fact to which we are not accustomed to refer. It would not matter so much if we did not need some such

term as 'pharyngeal striction' elsewhere; it would be quite wrong to describe ħ and ʕ as 'emphatic', yet this is all too often done and indeed the equation is inherent in Dr. Harrell's use of terminology. On the other hand, the analysis of 'emphasis' as a prosodic feature is wholly laudable, though the author has not seen that 'non-emphasis'—itself a positive term with positive phonetic correlates—must then also be so analysed. /t/, for example, summarizes important features in addition to voicelessness, dentality, and occlusion, among them a 'clear' or 'i-like' tongue position, narrowing along the whole length of the tongue, and lip-spreading. All this is not without consequence for the 'inventory of phonemes' (p. 25), which might be altered to include either 'emphatic' phonemes or—and this is probably a better answer in view of the distribution of 'emphasis' in the language as a whole—two open vowel phonemes in parallel with the close front-back distinction. Phonemics is at its best when providing spellings; it is an unusual feature of this book that it does not do so.

Dr. Harrell is a very aware linguist who is doing notable work. It is to be hoped that he will not ascribe the criticisms made in this review to the 'esthetic prejudices' (p. 52) of the reviewer but will accept them as made by one who believes that this is a valuable book which makes a real contribution to its field of study.

T. F. MITCHELL

HENRI FLEISCH: *L'arabe classique: esquisse d'une structure linguistique*. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tom. v.) [ii], 156 pp. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1956 [pub. 1957]. Lebanese piastres 1,500.

This good, well produced little book is divided into two parts, phonetics and morphology, of which the second is much the longer. There is a great deal that can be said about classical Arabic under the heading of morphology, so specialist or non-specialist, beginner or expert, all can be grateful to Father Fleisch for his lucid and scholarly exposition. Other merits apart, the book has considerable worth as a work of ready reference.

It is perhaps a pity that traditional practice is followed and the field of syntax virtually ignored—it is, after all, from comparison of textual elements of more than word-size that word-classes derive. The use, and therefore the meaning, of numerals, for example, can only be demonstrated satisfactorily within a syntactical

framework. It is likewise the association of the syntagm with the article (in contrast with other possibilities) that marks *as-ṣanamu q-ḡahabu* (p. 79) as Noun-Adjective. It will be seen from the author's explanation in terms of 'la facilité plus grande d'utiliser un nom dans un emploi prédictif ou comme apposition' that the 'structure' of the sub-title is being used in one continental European sense and not in that associated with the work of most British and American linguists to-day. Father Fleisch is quite consistent when on p. 71 he writes his warning 'que l'on ne prenne donc pas des rapprochements de grammaire descriptive pour une explication linguistique', though one may beg leave to disagree with the implication that 'linguistic explanation' is exclusively historical; like any other 'explanation', it may properly be said to be 'comparative' in the sense in which 'comparison' has been used earlier in this paragraph.

It is difficult to be satisfied with a 'structure' that only has 'une réalité dans la conscience du sujet parlant' and with the resultant method of establishing grammatical categories on the basis of supposedly universal categories of experience. The terms 'tense' and 'aspect', for example, are available to us for use in the designation of analysed categories; we do not need somewhat fancifully to ask '... les usagers de la langue arabe vivent-ils en dehors du temps?', nor to answer 'Ils savent fort bien localiser dans le temps leur discours'. The rule-of-thumb requirement that tense distinctions recognized in a given language should be applicable to any aspect is satisfactorily met in Arabic, in which the so-called verbal 'forms' may properly be designated in aspectual terms. Syntactical analysis would call, too, for the recognition of categories which might reasonably be termed 'auxiliary of aspect' and 'aspectual particle', while, still under the general heading of 'Aspect', phonological statement is sometimes called for (cf. the association of uvular plosion with or without emphatic and/or pharyngeal articulation in the several 'verbs of cutting').

In the phonetics section, the statements that 'Le ħ n'est que sourd' and 'Les consonnes faibles w et y sont sonores; de même les liquides r et l ' are false, if intended, as they clearly are, to be of over-all validity without reference to context. It is hard to agree, too, with the differential classification of ğ and ḥ as 'vélaire' and q as 'uvulovélaire'; had it not been for the inclusion of 'uvulovélaire', one might reasonably have translated 'vélaire' as 'uvular' and all would have been well, but the reviewer has yet to hear a form of Arabic in which the fricatives in question are not describable, and only describable, as uvular: Sibawayhi's descriptions cannot be taken to

justify the suggested classification, nor is the fact of pharyngeal plosion for *q* (as, for example, at Fez in Morocco) of any relevance. On the subject of 'emphasis', one can only justify the statement that the system of 'emphatics' is 'très complet pour la région dentale', if one selects from the articulatory complex that is 'emphasis' those features which are associated with the denti-alveolar zone and lend themselves to both transcription and transliteration in roman terms; there is, of course, more to phonetics than the relating of sounds to letters, Arabic or roman. The syllable is rightly given separate treatment, but the opportunity is lost of pointing out the relationship between syllable structure, prominence, and vowel-quality. Attention is rightly given to the association of vowel-length and syllable structure, but the statement that in the case of long vowels in closed syllables 'il est probable que la coupe syllabique s'instituait de manière à laisser la voyelle longue . . . en syllable ouverte: 'ih-mā-rra . . .' is unacceptable; long vowels in closed syllables are common in certain dialects (e.g. among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica).

The author has set out to write for a very wide public, always a difficult task. It says a great deal for Father Fleisch's erudition that his book contains so little to which a reader in any of the categories he seeks to serve can take exception, and that it is at once so complete and so concise. This is not the first debt we owe to him; nor is it the least.

T. F. MITCHELL

GILBERT LAZARD: *Grammaire du persan contemporain*. x, 297 pp., errata sheet. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1957. Fr. 2,400.

Mr. T. F. Mitchell, in *BSOAS*, xix, 2, 1957, 382, has already called attention to our debt to the C.N.R.S., and M. Lazard's *Grammaire du persan contemporain* is another admirable work produced with the aid of that institution. In the preface, M. Lazard explains that his grammar, though written at the beginning of 1954, was not published until 1957, owing to various printing delays. He was not, therefore, able to take cognizance of several recent works on Persian grammar; the most important of these is Professor A. K. S. Lambton's *Persian grammar*, which actually appeared in 1953, but only reached M. Lazard after he had completed his own work.

M. Lazard has divided his work into four sections, phonology, orthography, morphology,

and syntax. The last three sections cover much the same ground as Part I of Professor Lambton's grammar. In the section on phonology M. Lazard examines in considerable detail the differences between the written and the spoken word in modern Persian, and throughout his work he places the emphasis firmly on what he terms 'la langue familière'. His examples are 'for the most part taken from contemporary texts', especially the works (in particular the short stories) of Sadeq Hedayat, Jamalzadeh, and Sadeq Chubak. 'A more traditional literary style' is represented by the short story writer Dashti, by men of letters and philologists such as Malek ol-Sho'ara Bahar, Kasravi, and Minovi, and by newspapers. M. Lazard eschews the language of poetry, and literary forms which have a 'frankly archaic flavour'. In fact, M. Lazard makes it plain that he is but little concerned with what he calls the 'constricted' (*tenu*) style of literary, historical, and didactic works, reviews, newspapers, lectures, and radio. This style, he says, excludes certain forms which are common usage in colloquial Persian, which is clearly his primary interest. His examples, therefore, are taken in the main from those writers who deliberately use the language and idiom of everyday speech, and who devote themselves to reproducing in literary form the racy flavour of colloquial Persian.

M. Lazard's work is thus differentiated both in aim and emphasis from that of Professor Lambton, whose work is 'intended primarily to meet the needs of the student of the Persian language of the present day', but is not principally concerned with colloquial Persian. Professor Lambton has a section on 'Some discrepancies between the spoken and the written word', but states in her preface that the work 'is not intended to be a complete description of modern colloquial idiom'.

M. Lazard expresses the hope that his work will be of use both to teachers and students of Persian, but, unlike Professor Lambton's work, it is not a 'practical grammar'. There are no exercises, and the material is not arranged in a form which can readily be assimilated by the student. As a manual of colloquial Persian, however, M. Lazard's work is extremely valuable, his treatment of his material being at once comprehensive and provocative, as when he suggests that in ordinary speech the difference is not between the traditional 'long' and 'short' vowels but between what he terms 'stable' and 'unstable' vowels. The abundance of examples is an especially useful feature of his book. As regards the system of transliteration adopted by M. Lazard, while in general agreeing that 'in the Tehrani dialect, *q* and *gh* are the same phoneme', one feels that to use *q* to denote both letters is un-

necessarily to confuse the student who is concerned with more than a purely phonetic knowledge of the language. For example, *ghadhā* and *qadhā* both appear as *qazā*, and one meets such strange forms as *bāq* (*bāgh*), *saqāl* (*shaghāl*) and *Afqān* (*Afghān*).

B. M. SAVORY

DAVID MARSHALL LANG: *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) xvi, 333 pp., 4 plates. New York: Columbia University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 45s.

The period of 174 years covered by Dr. Lang's book might seem in excess of the idea expressed in the title of the book, but the decline of the Georgian monarchy goes back to the division of the kingdom after the death of King Alexander in 1443. The first clashes with the Mongols took place as early as 1220, only seven years after the death of the great queen Tamar. The Mongol domination was followed by the devastations of Tamerlane, and the incursions of the Turcoman dynasties of Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu. The advent of the Safavids opened a new series of invasions when hosts of Georgian prisoners were abducted to Persia, converted to Islam, and incorporated in the Persian army.

Dr. Lang's story begins (p. 19) in 1658 when Eastern Georgia (in the basin of the river Kura) lived under the suzerainty of Persia, and the Georgian lands in the Black Sea area were controlled by the Ottoman empire. The author studies the periods of rule of the two branches of the Bagratid family of Eastern Georgia, that of Persian 'viceroys' originating from Mukhran (1658-1723) and then—after an interval of Turkish and Persian (Nadirid) domination (1723-47)—that of the Kakhetian branch of the Bagratids (1747[1744?]-1801).

Though concentrating on the destinies of Eastern Georgia, Dr. Lang very ably introduces material on the western kingdoms and principalities and presents the events in the large framework of contemporary history.

There exists in English a number of interesting works on Transcaucasia, and especially on Georgia (by J. F. Baddeley, Sir O. Wardrop, Miss N. Wardrop, W. E. D. Allen), but it would be fair to point out the unusual qualifications of Dr. Lang, who is the only University teacher of Georgian in the United Kingdom and who previously won his spurs in Russian.

Certain expressions in the short preface

(pp. ix-xii) might suggest that the author's research would reflect the present-day divisions in world opinion. In fact, Dr. Lang dwells proportionately less on the trials of Georgia along her Muslim front than on the constitutional falls from grace on the part of her northern neighbour. However, as one reads the book, the impression grows that the author very conscientiously sums up the enormous literature existing on his subject, and many readers will be astonished by the excellence of the collection of the original sources available in Russian and Georgian. To them Dr. Lang adds some interesting facts culled by him in French archives. Perhaps, on the British side, more discoveries are awaiting future explorers, as British representatives and officers posted in Tabriz at the time of the Russian-Persian struggles must have been keen observers; and some of them (like Col. W. Monteith) are known to have travelled deep into the Transcaucasian territories soon after their occupation by Russia.

It is impossible to discuss all the wealth of material in Dr. Lang's book in which one finds pertinent summaries concerning the birth of the new Georgian literature, the medieval organization of justice in Georgia with its single combats and payments of wergild (p. 56), and several other points.

As the main emphasis of the book rests on the final stages of the Georgian monarchy before the incorporation of that country in the Russian empire, we shall deal chiefly with the complexity of events leading to that solution. In the spate of memoranda which blossomed out at the time of the conferences held in Paris after the first World War, the light was directed on the Russo-Georgian treaty of 1783, by which Empress Catherine granted her protection to King Erekle (Irakli), and on the subsequent failures of Russia to carry out her obligations. The fact is undeniable that Russia, proceeding with the greatest caution in order to avoid any involvements which she was not ready to face, on several occasions recalled the slender detachments which she had sent to Transcaucasia. Sometimes she did this at rather inappropriate moments, but she did it all the same, and even at the risk of losing face in Transcaucasia.

Most of the western writers (see even W. E. D. Allen's comprehensive *History of the Georgian people*, 1932, 251) pass on to the incorporation of Georgia in 1801 without so much as mentioning the new series of negotiations between Erekle's successor and Russia, which put their relations on an entirely new basis. It is to the credit of Dr. Lang to have restored the whole picture, as abundantly documented in the sources.

It may be helpful to present here a very

brief summary of events in their kaleidoscopic inconsequence resulting partly from the human element, but also from the inescapable facts of great distances and slow communications between Tiflis and St. Petersburg.

(1) The affairs of Georgia were going from bad to worse and the ailing King Giorgi XII, who succeeded his father Erekle in 1798, being confronted with the intrigues of his stepmother and her sons, sent an embassy to St. Petersburg. In the instructions, signed by him on 7 September 1799, he requested the envoys to 'surrender' his kingdom to the emperor 'not under (his) protection . . . but into (his) full authority', so that Georgia should be placed 'on the same footing as the other provinces of Russia' (p. 231). He only wished that 'the royal dignity' (*dostoinstvo tsarskoye*) be preserved in his house.

(2) The envoys arrived in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1800 and on 23 November Emperor Paul addressed a rescript to King Giorgi containing the approval of the latter's 'petitionary points', and wishing him the restoration of good health. The Georgian envoys left St. Petersburg towards the end of November, intending to return with the ratification of the arrangement by the king and the representatives of the Georgian nation (p. 240).

(3) Meanwhile grave troubles broke out in Georgia. The king's brother Alexander joined the worst enemy of Georgia, the khan of the Avarian mountaineers, and with him invaded Kakhetia. On 7 November 1800 they were utterly defeated by the Russian troops under General Lazarev and the allied Georgian forces. The news of the victory had not yet reached St. Petersburg, where the seriousness of the situation must have been fully realized. On 15 November the emperor issued a rescript to General Knorring (commanding the Northern Caucasian line) to send more troops to Georgia and at the same time not to hurry the eventual proclamation of the heir apparent, David, whose estrangement from his father and the nobles is reported on pp. 237 and 241.

(4) Some new reports received on the precarious situation in Georgia, and among them the report of the very knowledgeable General Lazarev from Tiflis—which Dr. Lang combines with the general 'megalomaniac' change of orientation of the emperor (p. 239)—led to a discussion by the Council of State of a new memorandum on Georgian affairs received from a high-placed expert (Musin-Pushkin). The majority of the Council were opposed to an immediate annexation but, at the last moment, the minutes were altered in view of the report that the 'eccentric' emperor had already made up his mind on the subject. Dr. Lang (p. 242) declares this decision 'spurious',

although it seems to have had the support of the president of the College of Foreign Affairs whose name is elsewhere quoted with approval (cf. p. 240). As a result, on 18 December a manifesto was signed, which, in view of the dissensions in the royal house, proclaimed a direct incorporation of Eastern Georgia, without any mention of the 'Bagratid dynasty as titular rulers', though eventually the emperor meant to retain Giorgi's heir as the head of the administration, 'provided he could command popular allegiance' (p. 242). Officially the manifesto was published only on 18 January 1801.

(5) King Giorgi died on 28 December 1800 and his brothers 'broke into open revolt'. The envoys bringing the rescript of 27 November reached Tiflis on 8 January 1801 and accordingly, for several months, General Lazarev left Prince David 'the effective prince-regent of Georgia' (p. 245). The manifesto of 18 December was received in Tiflis on 16 February 1801 and was immediately promulgated.

(6) As both Lazarev and the Georgians were under the impression that David was called to succeed his father, the required text of ratification was accordingly amended and 'the aristocracy and the prominent citizens flocked to affix their signatures'. On 18 January the three envoys took the document back to St. Petersburg which they reached a few days after the death of Emperor Paul, who was murdered by his courtiers on 12 March.

(7) With the accession of Alexander I the question of Georgia went through a new series of deliberations. After the arrival of the envoys the *main* question of the *incorporation* of Georgia sponsored by the late King Giorgi could be considered as settled, and the remaining contentious point was whether the 'royal dignity' was to be retained by his successor. Dr. Lang analyses with great care the official and private records of the votes and opinions expressed by Russian statesmen. The liberal advisers of the emperor insisted on keeping the constitutional promises; the representatives acquainted with the confusion on the spot opted for the direct annexation of Georgia by Russia. Hesitations and discussions lasted for six months, and meanwhile General Knorring went on a special mission to Tiflis to ascertain the degree of unanimity of the population. Dr. Lang (p. 247) finds that Knorring 'was not the ideal person for so delicate a commission', though he admits that the regent David was 'wielding virtually despotic power'. He even quotes David's personal letters written in terms leaving little hope for his peaceful coexistence with the Russian authorities.

(8) On 12 September 1801 Emperor Alexander published a new manifesto in which,

after reference to the existence of the previous manifesto of 18 December 1800 and the results of the new close inquiry, it was declared that, in view of the defenceless state of the country and the threat of civil war (p. 250), Eastern Georgia was taken into the direct administration of Russia, while the material interests of the loyal princes were assured.

The last two chapters of the book briefly describe the failures and successes of the first years of Russian rule. The venturesome pretenders to the Bagratid succession stirred up a series of troubles which had a rash and rather inconsiderate character, but confirmed the apprehensions which existed concerning the civil war threatening to break out between King Giorgi's successors. The chief difficulty, however, seems to have resulted from the fact that the impoverished and depopulated country lacked the resources to support the troops necessary for its security, so long as communications with Russia depended on the rough track across the formidable Caucasian pass of Darial.

As often in history, the complex course of events outstripped the regularity of contractual developments, and when over a century later the situation had to be reconsidered, the rights of nations had to be argued on different foundations. In any case for comparison's sake, it may be interesting to quote at this point the view expressed by a prominent Georgian constitutionalist, who after 1917 represented Georgia in Western Europe: 'Once the basic rights of authority were to pass to Russia, the royal power (in Georgia) would have been a form without contents, a kind of empty egg-shell. It was necessary to throw this egg-shell overboard', see Z. Avalov, *Prisoyedineniye Gruzii k Rossii*, St. Petersburg, 1906, 199.

Perhaps the most striking part of Dr. Lang's careful investigation are the final conclusions (pp. 282-4) in which, after having weighed all the pros and cons, he displays his gift of historical synthesis:

'... it is clear that the fall of the Georgian monarchy was not solely due to the onward march of tsarist imperialism as many writers have asserted. The undeniable fact is that by the year 1800, the process of disintegration of the Georgian state had reached a critical stage. A fusion of Eastern and Western Georgia was as far away as ever, and the centrifugal forces in Georgia's political life had triumphed, banishing the very concept of centralized royal power and an ordered system of administration. The royal family of K'art'lo-Kakhet'i was divided against itself, while Western Georgia was convulsed internally by civil war between Imeret'i and Mingrelia. The essential conditions for evolving a sound body politic—

internal and external security, and a reasonably prosperous economy—were absent. The persistence of feudal institutions, combined with isolation from the Western world, paralyzed social and political reform. The population of Western and Eastern Georgia combined had sunk below half a million. The raids of the Lezghis imposed a constant drain on the country's meagre resources. Turkey and Persia, egged on by France and England, were making strenuous attempts to subjugate Transcaucasia and retain the Caucasian range as a barrier against the advancing might of Russia. . . .

Left to itself, it is doubtful whether the Georgian nation would even have been assured of physical survival. The country would have been ravaged and depopulated, as so often before, by Turkish and Persian armies, now strengthened by European instructors and equipment. It may be objected that Russia was bound by treaty to afford the Georgian kingdom protection without usurping direct rule over it . . . but could Russia reasonably have been expected to wage ceaseless wars against Turkey and Persia and to engage in more than half a century's embittered struggle with the clansmen of Daghestan and Circassia in a purely disinterested fashion? . . . Following the absorption of Georgia, tens of millions of rubles and scores of thousands of Russian lives were expended in fighting the traditional enemies of Georgia. . . .

Behind a ring of Russian bayonets, the population had risen by the 1830s to three-quarters of a million, and at the present day it is approaching the three million mark. Had events taken a different course, the Georgian nation might well have vanished from the face of the earth, relegating to the past a tradition of chivalry and of striking achievement in many spheres of art, literature, and Christian civilization generally.'

The book is written in an excellent style, devoid of any modern 'sociologizations'. The digest of foreign sources is clear, the language lucid and expressive, the general remarks concise and to the point. The author always remains within the limits of urbanity. His bibliography (pp. 289-317) is impressive and includes some very rare works.

The number of slips in the book seems to be negligible. One would like to know the authority for the rendering of the Daghestanian title known as *nutsal* by *nursal* (pp. 154, 175). From the sentence about the southern Georgian principalities which have been in Turkish hands 'since the sixteenth century' (p. 3) at least the major part of Samtskhe should be excluded.

RUDOLF LOEWENTHAL: *The Turkic languages and literatures of Central Asia: a bibliography.* (Central Asiatic Studies, I.) 212 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. £2 15s.)

Output in the field of Turcology (in the widest sense of this term) has grown so much and older, especially Russian, publications have become so difficult to trace, that one must welcome any attempt to signal new publications, and to remind us of the existence of the older ones.

Mr. Loewenthal lists 2,093 Turcologic publications grouped according to their subject. An 'Author, person and subject index' adds considerably to the usefulness of this book. In general, this is a well-edited work, the references are detailed and accurate, and, what is very important, Mr. Loewenthal did not shrink from the hard work and self-discipline needed to indicate the exact pagination of each publication quoted. Publications which the compiler could not see or check himself are marked with an asterisk—a most commendable and rarely adopted practice. Titles in the lesser-known languages (Russian included) are given also in translation.

All this is to the credit of this work. On the debit side one must mention the inclusion of some historical works, irrelevant and chosen at random (e.g. entries 117, 148, 185, etc.), and some omissions and misunderstandings, e.g.:

insert after 27: Paul Jyrkankallio, 'Die sprachwissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen von Prof. Dr. Martti Rasanen', *SO*, XIX, 13, 1954, 14 pp.

ad 144: concerns Hungarian linguistics. There is no need to include this one item chosen from the very rich Hungarian literature dealing with Turkish loan-words in Hungarian.

ad 148: has nothing to do with Old Turkish.

ad 239: its place would be in the section 'Middle Turkic'.

ad 273: its place would be in section A.I.

ad 280: as Mr. Loewenthal rightly points out, this publication deals with Mongol documents. On what grounds is it then included in the 'Old Turkic' section?

insert after 292: Carl Brockelmann, 'Altürkistanische Volksweisheit', *OZ*, VIII, 1920, 50-73; 'Altürkistanische Volkspoesie', *AM*, I, 1924, 24-44.

ad 325: does not deal with the Coman language. None of Bang's many works dealing with Coman is mentioned in this section.

ad section 'Kipchak'. A very poor selection indeed.

ad 366: out of place in this section.

insert after 372: Alessio Bombaci, 'Probleme der historischen Lautlehre der türkischen Sprache', *UJ*, NF, XXIV, 1952, 89-105.

ad 560: has no connexion with Turkish.

ad 582: 'Tagtöl' is not a surname but means, in Hungarian: 'by the member'.

ad 590-3: the inept publications of Winkler, could be omitted. Why include these from a very rich Altaic material, when the rest is not mentioned?

ad 850: to include in the section 'Krimchak' Marquart's *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* is as if one were to list the 'Cambridge Medieval History' under the heading 'Liechtenstein'.

insert after 1850: Friedrich Kraelitz, 'Ein Beitrag zur kasan-tatarischen Volksliteratur', *WZKM*, XXXVII, 1930, 48-63.

insert after 1879: Heikki Paasonen, 'Mischartatarische Volksdichtung', edited by Eino Karahka, *MSFOu.*, cv, 1953, 136 pp. The principal publication on this language.

insert after 1880: Vilmos Prohle, 'Tatar nyelvjárás adalékai', *NyK*, XXXVIII, 1908, 63-110, 330-63.

ad 2087: Deals with the Mongols and not with the Tatars of Kazan.

D. SINOR

JOHANNES BENZING: *Die tungusischen Sprachen: Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik.* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrg. 1955, Nr. 11.) 151 pp. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1956. DM. 11.20.

Few non-Russian scholars venture to tackle Tunguz linguistics, and their reluctance seems justified by the circumstances. They have neither direct access to Tunguz peoples nor library facilities adequate to the purpose of studying the various Russian publications dealing with Tunguz languages. Dr. Benzing was able to muster the courage necessary to write a comparative grammar based solely on Nanaj, Udihe, Evenki, Even, and Manchu material, though he was able to incorporate the material included in Cincius' *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-man'čžurskikh jazykov* (Leningrad, 1949), which covers also other dialects.

The work is divided into four parts: general survey of the Tunguz languages, comparative

phonetics, comparative morphology, syntactical remarks.

The first of these parts is a study of sound-correspondences existing between the various dialects. On the basis of these correspondences a reconstructed, starred form is given which is meant to represent the 'original' sound of *Gemeintungusisch*. The utility of such reconstructions is highly questionable. If, for instance, an initial *b* remains unchanged throughout the Tunguz languages, it is obvious that *Gemeintungusisch*, if such a language ever existed, must be credited with an initial **b*; such are the rules of this innocent game. But what about the initial voiceless affricate? Among the dialects quoted four show *c*-, four *č*- (with a Manchu *č*- variant), one has *t*- and another *s*-. From these the existence of an initial **č* is inferred. We are not told the reasons for the choice which could have fallen, so it would seem, on **c*-. Is the decision taken on a simple majority vote with the chairman-author having an extra casting-vote? The word-correspondences given by Dr. Benzing are very useful and, in the majority acceptable. Was it really necessary to attempt the reconstruction of a highly hypothetical *Gemeintungusisch*? I do not think so, though, it must be emphasized, Dr. Benzing was simply following a procedure which, though somewhat out of date, is still frequently applied in Ural-Altaic studies.

The morphological section, by far the longest in the book (pp. 53-147), shows the same defect but here it is far less disturbing. The quantity and the variety of Tunguz suffixes gives ample opportunity to Dr. Benzing to discuss morphological questions independent of the problem of origins. The very richness of the material presented makes mistakes or unjustified statements unavoidable, but, here again, Dr. Benzing is not mistaken in the facts but simply in their interpretation. He does not seem to have followed up some of his statements to their ultimate consequences. In para. 87 the enumeration of plural suffixes in the different Tunguz languages (synchronic survey) begins with the statement that a Manchu *-l* plural suffix 'ist gesetzmässig geschwunden'. In my view this means that there is no *-l* plural in Manchu—as in fact we have no evidence that it has ever existed. But then, on what grounds can we mention it for Manchu? In para. 86, Dr. Benzing goes even one step further. Having stated that in Manchu **-l* had *lautgesetzlich* disappeared, he quotes as example: '*gala* "Hand" (< tg. **gala*), "Hande" (wohl < tg. **gala.l*)'. Does he really want us to believe that every time a Manchu word is used in singular form to designate plurality, the invisible ghost of a *Gemeintungusisch* **-l* is there to haunt? This

is what would seem to follow from what he says, and it shows to what nonsensical conclusions the mechanical application of *Laut-* and other *-Gesetze* can lead us. This is not the only example of its kind which can be found in Dr. Benzing's book.

A reviewer has to mention the shortcomings of the work he is asked to pass judgment on; it is also his duty to return an unambiguous verdict. I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Benzing's book is a very useful contribution to Altaic studies. Its virtues far outstrip its shortcomings and it gives an on the whole, reliable and detailed picture of Tunguz languages. Even where it errs in interpretation it may still serve further research.

D. SINOR

R. C. MITRA: *The decline of Buddhism in India*. (Visva-Bharati Studies, 20.) v, 164, viii pp. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati, 1954. Rs. 6.

This survey is based on a thesis produced at the University of Paris, and completed in 1949. Utilizing a wide range of sources, literary and epigraphic, Hindu, Muslim, Tibetan, and Chinese, Dr. Mitra has given a series of valuable surveys of the conditions of Buddhism in the various regions of India from the time of Hara until its final disappearance. He has made good use of archaeological and iconographic evidence, and has gathered together virtually all the significant available data, in the case of Bengal, Nepal, and Orissa tracing the survivals of Buddhism down to recent centuries.

Probably most readers will find the last chapter of this work of the greatest interest, for here the author considers the causes of the decline of Buddhism in India. He reviews the numerous suggestions of earlier students—persecutions by Hindus, corruption in the Buddhist order, internal divisions, defective organization and absence of episcopal authority, ineffectual relations with the laity, and the Muslim conquest—and he rightly concludes that none of these factors alone was sufficient to destroy Buddhism in India, though some may have contributed to its disappearance. He finally suggests that the very character of Buddhism itself was the underlying reason for its failure to survive, for its pessimism, atheism, and generally varified character were unsatisfying to the Indian genius.

In arriving at this conclusion Dr. Mitra is somewhat inconsistent. At first he seems to favour Buddhism in its Theravāda form, and

to look on all Mahāyānist developments as decadent :

'One by one their main planks were being thrown overboard by the Buddhists. Having abandoned the strictly impersonal and dispassionate approach to life, the Buddhists first made way to devotional element [*sic*] and personal deities. . . . A craving for the supernatural replaced the severely rational outlook of Buddha. Logic gave way to magic. In its later evolution even Vajrayāna deities were dismissed as superfluous encumbrances. . . . The spirit of Buddha had long been smothered under the deadweight of metaphysical sophistry, crass idolatry and rank superstitions (p. 158).'

Yet five pages later we read :

'To the Indian mind, atheism was the original sin of Buddhism for which a tardy, though inescapable, Nemesis was worked out in its ultimate disappearance. Time could smooth many odds, the intellectual heresy of yesterday may become an accepted commonplace of today. But the Buddhist denial of God implied an outrage on the spiritual craving of man, which no amount of righteousness could redeem and no intellectual integrity could condone. Indian philosophy willingly absorbed many elements of Buddhist scepticism, but never forgave Buddhism for its primary fault of atheism (p. 163).'

Many modern historians believe that all value judgments are out of place in serious works of historical research. Though this view may imply an unfair and unnecessary limitation of the rights of the historian, it is evident that his value judgments must at least be consistent. It may be held that Buddhism betrayed the original austere message of its founder, and thereby weakened itself and prepared for its own destruction ; it is equally possible to maintain that, by devising a characteristic pantheon of its own, Buddhism adapted itself more closely to the needs and aspirations of the ordinary Indian and thus improved its chances of survival. These two theories cannot both be true, but it is possible that they are both false. Any visitor to Ceylon and Burma, any student of the art of Bharhut and Sanchi, will realize that even Theravāda Buddhism can provide as much scope for devotion and piety as most other religions, and is in no way weakened by its fundamental atheism, of which the simpler believer is hardly if at all aware.

Perhaps some light on the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism in India may be thrown by a comparative study of Buddhism and Jainism, which, quietly and without fuss, has managed to survive there to this day. Dr. Mitra briefly considers this line of approach,

without, in our opinion, giving it the attention it deserves (p. 148). Jainism broadly accepts the Indian caste system, as it seems Indian Buddhism did also ; Jainism allows the worship of gods for temporal boons and advantages, as does Buddhism, even in its Theravāda form. But, unlike Buddhism, Jainism has never compromised in its fundamental atheism, which it proclaims if anything more forcibly than Buddhism ever did. On this analogy we may suggest that, by developing its peculiar form of theism, Buddhism gained no real strength, but rather prepared the way for its reabsorption into the main body of Hinduism. The most striking aspect of Jainism, in its social context, is its cultivation of the laity. The Jain layman's life is very strictly disciplined, under the pastoral care of the monks of the local monastery. The Buddhist *vihāras* of medieval India chiefly relied for their support on ancient endowments and occasional royal donations, and seem to have paid little attention to the religious needs of the local laity. In such circumstances the brahman who performed the domestic rites might well exert a much greater influence on the life of the layman than the monk from the nearby Buddhist monastery, the members of which had long given up the practice of begging. Moreover, without lay backing a celibate monastic community must inevitably disappear in course of time, for, however earnest its monks may be, only the laity can provide them with novices to replace members lost by death. The Jains have survived chiefly because they were backed by a disciplined lay community, looked on as an integral part of their *sangha*. The Buddhists perished largely because they failed to found a real 'church' in India. In most cases the laymen on whom their monasteries relied for support appear to have been Buddhists only in varying degrees. An Indian is either a Jain or not a Jain. In medieval India, on the other hand, most of the lay supporters of Buddhism seem to have been merely partial Buddhists, as in China and Japan in later times, and there were probably never more than a few out-and-out Buddhists, while even these no doubt usually performed the Hindu domestic rites of birth, initiation, marriage, and death. In China the Buddhist monks have gained prestige among the laity by their performance of funeral ceremonies believed to aid the soul of the deceased ; in India it was always the brahmans who were called upon to assist in the most solemn family rites. As the number of whole-hearted Buddhist laymen grew less, recruitment to the monastic order must have become progressively more difficult. In some parts of India, even in the Gupta period, many monasteries were half empty, according to Fa-hsien.

In medieval India, excluding Nepal, Buddhism remained in a fairly flourishing condition only in Bihar and Bengal, where wealthy monasteries received the liberal patronage of the Pāla kings, many if not all of whom were also staunch supporters of the *Varaṇśrama-dharma* of Hinduism. Here, moreover, the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna forms of Buddhism, however corrupt they may have been, provided something immediately intelligible to the layman. Even if they were disreputable in their private lives, the Sahajayāna minstrels, spreading their message through simple songs in the vernacular, must have given some inspiration and comfort to many ordinary people. For all their perversity, the *Siddhas* must be numbered among the spiritual ancestors of Caitanya on the one hand and of Kabir on the other, and thus one of the chief legacies of Buddhism to India has been, as well as the *Sūnyavāda* transmuted into Advaita by Śaṅkara, a message of simplicity and easy-going happiness, different indeed from the doctrines attributed to the Master in the Pāli scriptures, but nevertheless of value and importance in the later developments of Hindu religion. But the *Siddhas*, though Buddhists of a sort, were propagators of a message as well suited to Hinduism as to Buddhism. Thus, with the monasteries looted by the Muslims and their monks dispersed, the *Siddhas* alone were hardly capable of preserving anything of the Buddhist Dharma in the lands where formerly it had flourished most strongly.

Dr. Mitra's book is open to criticism on several grounds. Misprints are numerous, and many of them are uncorrected in the list of errata at the end. Diacritics are often missing or wrongly placed. The absence of a bibliography is regrettable, especially as so many references are given in an abridged form. Thus 'Lotus p. 89' (p. 153) is quite inadequate without a list of bibliographical abbreviations and a full bibliography. The reader already knowing something about the subject may assume that the *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka* is meant, and try the 'Sacred Books of the East' translation, but the less well informed student will be put to great trouble if he wishes to trace the author's source. In a work which makes many allusions to Buddhist images illustrations would have been helpful; it appears that the original thesis was provided with these, for in one place Dr. Mitra refers to 'plate V fig. 2' (p. 98), without mentioning the volume in which the illustration occurs. He commits the old solecism of *Sihāneśvara* for *Śihāneśvara* (p. 7), and uses the unpleasant and unnecessary Indo-Persian hybrid neologism *Hindusthān* (p. 32). *Śankuna* twice appears for *Cankuna* (pp. 21, 24). The home of

the Vākātakas was not northern Mahārāstra (p. 10), but what is now Madhya Pradesh. The use of the form *Guzrat* (*passim*) is strange and irregular. Reference to 'the orthodox school of Hinayāna', whatever that may be, as being 'taken in by the later tendency to image worship' in medieval Sind (p. 35) gives a false impression; by the third century A.D. it is probable that all Buddhists, orthodox or otherwise, were iconolators. A feudatory of king Govindacandra the Gāhaḍavāla could hardly have lived in A.D. 1219 (p. 42), since Govindacandra died about 60 years earlier. The author's English is generally adequate and clear, and in parts of his concluding chapter it becomes quite eloquent and forceful, but we are at a loss to understand the sentence: 'Gayā has been naturally enough the find-spot of native as well as of foreign pilgrims' (p. 42).

Despite these criticisms, Dr. Mitra's work is a scholarly study of the subject, and is of real value both to the historian and to the student of Indian religions.

A. L. BASHAM

SACHINDRA KUMAR MATTY: *Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period (cir. A.D. 300-550)*. xviii, 223 pp., map. Calcutta: The World Press Private, Ltd., 1957. Rs. 12.50, 21s.

The economic history of India, or the economic basis of Indian civilization (as Kapṭilya and Atandranath Bose have it), has been little studied as yet, partly from lack of interest and partly from the supposed inadequacy of materials. To date we have full-scale studies for southern India in the period A.D. 1000-1600 (Appādurai) and for northern India between 600 B.C. and A.D. 200 (Bose): Dr. Maity here extends our view with a similar, though less comprehensive, survey for northern India in A.D. 300-550.

The most disputed problem is that of the ownership of the land, a matter over which legal and political historians also have been greatly agitated. In part the controversy is based on varying definitions of 'ownership' (for example: in a sense the state or monarch 'owns' all land in every civilized society, though subjects or citizens may hold and use it). Dr. Maity decides that in his period the king was the ultimate owner of the land and that from ('of') the king the village, peasant, priest, vassal, official, endowed institution, etc., derived their title to occupy, use, or sell the land and its product. Unfortunately the question is begged on p. 16 and elsewhere whether the king claimed actual ownership of

the land concerned or merely the right to the *śadbhāga* in exchange for protection, which right he could, of course, alienate. The topic requires further discussion, and especially comparison with the methods of description which have been found useful in analysing economic systems elsewhere. We may remark, however, that the Gupta kingship itself rested in part on a title derived from the Licchavi commonwealth or oligarchy, though the nature of the alliance is obscure. The views of ancient Indian lawgivers on land tenure and kingship varied, and the actual system certainly underwent many changes. The interaction between the real and ideal worlds will be an interesting but difficult study. Dr. Maity's contribution here is most useful, thanks to his careful deduction of the meanings of many obscure terms used in the documents of his period. The chapter on the 'Land system' is by far the most valuable part of this book. It should be taken in conjunction with those of Appā-dorai (pp. 100-178) and Bose (pp. 13-37) as regards the theory of land tenure, not as refuting their interpretations.

The following chapter on the 'Revenue system' is useful as a survey of the multitude of taxes and tithes, though its conclusions about the total tax on land seem inadequate. The question whether the *śadbhāga* is reckoned on total product or on increase (i.e. after deducting the outlay, particularly seed) is ignored. Medieval commentators such as Kullūka hold the latter view. As to the total tax, we might provisionally suppose that the collection of one-quarter of the increase, composed of the *śadbhāga* plus one-twelfth, for religious tithes and miscellaneous dues, which seems to be the recognized practice later (Mādhava; Munro; Appādorai, 683), already obtained.

The topics of the remaining chapters are less well developed, though the chapters are useful as careful collections of materials. The products of agriculture, animal husbandry, and industry are catalogued, with some information on agricultural techniques and industrial apprenticeship.

'Trade and commerce' discusses briefly the activities of the *śreṣṭhin* as merchant, banker, and local administrator and of the *sūtravāha* or caravan merchant. The articles traded, hazards of the trade routes, and regulations and laws governing commerce and transport are noted. Foreign trade is dealt with at some length, and the balance of the western trade is found to be in favour of India, whilst the trade with China was probably evenly balanced.

In the chapter on 'Labour' the varieties of slave recognized by legal writers are set out, not very clearly, followed by sections on the

wage-labourer and his position (like Dr. Bose, Dr. Maity thinks he was probably worse off than the slave in many respects), and on forced labour (more common than in earlier periods) demanded by the king of the peasants and artisans: looked on as a sort of taxation, which might also be transferred to the recipient of a benefice.

The chapter on 'Corporate economic life' deals with the guilds, including their function as banks and their other important activities in society. Their growth and influence is suggested by the great attention paid to them by contemporary legal writers.

The last chapter deals with currency and also with usury. The former part is based on research with Mr. S. K. Guha into the gold content of contemporary coinage, in which previous analysis by Cunningham was found to be incorrect. The debasement of the coinage after Skandagupta reflects the economic difficulties resulting from the Hunnish Wars of the mid-fifth century.

Though 'freedom of contract' is said to have been an important feature of the economy, legitimate rates of interest were laid down by the legal theorists, determined by the respectability of the borrower, risks involved, and security given: 60% appears as the maximum, comparing favourably with more recent rates which ranged up to 160%. The basic rate for a secured loan, however, is as much as 15%. The growth of usury is reflected by the weakening of the laws against it: the earlier ceiling on total interest payable, that it should not exceed the amount of the principal, was allowed to rise to twice the principal when gold was loaned, and to as much as eight times the principal when certain perishable commodities were taken (three times or four times in the case of grain).

The main sources exploited by Dr. Maity are the copper-plate grants of the period, the *dharmaśāstras* of Nārada and Bṛhaspati, the *Amarakośa*, the inscriptions, and the coinage. Kāmandaka and Kāldāsa are quoted on the theory and justification of taxation, the latter and Varāhamihira for some details regarding agriculture. Some foreign sources are used for the overseas trade. In the discussion on sources Vātsyāyana, Śūdraka, and Viśakhadatta are placed in the period, though it would seem more probable that the first two lived in the third century and the last-named at the end of the sixth century. As hardly anything has been gleaned from these writers the point is not very material.

Dr. Maity suggests (p. 55), or perhaps assumes, that land revenue was the greatest source of wealth to the state. Statistical study is, of course, totally impossible for this period, nevertheless some reasoned estimate of the

overall relationship between industry (manufacture) and agriculture would be worth attempting. The present domination of agriculture and pressure on the land, following what might be called the 'agricultural revolution' in India between approximately 1757 and 1911, seems to have been preceded by a period in which the majority of the population were dependent on manufacture, when there was a flourishing and most advantageous export trade, particularly in textiles, steel, jewellery, and ivory work. Whether this balance of the economy obtained already in the Gupta period and earlier is a subject which ought to be investigated, following R. C. Dutt's contention, accepted by Bose (p. 190), that ancient India was 'an industrial country'.

The concluding remarks on classes and living standards are rather vague. A question of great significance which is not noticed is whether the officials received salaries (as seems to have been usual in earlier times) or fiefs (as was usual in later times).

The transcription of technical terms is sometimes inconsistent. Is *charu* (p. 61) the same as *cāru* (p. 63)?

Dr. Maity's work is an interesting sequel to those of Appādorai and Bose, and we look forward to many more such studies of the segments of Indian history in its economic aspect, until the overall economic evolution of Indian society becomes intelligible.

A. K. WARDER

K. D. SWAMINATHAN: *The Nāyakas of Ikkēri*. viii, 327 pp., 10 plates, map. Madras: P. Varadachary & Co., 1957. Rs. 10.

This is a praiseworthy attempt to do something which has been needed for a long time, viz. an account from an Indian angle of a major native dynasty (c. 1500-1775) with which Portuguese officials and English and, to a lesser extent, Dutch traders came into regular and often critical contact. Nominally mere vassals of Vijayanagara, the rulers of Ikkēri eventually controlled the whole of the modern North and South Kanara Districts; and it is a pleasing coincidence that this book, which was intended to be an important contribution to Kārṇāṭaka history, appears soon after this region, which had long languished under remote control, was once again reunited politically with Mysorean society. That formed the group from which it always had important differences, but which is linguistically and culturally its nearest kin, and to which in pre-British days it was often connected governmentally.

The special feature of the Ikkēri family is

that although they originated, as did the Hoysaṣas, as hill-chiefs, trading upon the martial prowess of their people, their influence spread westwards and southwards so as to control the coastal strip which their predecessors had neglected or had only fitfully exploited (e.g. c. 1330-1400). The difference was partly due to pepper and (subordinately) to rice, for which a keen foreign market had suddenly developed. For details of the fascinating peculiarities of this strip one will look in vain in this book—for the author is alien to it and knows little of its geography (his reason why Ikkēri was abandoned as a royal seat for Bednūr is hardly convincing)—but he draws exhaustively on epigraphical and literary materials and, by laying every available written source under contribution and by inspecting and photographing existing monuments, has provided a well-documented skeleton account of the dynasty, which students of the English and Portuguese in India cannot afford to ignore. The authentic medieval atmosphere amongst the rulers of a part of India which was once of paramount importance to the Europeans shines clearly through the sources which Mr. Swaminathan cites.

I expect that he, and his friends and colleagues, will want to write more on South India during the period that forms the bridge between the ancient and the modern. They should proceed, for that is where their special skill can very well be put to use. Yet since encouragement may be tempered with advice, a more detailed review of Mr. Swaminathan's book is due both to him and his companions, and to the public at large. The author and publisher deserve to be commended for their enterprise, and they must not take amiss the criticisms that follow.

The author's tests of historical validity are somewhat naive (see pp. 8, 9, 181); and his style, which is as yet not uncharacteristic, is rather pedestrian. He takes it for granted that his readers are fully aware of the setting in which the story comes to be told. Far too many native terms are left unexplained (see pp. 22, 26, 29, 39, 48, 184, etc.). Some strange instances of ignorance occur (on p. 17 'Kīrāṭas' are just hill-tribes, and on p. 171 the number '12,000' refers to villages existing in Ganga times). He copies rather more than is necessary, copies some passages twice over (pp. 191, 218), and seldom copies accurately. In an atrocious example on p. 177 there are seven mistakes in one paragraph, some of which succeed in destroying the sense of the whole. In copying old-fashioned English he miscopies, 'corrects' his script, fails to detect misprints, and fails to supply notes which are required to enable a well-educated Indian of to-day to

understand the text. His map contains many places which do not occur in the story, and are not historically significant, while historically important places such as Bhatkal, Gersoppa, Honāvara, Śṛṅgēri, and Kalāśa do not appear. An indication of where Golconda lies, and of the configuration of the land, would have been helpful. His index is exceptionally full and appears to have been carefully compiled; but why was it necessary to index Somasekhara Rao, M.P., Publisher, of Bangalore, and were not Rāma Pai and Rāmappa (pp. 76, 77) the same person? Similarly Sinay and Shenoy are both *Senvi*. Technical material is either left unexplained or not always accurately explained (pp. 173, 177, 178—in the last of which the inscription he cites merely says that the grant shall be a *mīla*, i.e. a heritage, for the male issue of females, i.e. the daughters of the donees, and of any of the donees who were themselves female). In two cases ignorance of English usage perverts his meaning: there were more than one dancing girl at court (p. 115) and more than five accountants (I suspect) under Sivappa Nāyaka (p. 168). Unidomatic English abounds, and neologisms such as 'atleast' cannot be accepted. On p. 167 I cannot tell what was intended to be conveyed by 'adorated'. What, again, is the 'edification of a dead person' (p. 188)? Printing mistakes are fairly frequent, but a small improvement in this respect would place this work ahead of most Indian publications. Worse are indications of deficient imagination. When a poet complacently describes himself as a 'wishing-tree for poets' and the like (p. 224) he does not mean that he patronizes poets: he means that his compositions are so fine and so elaborate that he is a happy hunting-ground for hard-pressed plagiarists. And when females, and in particular Queens, in the coastal strip have extra-marital connexions with various people the inference is not that they were libidinous (still less do we need to be told that *gaudet tentamine virtus* (!)) but that they were following the ancient custom of the country rather than the usages of Āryans imported from beyond the mountains: these people were after all matrilineal and polyandrous (see p. 161). Incidentally the Portuguese ending *-cão* does not indicate Shāh, but Khān.

Faults though these are, their importance varies, and one may still be grateful for a useful book and expect further from its author. Here the review would have ended but for the fact that a person, who, if the author is to be believed, is in Holy Orders, has perpetrated a scandalous outrage upon him to which attention must be drawn. To say the least, the author was inept to rely upon him, but what

words can aptly characterize a man who, when agreeing to translate into English highly important Portuguese documents, supplies the following, which are favourable examples? On p. 278 an entire paragraph is printed as follows:

'It was necessary to punish Canara both by remittance of rice to this city and by the exorbitant selling price and the carelessness with which they used to treat the officials and soldiers of the army had departed in which there were 350 men, disembarked, the captain Joseph being qualified for such a post, so by the value of his endowment as for having a great desire of honour, integrity etc.'

And on p. 280 a single sentence reads:

'The enemys besides hostilities in the population and forts destroyed were a large number who died.'

The same man renders *Monções do Reino* as 'Notions of the Reign'.

By the application of this technique the author, for whom I have every sympathy, was deprived of the virtue of a great part of every Portuguese document he handled, except for those translated elsewhere. I suspect that even an expert in seventeenth century Portuguese would have his work cut out to reconstruct what the original must have been. This is all very sad when without delay or expense (except for postage) a competent helper could have been secured.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

K. M. VARMA: *Nāṭya, nṛta and nṛtya: their meaning and relation*. xiii, 86 pp. Calcutta, etc.: Orient Longmans, 1957. Rs. 3.

This book should be considered as an exploratory attempt in accordance with the author's explicit intention (p. xii). He rightly remarks, 'The day when those who want to study the theory of Indian arts from Sanskrit sources can do so without struggling with textual problems has not yet come' (p. x). That being so, an earnest attempt to get at the original meaning of the basic terms, *nāṭya*, *nṛta*, and *nṛtya* must be taken seriously, especially if, as in this case, the author's approach is definitely sound. That does not mean that he makes things easy for his readers who, as he says, 'should be prepared to undergo some labour' (p. xii). His sentences are difficult to follow, the word-order often being very twisted and his statements sometimes conflicting. On p. 5 *nṛta* is 'angavikṣepa' wanting in only *laya* and *tāla* and on p. 61 'angavikṣepa' requiring only *laya* and *tāla*.

(the latter being, of course, the correct rendering of *lālayāśrayam*). The habit of breaking off the external sandhi in the Sanskrit quotations by consistently joining the case ending of one word to the initial vowel of the next is disturbing (p. 17, n. 2, *prekṣantīyaka miti eva midam*; p. 65, *māṅgalya miti kṛtvāca nṛta metat pravartitam*, etc.). The treatise suffers from repetitiousness and has many passages which come close to special pleading. Still the author's attitude is the right one, a reaction against the 'Hineininterpretierung' in the majority of books on Indian art in general and music and dance in particular.

Mr. Varma, noting the absurdity of the medieval definition of *nāṭya* as an art-form exclusively dependent on *rasa*, *nṛtya* on *bhāva*, and *nṛta* on neither, but on *lāla* and *laya* alone and hence devoid of any claim to emotional qualities, has had the sense to go back to the source from which the later authors, without exception, claim to derive their theories, namely the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and he tries to find out what Bharata who wrote in direct contact with practice and not in a hothouse of theoretical speculations completely divorced from reality, has to say on that subject. He finds a beautiful definition of *nāṭya* (p. 46, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Baroda edition, I, i, śl. 112):

yo 'yam svabhāvo lokasya sukhaduhkhasaman-vitāḥ

so 'ngādyabhinayopeto nāṭyam ity abhidhīyate.

This, of course, means the theatrical representation of the world in all its aspects, and, in this form, derived from Brahma alone. Quite independently from this *nāṭya* he then meets *nṛta* (p. 53, Baroda edition, I, iv, 1118-20),

mayāpīdam smṛtam nṛtam sandhyakāleṣu nṛtyatā

nānākaranaśamyuktair angahārair vibhūṣitam,

an art created and revealed by Śiva alone and consisting of pure dance movements. Since Bharata, speaking about this *nṛta*, explicitly says *śobham jñayati* (p. 65, Baroda edition, I, śl. 176-80), the medieval contention that *nṛta* has nothing to do with *rasa* is untenable. Besides the medieval apportioning of *rasa* to *nāṭya* and *bhāva* to *nṛtya* is manifestly artificial too, in view of Bharata's own dictum *na bhāvahino 'śī raso na bhāvo rasavargīḥ*, which is the only rational approach to this duality.

The author makes out a very strong case that *nṛtya*, as distinct from *nāṭya* and *nṛta*, designates a form of art which resulted from the interaction of *nāṭya* and *nṛta* (Brahma-Śiva) from Bharata onwards and that, contrary to what the medieval theorists and their followers have to say on this subject, all the later art-forms can be classified as *nṛtya* with greater or less stress on the *nāṭya* element.

His hope that the term *bharatanāṭyam* may eventually be discovered in ancient texts which describe that style of dancing which manifestly is nearest to the precepts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, seems to have little chance of being realized. This art which used to be known as *deviattam* until quite recently, was rechristened following the revival of interest in this magnificent survival of ancient traditions, when it became imperative to find a name which would obliterate its connexion with a class of dancers and an, originally, religious practice no longer acceptable. No better name could have been chosen, but it could not have been devised as long as the art was alive in its original context.

The author's attempt to break through the smokescreen of the numerous purely theoretical and metaphysical speculations from the middle ages to our days in order to gain understanding of the practical meaning of the terms when first used, is refreshing and stimulating and his new exposition of the possible relationship and historical sequence of these three basic concepts of dramatic art well worth serious consideration.

A. A. BAKE

RENÉ DE NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ: *Oracles and demons of Tibet: the cult and iconography of the Tibetan protective deities*. xv, 666 pp., 20 plates. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co.; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1956. £5 5s.

As one of the main fruits of two to three years' residence in Kalimpong, near the Bengal-Tibet frontier, this book is a most impressive piece of painstaking research-work. The author has sought out over 200 scarcely known ritual texts (listed on pp. 575-603) and has made good use of the best available Tibetan informants. The result is this large volume, in which the various groups of the lesser Tibetan divinities are described in great detail (pp. 3-340) and some of the relevant rituals discussed (pp. 369-408). The later chapters deal with oracles and divination, weather-making, black magic, and protective rites. The last brief chapter, 'Some notes on Tibetan Shamanism', is in the nature of an appendix. Regarding the book as a whole, one is aware that one thing is lacking, namely a proper introduction, which would place this heterogeneous company of gods and demons within the general context of Tibetan religion. One suspects that except for Tibetan scholars, all will put this book aside in alarm before they reach the third page. Tibetan names and terms cause inevitable problems when one writes for a slightly wider

public, but Dr. Nebeaky-Wojkowitz, assuming perhaps that anyone interested in Tibetan iconography and religion will surely have to learn Tibetan, is quite unstinting in his use of it. While admiring his resolute attitude, I feel that he might have been rather more considerate to his would-be readers, who do not yet know this language. It is true that many proper names cannot be translated satisfactorily, but they should at least appear consistently in one form throughout the text and (most important) in the index. The prefixing of titles causes the chief difficulty, but these could often have been translated, e.g. 'Chief of Titans Thags-bzang-ris', thus providing us with a more manageable name than *lHa min dbang po thags bzang(s)*. Here as elsewhere the Sanskrit name of gods of Indian origin could have been added in brackets (e.g. in this case *Vemacitrin*) or perhaps listed in an appendix. Except for the few readers, who are acquainted with both Tibetan and Sanskrit, such a phrase as the following seems unnecessarily confusing: 'the *yakṣa Gang ba bzang po* who dwells on the *gNod sbyin gang bzang mountain*' (p. 203). Better surely: 'the *yakṣa Gang-ba bzang-po* who dwells on the mountain of that name', assuming the general significance of *yakṣa* has already been explained. It is a difficult problem, for a variety of name-forms appear in the texts themselves. Having erred before in this same respect, I rather hesitate with advice. But in a volume so very full of strange names this was a problem which should have been boldly faced from the start. There was surely no reason for giving the names of the four rites of pacifying, prospering, empowerment, and destroying in Tibetan (pp. 28-7). The corresponding oblations (*sbyin-sreg*) are listed on p. 353 and again on p. 528 but still with no explanation or interpretation. A footnote refers us to Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, 2, p. 95 sq., but there we find nothing but the Italian translation of the four terms and a further reference to a treatise of *kLoṅ rdol*. This is certainly a case where the Sanskrit terms, *sāntikāṃ*, *prauṣṭikāṃ*, *vaśīkaraṇāṃ*, and *ābhicārikāṃ* should have been quoted and translated.

To one already partially versed in the whole subject the reading of this book is an absorbing interest, for it contains a vast amount of new information. The diagrams and illustrations are good so far as they go, but far more divinities should have been shown; there are only four such plates in the whole book. Of special value is the author's description of ceremonies at which he was present, e.g. the Gangtok dances, pp. 402 ff. The description of the Nechung Oracle (p. 445) is a good piece of writing at second hand, and makes us regret the more that Tibet itself remains closed to

those who would profit so much from a visit to the heart of the country. The author must bear with two more small criticisms, for he may remain assured that his book will in any case remain indispensable for a long time to come and that it is especially welcome to the present reviewer. I draw attention to the unrestrained use of the term *śakti* for feminine partners in Tibetan religion. On p. 21 *yum* is given as the Tibetan for *śakti*, but *yum* 'Mother' represents *prajñā* 'wisdom', not 'energy'. On p. 120 *lcam-ma* is translated *śakti*, but *lcam-ma* (*lcam-mo*) means properly 'Lady' and this would do very well here. On p. 212 *mahāśakti* is used as a title, presumably translating *yum chen*. Why not 'Great Mother'? Why, too, are deities of the *yi-dam* type omitted altogether (p. 23)? *sTag-lha* 'Tiger-God' is mentioned on pp. 316 and 459. It is interesting and relevant to our subject-matter that this demon-god should have become *Guru drag-po* (mentioned on p. 218), who is the foremost *sNying-ma-pa yi-dam*. By *mThing-kha* (also p. 219) *Guru drag-miṅ* is clearly indicated in this context, not *mThing-gs zhal bzang-ma*. Finally I remain rather sceptical about the value of the last short chapter, which attempts to relate some aspects of Tibetan religion to an undefined Shamanism. Rainbows as a bridge to heaven seem an obvious symbol without implying any connexion between Buriat red and blue silk ribbons used for one purpose and Tibetan red and yellow ones used for another (p. 552). When there is a real connexion, for example in the use of scape-goats, it is not really significant, for scape-goats have been used, one imagines, the whole world over.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

F. W. THOMAS: *Ancient folk-literature from north-eastern Tibet (introductions, texts, translations and notes)*. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1952, Nr. 3.) ix, 76, 203 pp., 7 plates, map. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM. 40.

The basic material of this volume consists of six short Tibetan MSS selected from the Stein collection of Tun-huang material, now in the India Office Library. These texts are edited in roman script, translated, and annotated; excerpts from the MSS themselves are reproduced on seven plates. Each text is introduced by a separate introduction and for the whole work there is a geographical introduction (pp. 1-13) and a long linguistic introduction

(pp. 14-76). Finally there is a Tibetan vocabulary. This posthumous work of Professor Thomas will be of the greatest importance for future research into the origins of the Tibetan system of spelling, the function of the classical grammatical forms, and the early pre-Buddhist culture of the Tibetans and their Central Asian neighbours. The linguistic introduction surveys the whole range of classical grammar and gives an excellent appreciation of the value of Thon-mi Sambhota's formularies (pp. 45 ff.). The actual six texts, all pre-Buddhist folk-literature, are obscure mainly on account of our general ignorance of the whole culture. Thus Professor Thomas's translations are often a *tour de force*. It may be safe to emend unknown words into known ones, when the general context is firm, but it is a very doubtful proceeding in such unfamiliar texts as these. Moreover the translation is sometimes, I suspect, definitely incorrect. It seems rather churlish to analyse selected phrases and suggest improvements, always an easy task, when another has done all the preliminary work, providing one with the very tools one is using. But at the present early stage of these studies, such a book is really only of value to Tibetan scholars, for whom Professor Thomas presumably intended it. To them I submit, as one example, that *zin ta bahi rna* (chapter I A, p. 9, l. 13) can scarcely be correctly translated as 'fields with thick mowing'. A note explains *rna* (unknown) as *rna* ('reap'), although there is no justification, phonetic or orthographic, for confusing *na* and *na* when they occur as radical consonants; *na* ('meadow') is rejected as less probable. 'Field' is thus a translation of *zin*, ignoring the following *ta bahi*. The main substantive in such a phrase, in this case 'field', must come last in the Tibetan phrase, e.g. *brna-bahi zin* 'the field to be mowed'. Professor Thomas seems quite blandly to have reversed the order. In fact this verse remains very doubtful. The next line *chab gsan gi stigs* is translated as 'waters with clean fords'. The main substantive *stigs* is unknown, so Professor Thomas has amended it quite reasonably to *stegs*, which he informs us (rather misleadingly) in a note means 'ford or access to a stream'. This device seems to justify the translation of the whole phrase, but in fact the primary meaning of *stegs* is a 'support' or 'stand'. As for *chab-gsan*, literally 'concealed (not clean) water', this is still used in colloquial Tibetan as a polite word for 'latrine'. Presumably it already had this meaning in the ninth century. Thus while acknowledging the great usefulness of the translation as a general guide, one must give a warning against it, lest someone, interested in folk-lore, but with no knowledge of Tibetan, should accept it as final. Also in the linguistic introduction

(p. 54) a theory concerning the origin of the *b-* prefix, which commonly forms part of the perfect root of transitive verbs, is presented all too conclusively. If it were indeed derived from the verb *byed/byas/bya*, used as an auxiliary, it would more plausibly occur as a suffix, not a prefix. Here, as sometimes in the translations, Professor Thomas shows a surprising disregard of normal Tibetan syntax. As short flashes, illuminating the shadowy period of pre-Buddhist Tibetan culture, these texts stimulate immediate interest. The particular style of indigenous Tibetan verse, analysed briefly in the linguistic introduction (pp. 14-15) occurs frequently in liturgies, still generally in use to-day, wherever one of the ancient gods is described and invoked (e.g. the invocation of *Thang-lha* translated in the reviewer's *Buddhist Hymnālaya*, 239 ff.). In few other cultures has such a distinctive literary style persisted for so long. We shall remain grateful to Professor Thomas for the detailed study which he has made of these texts and to the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin for such an excellent edition of his work. Miss Averil Thompson of the India Office Library, who is preparing a catalogue of the Tibetan material from Tun-huang, has kindly drawn my attention to the existence of another roll of MS, comprising 90 lines, which seems to precede the remaining 162 lines edited on pp. 120 ff. Anyone proposing to work on these texts would certainly be well advised to refer to the MSS throughout.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

ÉTIENNE BALÁZS: *Le Traité juridique du 'Souei-chou'.* (*Études sur la société et l'économie de la Chine médiévale*, II.) (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. ix.) vii, 227 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954. Guilders 30.

Professor Balázs continues in this volume with his task of providing annotated translations of the most important of the monographs (*chü* 書) dealing with the social and economic life of China in the period between the San-kuo and the T'ang, which he began so auspiciously with his work on the financial monograph of the *Sui-shu* ('Le Traité économique du Souei-chou', *T'oung Pao*, XLII, 3-4, 1953). Like the latter, the present monograph deals with a period much longer than the Sui dynasty itself, though it extends back in time only to the end of the Toba Wei kingdom in northern China, and to the beginning of the Liang (A.D. 502) in southern China. Material on the earlier period will be included in a

further forthcoming volume which will include a translation of the monograph on justice from the *Chin-shu*. It is to be hoped that one day a similar study will be devoted to the monograph in the much-maligned *Wei-shu*, which has much material about events in the Northern Wei.

The translation and annotation are excellent, and are preceded by a brief introduction which propounds some generalities on the position of law in Chinese society. The author rightly stresses the fact that the Chinese had a very limited conception of law, which was for them a purely repressive force to be used as a last resort, and he gives an acute and stimulating analysis of the position of the Confucians with regard to the law. He also attempts to deal with the most important question of the 'universality or limitation' of application. Professor Balázs is certainly correct when he attempts to detect the concealed system of privileges built into the laws which in effect virtually freed the ruling bureaucratic class from liability. Whether in fact this was the reason which led to the imprecise language employed ('... Dérober aux yeux profanes l'inégalité des classes sociales et les privilèges de la couche dirigeante sous un voile d'uniformité légale, demande au législateur une langue dont la concision le dispute à l'ambiguïté...') seems to me more doubtful, and this impression may arise from the fact that only fragments of the law of this period survive, most of them in works which are not primarily interested in the law except incidentally. In the T'ang and later periods the privileged position of the bureaucrat and the ruling families is defined quite precisely and in the most straightforward terms in the General Provisions of the Codes.

One general criticism suggests itself regarding a study of law based on the monographs on justice from the dynastic histories. In the present undeveloped state of Chinese legal studies in the West, the reading of these monographs tends to strengthen the general belief (in non-sinological circles at least) that Chinese law was purely penal law (*hsing-fa*). Such a conception has been nurtured by general European studies which are perforce based on existing translations either of these monographs or of the 'Codes', which deal predominantly with such matters, and also by modern Chinese studies on the subject, which, with a handful of notable exceptions, deal with an equally limited field.

This traditional view, which, I would hasten to add, is not shared by Professor Balázs, is completely wrong. While admitting the fact that much which in the West comes within the realm of law was dealt with in China by customary usage, and that the law as we

conceive it was in fact administered only at a relatively high administrative level (from the County Magistrate's court upward), so that the bulk of 'legal' business was settled by arbitration or custom by sub-bureaucratic local organizations of various types, it still remains clear that the most important body of law in traditional China was not the penal law of the 'Codes', but the regulations in the 'Statutes' (*ling* 令) and 'Ordinances' (*shih* 式). This material comprised a great deal of purely administrative rulings, but also incorporated a body of law equivalent to our civil law. This material is not only more important than the Code because its subject matter is of more interest to a modern Western historian. It was infinitely more influential, because there was no general spirit of antagonism towards such civil-administrative law on the part of the Confucian bureaucrat as there was in the case of the Code, with its memories of the rigours of the Legalists and the state of Ch'in. Not only this, but all the evidence of T'ang times points to the general conclusion that the provisions of such law were rigidly enforced, whereas the penal law of the Code was not necessarily put into force automatically.

To reach any clear decisions about such problems it is necessary to begin with a later and better documented period than the one covered by the *Sui-shu* monograph, however. The present volume and its successors present much valuable material on justice in the form of penal law. Together with the older study of similar material from the T'ang by Karl Böttinger, in *Quellen zur Rechtsgeschichte der T'ang-zeit* (1945) and the more recent *Remnants of Han law*, by Professor Hulswé (1955), there is now a representative body of translation of this type of material covering the formative period of Chinese legal institutions. What is needed now is a sound study on the growth of non-penal law, and on the development of legal procedure and the application of both types of law. The present volume, though excellent within its self-imposed limitations, only deals with one aspect of this very complex problem.

D. C. TWITCHELL

A. F. P. HULSEWÉ: *Remnants of Han law. Vol. I. Introductory studies and an annotated translation of chapters 22 and 23 of the History of the Former Han dynasty.* (Sinica Leidensia, Vol. IX.) [x], 455 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955. Guilders 25.

Professor Hulswé's book is the first instalment of what promises to remain the standard work on Han law for many years to come. The

author has thoroughly sifted the whole corpus of Han literature for source material, and, unless new evidence comes to light, it is unlikely that the work will be improved upon save in detail, and in those aspects of the problem where law impinges upon sociology or economics. This is not to imply that the author has a narrow legalistic approach to his subject. Far from it: he sees the law as an integral part of the mechanics of society, and this volume will prove fruitful reading to those interested in the wider aspects of Han social organization.

The present volume falls into two halves. The smaller section (pp. 309 ff.) comprises integral translations of the monograph on law from the *Han shu* (ch. 23), and of that part of the monograph on rites (ch. 22) which has a bearing on the attitude towards rites and law. These translations are scrupulously accurate and extremely well annotated, and although in one or two places it might be possible to adopt alternative readings, these sections are models of translation of this type. They should certainly replace the older versions of ch. 23 by Andreozzi, *Le legge penali degli antichi Cinesi* (1878); and Vogel, 'Die historischen Grundlagen des chinesischen Strafrechts', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XL (1923), neither of which is satisfactory by modern critical standards.

The general reader, however, will perhaps find more rewarding reading in the introductory chapters of the book. These include a long and very good discussion of the Han Code, which summarizes much work done by Chinese scholars such as Shen Chia-pên and Ch'êng Shu-tê, whose painstaking collections of the relevant quotations are indispensable sources, and also brings into account the fragments of actual examples of codified laws which were discovered among the bamboo slips recovered by various expeditions on the north-western frontier. These materials were brought to light long after the publication of Shen and Ch'êng's compilations, and enable us to be more precise about the actual form of the *ling* 令. There remain many obscurities in this field, particularly the real relationship between *lu* 律 and *ling*. Professor Hulsewé cites all the relevant texts, but it seems impossible to be more precise than to say that both *lu* and *ling* in Han times contained penal and administrative rules incorporating sanctions, and that the *lu* were considered older and more authoritative. Certainly there was no distinction between the penal *lu* and administrative/civil *ling* as found in T'ang and later times. This distinction, probably a result of the growing distrust of penal law concurrent with the growing necessity for a code of administra-

tive law to regulate the increasing complexity of civil relationships, seems to have originated under the Chin, in the mid-third century A.D. Almost concurrently with the appearance of the volume under review, Nakada Kaoru published an article, 'Ritsuryō hōkei no hattatsu ni tsuite; hokō' 律令法系の發達に就いて; 補考 in *Hōseishi kenkyū*, III, 1953, which put forward the view that the *ling* of Han times were similar to the T'ang 科格, that is a codification of legislation promulgated originally by Edict. There were, of course, other series of codified laws in Han times, and these are well discussed on pp. 47-52. Especially interesting were analogies (*pi* 比), precedents (*ku-shih* 故事), and rulings (*k'o*), 科 and, of course, the rules deduced from canonical texts.

Discussion of the codified law is followed by an equally thorough and fascinating account of the administration of justice. The evidence on this aspect is fragmentary in the extreme, and Professor Hulsewé's reconstruction is a *tour de force*, made particularly interesting by the constant reference to actual cases recorded in the *Han shu* and elsewhere. An interesting point brought out by the author is the apparent lapse of the judicial oath, as described by Maspero, in 'Le serment dans la procédure juridique de la Chine ancienne', *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, III, 1935; it is perhaps worth pointing out a survival of this in the form of some early land-deeds, as well as in the contracts mentioned elsewhere by the author.

There follows a long discussion of the various punishments employed. There is a most interesting discussion of the exclusion from office (*chin-ku* 禁錮), and of its extension during the Later Han to relatives of the criminal. This became a common political device during the factional struggles of the Later Han period. This question is related intimately with the policies of redemption of punishments by the payment of money fines, and with reduction of rank. All of these procedures were in fact privileges built into the structure of the laws on behalf of the ruling class, whether the nobility or the officials, whom they protected from the full rigours of the penal sanctions of the Codes.

Further chapters deal with the 'abominable crimes', those offences considered particularly unnatural and heinous, and which were classified as *pu-tao* 不道 or *pu-ching* 不敬, terms happily rendered by the author as 'impious' and 'nefas' respectively. This matter has not been very satisfactorily explained by the Chinese and Japanese commentators on Han law, and Professor Hulsewé's analysis of the various known cases has led to

the valuable conclusion that there was a regular categorization of such offences, as in later dynasties, although other crimes committed in circumstances of great aggravation could be so classified—a device which was not infrequently employed for political reasons of expediency. This chapter throws valuable light on the moralistic contents of Chinese law, and also on the strong position of various ritual attitudes in legal affairs.

Lastly there are sections on amnesties, which are treated as having a twofold significance, as attempts to restore the balance of nature, disrupted by too severe an application of punishments, and as deliberate political measures designed to win favour through the exercise of nicely-timed clemency; and on the very interesting problem of intention and negligence. Here many interesting examples are adduced to demonstrate the usage of the terms *ku* 故 'with intent', *tsai* 賊 'murderously', *chih* 知 and *chien-chih* 員知 'connivance', and *mou* 謀 'to plot'. The author also analyses the extension of responsibility and connivance to various groups of whom the actual offender formed a part. This not only affected clan members, but in some cases could involve official subordinates or superiors who were deemed to have cognizance of the offence.

The very last section of the introduction raises perhaps the most interesting question of all. This is that of the privileged classes before the law. The rigid Code of the Ch'in made no allowances for persons before the law, and this fact has much to do with the general dislike and distrust which the ruling class showed for penal law throughout Chinese history. At the beginning of the Han period, the full rigour of the Code persisted, together with so much else of the Ch'in's Legalist institutions. Professor Hulsewé demonstrates the growth during the Former Han of a system of privilege, which by no means put the ruling class beyond the law, but which softened its application for them, for example by allowing them the privilege of suicide to escape public execution and shame. Even with the post-Han formalization of this privilege in the 'Eight Deliberations' the privileged persons—and these were by no means so numerous as some scholars have maintained—were not placed in a position where they were not subject to the law. Their advantage was only one of clemency regarding the detail of their punishment.

Most of our knowledge of Chinese law in the West is derived from the later Codes, in particular from that of the Ch'ing. All the later dynasties derived their institutions from the legal codification of the T'ang, and thus it is of

great interest to have the present study of an earlier stage of legal development. In general, in later dynasties it is fairly safe to deduce conditions from one century to another, the general lines remaining constant until the present century. It is clear from the present work that between the Han and the T'ang there is not such continuity, and that major changes took place during the third and fourth centuries. For example, the development of the Confucian distrust of universally applicable penal law, within the framework of the general authoritarianism of Confucian thinking, led in later times to the exact sanctions of the Codes being neglected in practice. In the same way essential administrative legislation was separated into the *ling* 令 and their subordinate *shih* 式, and divorced from the rigid pattern of prescribed sanctions. In Han times all these matters were retained within the penal law, and this law was in general applied strictly. There is more in common between the law described in this book and that of the Ch'in, universally condemned by all traditional thinkers, than there is with the later legal systems. Perhaps the greatest service done by Professor Hulsewé is his meticulous documentation, which enables us to see the beginning of the softening of the Legalist attitude, and the germination of various ideas and developments, which were later to transform the picture. It is to be hoped that in Vol. II, the author will give us some picture of the situation with regard to the developments in civil law, which have an even more immediate bearing upon the structure of contemporary society.

D. C. TWITCHELL

HERBERT FRANZ SCHURMANN (tr.): *Economic structure of the Yuan dynasty: translation of chapters 93 and 94 of the Yuan shih* 元史. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, xvi.) xviii, 253 pp., 3 maps. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege. 28s.)

Although the Western bibliography of works concerned with the Mongol period is perhaps fuller than that concerned with any other aspect of Oriental history, very little serious and satisfactory work has been published on the internal organization of China under the Mongol domination. Paul Ratchnevsky's unfortunately incomplete translation of the *Hsing-fa chih*, the monograph on law from the *Yuan shih*, and Professor H. Franke's *Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-*

Herrschaft (1949) apart, there is little which deals with social and economic institutions on a broad basis. Professor Franke's work already marked a great advance in our understanding of Yuan period economics, but was more or less limited to a discussion of monetary problems.

At the time of publication of Professor Franke's work, Dr. Schurmann published an extended review of it which showed great insight into the institutional history of the period, and we are now fortunate enough to have a general account which develops and extends many of these ideas. The present volume is built around an excellent translation of the first two of the five chapters which comprise the *Shih-huo chih* 食貨志 (financial monograph) of the *Yuan shih*. These two chapters give a coverage of the years down to 1330, and derive their material from the lost *Ching-shih ta-tien* 經世大典. They include 13 major topics, and the translation of each of these sections is preceded by an introduction in which the author summarizes the subject and presents the material in its historical context. The bulk of the additional documentation which is available, particularly in the *Yuan tien chang* is such that many details have had to be omitted, but Dr. Schurmann has made an excellent attempt to summarize the situation, and in general his views are balanced and mature, and suggest many possible lines for future detailed research.

The economic life of the Yuan period is of vital interest to the historian, as it has been widely assumed that the Mongol conquest, and its disruption of Chinese institutions, was responsible for inhibiting the further development of a bourgeois society, following the remarkable growth of cities and trade which had taken place under the Sung. Although Dr. Schurmann has not fully and explicitly developed his views on the place of this period in the general growth of Chinese society, it is clear that he sees the Yuan not as a beginning of economic stagnation and decadence, but as a period of further growth which continued the developments of the Sung. The Mongol administration, far from inhibiting the growth of native institutions, appears to have encouraged them.

Many questions are raised which it is hoped will later be given more adequate treatment by the author. Prominent among these is the rôle of the *ortaq* merchants, who acted as tax-farmers, and undoubtedly had a wide influence on the contemporary economy.

The author falls into a few minor inaccuracies when he steps outside his own period, e.g.

p. 27. Contractual binding of the tenant to the land had nothing to do with the Mongols

in China, but was a custom which was already widespread in southern and central China in the later Sung. It is possible to be much more categorical on this point than is the author. The great social change under the Yuan, as the author suggests on p. 28, was the great increase in slavery. Here too southern China seems to have been the area principally involved, and it is possible that a combination of Sung bound tenants and Yüan slave cultivators laid the foundation of the predominance of non-free status among the lower classes in the south as compared with northern China which is noticeable in Ming and Ch'ing times.

p. 29. It seems to me rather doubtful how far the Mongols radically altered the pattern of production in north-eastern China. The region around Peking already contained much grazing land in late T'ang times, and this certainly persisted under the Liao and Chin. The new demand for transported grain which the author notes in the area was much more likely to have resulted from the increased non-productive population which always accumulated in a capital city. This was also coupled with the local loss of grain production which followed the transfer of much land around a large city to the growing of vegetables and rearing of livestock. This is a problem which urgently demands attention, for traditional scholars, where they have given any attention at all to the supply problem attendant on the growth of a large capital, have dealt with it purely as a problem of grain supply. A glance at the lists of commodities in the accounts of the Sung capital Hang-chou should make it perfectly clear that the food supply of such a city was a most complex and wide-reaching problem.

p. 30. On the question of the reclamation of lands, both in the swampy reaches of the lower Yangtze valley and in the coastal belt of Kiangsu-Chekiang, excellent studies exist in Tamai Zehaku, 'Sōdai suiriden no ichi toku-ishō' 宋代水利田の一特異相, *Keijō tenkoku-daiyaku bungaku-kai ronsan*, VII, 1938, and in the recent work of Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之 'Sōdai no uden to shōensei—toku ni Kōnan tōro ni tsuite' 宋代の圩田と莊園制—特に江南東路について, *Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, x, 1956, 229-300.

p. 115. The author suggests that the construction of ships capable of transporting 1,000 *tan* (the measure is misread as *shih* throughout the book) represented 'definite technological progress in ship-building'. In fact ships of this size were already in regular use in the coastal traffic between Lei-chou,

Kuang-chou, and Fukien during the mid-ninth century, as we know from a memorial of Ch'ên Pang-shih in *T's'ê-fu yüan-luei* 498, p. 26b. Ships of the same size are also mentioned in internal traffic in T'ang times.

p. 188, n. 10. This account of the reason for the confusion of the transportation and salt bureaux is not strictly accurate. Under the T'ang, the transport conducted by the Salt Commission was not transport of salt, as the author seems to assume, but grain transport.

There are also a few slips of the pen and transcription errors, e.g.

p. 33, n. 5. 通田 should of course read 通典.

p. 106, n. 19. 女直 should read 女眞, and the transcription be corrected to *Kindai Jōshin no kenkyū*.

These criticisms are, however, merely points of detail, inevitable in a work of such scope dealing with an almost untouched field. The book is a work of major importance which gives an admirable translation of a difficult text, and a most stimulating introduction to a crucial period of social and economic history.

D. C. TWITCHETT

A. C. MOULE: *Quinsai, with other notes on Marco Polo*. xii, 92 pp., front., 6 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1957. 30s.

During the years following the publication of the first two volumes of the Moule-Pelliot edition of Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, the late Professor Moule devoted his retirement to the compilation of his share of the notes and studies which were to form vol. III of the completed work. Following the death of Pelliot, however, the publication of the completed sections of the work, considerable parts of which had already been set up in type, seemed to have been abandoned (though it now appears that Pelliot's notes will be published soon). The loss which this seeming abandonment has meant to the world of scholarship is graphically shown by the volume under review, which reprints six studies salvaged from the manuscript.

Five of the pieces are simply extended footnotes. They deal with the curious 'hens which have skins like cats' which Professor Moule identifies with the Chinese *wu-kü-chi* 烏骨鷄 known as 'silkie'; with two curious monkey-like animals called the *Gat Paul* or the *Mercatte* and the *Papion*; with the 'Linen of Rennes' which is shown to refer not to Rennes as had been previously assumed, but to Reims; with the account of the siege of

Saianfu (Hsiang-yang) by the Mongols from 1268 to 1273 given by Polo; and with Polo's account of the murder of Acmat Bailo in 1282. Of these the last three items are extended and revised versions of previously published papers.

The most interesting by far of the studies is that which gives the volume its name and which occupies more than half of its pages. This is the discussion of Polo's description of the great city of Quinsai (that is Hang-chou, the late capital of the Southern Sung) in the light of contemporary Chinese evidence. Fortunately, not only do we have the very vivid and lively account of Polo, but there exist no less than four eyewitness descriptions of the splendours of the capital dating from the same century, the *Tu-ch'êng chi-shêng* 都城紀勝, the *Hsi-hu lao-jên fan-shêng lu* 西湖老人繁勝錄, the *Wu-lin chiu-shih* 武林舊事 (10 ch.), and the incomparable *Mêng liang lu* 夢梁錄 (20 ch.). These four very difficult texts contain a wealth of fascinating detail about daily life in Hang-chou, and we are perhaps better informed about Hang-chou in the thirteenth century than about everyday matters in any other city in Chinese history until modern times. Besides these unofficial records we have an unusually full series of officially compiled local gazetteers covering the region and going back into Sung times. Professor Moule clearly had all this wealth of material at his fingertips, and besides had the incomparable advantage of having lived for much of his youth in Hang-chou. The result is a most lively and readable—though extremely erudite—account, which is perhaps the best description of life in a great medieval Chinese city in any Western language. The translations are excellent, for they were made long before the recent critical edition of the relative texts by the Shanghai Ku-tien wên-hsueh ch'u-pan shé (1956), entitled *Tung-ching mêng-hua lu* (wai ssü-chung) 東京夢華錄 [外四種], which provides the reader with punctuation and full lists of variant readings. In one or two cases, in fact, Professor Moule's reading appears to be superior to that of the editors of this text. There are, however, one or two particulars in which the translations might be improved. For example, *hang* 行 which the author takes to refer to individual business houses, still maintained its more usual meaning from Sung times, which was a guild or association of traders. The name probably derives from the rows of stalls occupied by dealers in a particular type of goods in the strictly organized markets of T'ang times. Similarly *fang* (see p. 39) 坊 was a relic of the days when cities were subdivided by interior walls

into wards (*fang*) which were minor administrative and police districts, and closed at night by their own gates. This system did not survive the eighth century, but the term *fang* for a quarter of a city derives from it. The term used for a shop is a secondary derivation. When the rigid market system broke down and shops were permitted in all quarters of a city, trades tended to congregate in one district, *fang*. From this the term came to mean 'trade' and hence 'shop'.

In spite of a few such errors, this volume is of great interest not only to the students of Marco Polo, but to all those interested in the society of China in the Mongol epoch.

D. C. TWITCHETT

WILLIAM CHARLES WHITE: *Bronze culture of ancient China: an archaeological study of bronze objects from northern Honan, dating from about 1400 B.C.-771 B.C. (Museum studies, no. 5.)* xviii, 219 pp., including 100 plates, front. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1956. £4.

The work of Bishop White of Honan is so well known to students of ancient Chinese culture that a welcome for any book that bears his name is assured. A resident of China for nearly 40 years, he served the Anglican Church for 26 of them as bishop of the great province in which so much of the early history of Chinese civilization unfolded. His pastoral duties, social service, and antiquarian interests brought him into contact with a wide variety of people—scholars, officials, and what was more remarkable, farmers, dealers, and treasure hunters, in town and countryside. There can have been few important finds of ancient bronzes that were not brought to his notice, and the Royal Ontario Museum, of which he is now a Keeper Emeritus, owes many of its most important possessions to his wise purchases. Moreover, what little was known of the provenance of Honan antiquities and the circumstances of the finds, before the days of controlled excavation under Government auspices, is almost entirely due to his presence and vigilance. His best known work, *Tombs of old Lo-yang*, is a record of the most famous find of all, that from the tombs of the Warring States period near Chin Ts'un.

The present book discusses ten groups of bronzes each of which the author knows to have been the proceeds of a particular find, and to each of which he gives a distinctive name. Since they have subsequently been dispersed in museums and collections throughout the world, his testimony as to their former

association and provenance is of unique value. For instance, of four bronzes forming the first section of his first group, two are in the Toronto museum, one in a Japanese collection, and the fourth in the Malcolm Collection at the School of Oriental and African Studies.

Some of the author's conclusions as to the naming and dating of his groups are open to question in the light of recent discoveries by Chinese excavators. For example, most of the bronzes in Group VII, called 'The Prince Kung of Sung Set, of the Early Chou period', and unearthed in 1946 in the Hui Hsien area, are now seen to be Shang bronzes of pre-An yang types, as found in the lower Shang strata at Liu-li Ko. Elsewhere, some of the explanations of the 'ceremonial graphs on oracle bones' require revision.

Such criticism does not, however, invalidate the author's real service to scholarship in putting on record needed information of which he alone was possessed, and for which his readers will be grateful.

S. HOWARD HANSFORD

KARL A. WITTFOGEL: *Oriental despotism: a comparative study of total power.* New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957. 60s.

'Oriental despotism' has an archaic ring about it and indeed it is a phrase that comes out of the confident days of the nineteenth century when European civilization seemed permanently destined to lead and rule the benighted natives of less fortunate lands. Is it equally appropriate to-day? Is it perhaps a concept which can provide the key to the scientific understanding of world history, not only in the past but in the present conflict between East and West? To many this will seem paradoxical and improbable but it is a proposition which is put seriously before us by Professor K. A. Wittfogel in his new book, providing the latest variation on a theme which he has propounded for many years. Coming from a man who has achieved Professor Wittfogel's eminence in the study of Chinese social history it deserves to be examined on its merits. Moreover since it seems likely that it will be taken seriously by some sociologists and possibly by some historians as well, it should be understood even by those who reject it.

Essentially the theory is that in regions of the world where agriculture depended on large-scale irrigation there developed centralized bureaucratic states to organize the necessary public works. Such states became 'stronger

than society' and prevented the development of any counterbalancing forces in society. Government was total and despotic. While such societies were very successful in maintaining themselves over the centuries, all inner development was stultified. At most there could be a cyclical movement of decay and regeneration. In contrast to feudal society, 'the outstanding case of societal development', 'hydraulic society is the outstanding case of societal stagnation' (pp. 419-20).

Professor Wittfogel divides hydraulic society into various subtypes and finds examples of it in pre-conquest America, Hawaii, ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, India, etc., etc. Moreover he finds that the same stateform can extend itself by a process of contagion into regions outside the original homelands of irrigated agriculture. Thus the Hellenistic Near East and the Roman Empire were Orientalized and, later, Muscovite Russia picked up the disease from the Mongols who had brought it with them from the Far East. Now, he darkly hints, it has developed a new and far more virulent strain. Bad and even 'total' as agromanageerial despotism was, the new industrial apparatus states of Communist Russia and China are far more 'total' and oppressive, and their contagion is in danger of sweeping over the rest of Asia, if not the world.

The first and most obvious way in which this theory is open to criticism is that it makes a travesty of the facts of the history of the so-called Oriental countries. I am not competent to judge except in the case of the Far East but, since China has been Professor Wittfogel's main object of research and since I find his theory so ill-fitting with regard to that civilization, I may be permitted to doubt whether his remarks are any better founded concerning the Ancient Egyptians or Byzantium, for example.

Water control was an important activity of the Chinese state. The legendary activities of the Great Yu illustrate this for early times. Yet Yu was only one among many culture heroes and one would hesitate to give water control the kind of critical importance in the formation of Chinese culture that is implied by Professor Wittfogel. Very little argument is offered. Convinced as he is that China *was* a hydraulic society, he evidently thinks that suggestive hints are sufficient. Where evidence is so fragmentary as in the case of prehistoric Chinese civilization one can generally make a plausible case for one's theories—as the Chinese Communist historians do when they find a 'slave society' in the second millennium B.C. A more convincing case could perhaps be made for Professor Wittfogel's earlier contention that China's hydraulic society only

took shape with the founding of the Empire by Ch'in, for Ch'in certainly did undertake irrigation works on a major scale and Ch'in was also certainly an absolutist, centralized state. Yet other features of Ch'in's rise do not fit the theory so well—it seems to have been associated, for example with the appearance of private landownership, which may have induced Professor Wittfogel to shift the origins of hydraulic society further back.

It may have been possible in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when little beyond the legends of the ancient sage-kings was known of Chinese history and the only sources for knowledge of Chinese society were missionary reports and travellers' tales, to think of China as incredibly ancient, stable, and unchanging, but it is difficult to see how anyone who has had as much opportunity of learning better as has Professor Wittfogel could still maintain such a conception in the middle of the twentieth century. Of course it depends what you mean by change but on almost any criterion the society of Chou China was very different from that of subsequent periods and in spite of strong elements of tradition and continuity, the society and institutions of T'ang, Sung, and later were very different from those of Han and the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Professor Wittfogel does not tell us what would count as a 'societal change' so it is difficult to know where to start to argue with him. Changes in the system of land tenure would seem to be of possible significance in this respect. Professor Wittfogel finds it interesting that in Imperial China private landownership was widespread and avers that it needs further investigation but he does not admit that it constituted any fundamental change in society, even though in general he follows earlier theorists in taking public ownership of land as a characteristic of this type of society.

To take another example, there seems to me to be a fundamental inconsistency in Professor Wittfogel's treatment of the Chinese examination system. On the basis of a statistical analysis of very dubious validity he maintains that on the whole the system did not introduce new blood into the ruling class and that throughout the history of Imperial China the bureaucracy was largely self-perpetuating. While I would by no means entirely agree with this conclusion, especially from Sung onwards, I would agree that the bureaucracy represented a very powerful vested interest serving the emperor but standing in opposition to his absolutist tendencies—if this were Professor Wittfogel's conclusion as one might have expected from his general sociology of power. But while he does discuss the rise of eunuchism as being the ruler's method of acquiring a

personal instrument to control the bureaucracy, he does not suggest that the bureaucracy could, at times, consistently, effectively, and rationally control the arbitrariness of a ruler. Such an idea would spoil his picture of Oriental despotism as 'total terror', 'total submission', 'total loneliness'. But in this he does a grievous wrong not only to the many stout Confucians who risked disgrace or worse to protest, and not always in vain, against what they believed to be wrong or misguided policies or injustices, but also to those more numerous officials who knew how to bend before the wind but who with quiet moderation and personal integrity pursued not wholly self-seeking ends. Nor does he take account of the immense power of obstruction of the bureaucracy when it felt its interests threatened. Furthermore he does not seem to be aware that the use of eunuchs by a ruler was, at any rate in China, very much a two-edged weapon which usually ended by the ruler becoming virtually a prisoner within his own palace.

This sort of criticism might be pursued endlessly. One could show again and again how Professor Wittfogel has failed to mention or to give emphasis to awkward facts that do not fit his grand outline. In order to establish a theory a dispassionate inquirer ought to be anxious to discover and dispose of all possible objections. Professor Wittfogel does not, however, approach his subject in this spirit. One gets the impression of him as a visionary with a truth to proclaim. Hence his bitter resentment and heavy irony for those who do not agree with him, the violent rhetoric that seems out of place in a work of scholarship. His obsession with his theory leads him to see anyone who fails to accept the theory of Oriental Society as blinded by ulterior motives or, worse, consciously and wickedly distorting the truth.

This appears especially in his history of the theory of Asiatic Society in Marxist circles, where he makes some shrewd observations of the way in which allegedly scientific theory has been tailored to fit immediate political exigencies but mars his case by extravagant special pleading and exaggeration. It is impossible to accept that the 'Asiatic mode of production' was ever as central and crucial a part of Marx's thought as Professor Wittfogel contends. Asia was on the periphery of his attention and, though it may now be apparent to a non-Marxist that the problem of fitting non-European history into a theory designed in the first place to explain the course of European history created insoluble difficulties, the fact that Marx did not consistently face the problem but left these difficulties to his successors need not imply bad faith on his part, any more than the failure to agree on an acceptable

solution to what was *really* an insoluble problem need of itself imply bad faith among these successors.

The fact is that the theory of Asiatic Society is a myth and not a usable scientific hypothesis. It was a myth suited to a time when we in the west knew little of the real history of non-European countries and could afford to ignore them. It was not a myth that could ever be accepted by Asian countries and it is not surprising that Communist revolutionaries there quickly dropped it. Nor is it a suitable myth to be used as a weapon against the advance of Communism at the present time. What is urgently needed is an appreciative understanding of the East by the West which will help to break down the superiority-inferiority feelings which bedevil relations and impede a rational approach to the world's problems.

Historians must certainly take account of the fact that in European political theory democracy has for many centuries been known as a theoretical alternative to monarchy or tyranny and that the Greek and Roman tradition of freedom never entirely died out; so that when suitable opportunities arose it was possible to think of imposing restrictions on a king or even doing without one in a way which could never have been dreamt of in China, where all that a revolting people could do was to replace one dynastic line by another. Yet this does not mean that there were no institutional checks on absolutism in China or that life had more 'value' in medieval Europe than in China (cf. chapter 10A.2.b 'Values'). (No doubt it was better in some ways and not so good in others, better for some and not so good for others. I should find it very difficult to choose between Hang Chou and Venice as a desirable place of residence in the thirteenth century—Marco Polo had no doubt which was 'the greatest city which may be found in the world'.) Nor does it mean that China was always stagnant and Europe progressive. Quite the contrary, there were long periods when China was certainly much ahead of Europe in technical, economic, and social development and it will not do to brush this all aside by a preconceived notion that Oriental Society does not develop. The dominance of the Confucian view of society in China did undoubtedly inhibit growth and change, as did that of the Christian in Europe; but the fact that the break through occurred in Europe rather than anywhere else is a unique historical event which must be explained in terms of the peculiar concurrence of multiple circumstances that produced it and not solely by generalities about the supposed inherent characteristics of European feudalism.

The feature of Professor Wittfogel's book

that will have the widest popular appeal is its treatment of modern totalitarianism as a new and more frightful form of Oriental despotism. He is pessimistic of the ability of those countries that were the homelands of hydraulic society to resist the onrush of Communism and societal regression into a worse bureaucratic state slavery than ever before. He is scarcely more optimistic about the chances of the free countries of the West, where he finds public opinion 'ambivalent about the form and function of private property and enterprise' to escape bureaucratic state slavery. One must applaud his fervently expressed admiration for freedom but one is puzzled to find not so much as a mention of the part to be played by democratic institutions, constitutional rights, and the supremacy of law in the defence of freedom. Without such safeguards the independence of Big Business or Big Labour would seem to be but frail shields against modern style Big Government in an industrial country, especially for those minorities whose interests are not protected by these colossi. It is a commonplace of politics that the tyranny of the majority can be worse than the caprice of an arbitrary despot. The real battle for liberty in the non-Communist world is not against creeping socialism but against just such simplifications of the world situation into black and white terms as we have in this book—which, as in the case of McCarthyism in America, may lead people to prostitute the very free institutions which they pretend to prize but do not understand.

B. G. PULLEYBLANK

NICHOLAS POPPE: *The Mongolian monuments in hP'ags-pa script. Second edition translated and edited by John R. Krueger.* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 8.) xii, 147 pp., 12 plates, map. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957. DM. 30.

This volume is an English edition, somewhat revised, of Professor Poppe's earlier Russian work, which was published in 1941 but was never generally obtainable. It reproduces in facsimile the text of 13 monuments in the Mongol language and the hP'ags-pa, or square, script, and gives a transliteration, transcription, and translation of each, together with an extensive commentary, an account of the history and nature of the script and of the peculiarities of the language recorded in it, a glossary of all the words found in the 13 texts examined and in others as well, and an extensive bibliography. A map shows the geographical location of the monuments.

Professor Poppe here provides the first full

account of the hP'ags-pa script as it was used for the Mongol language, and of the linguistic peculiarities of that stage of the language for which it was employed. This stage is of importance to Mongolists as it differs to some extent from what has come to be known as Written Mongolian. Professor Poppe's translations represent a considerable advance in accuracy upon the work of his forerunners, from whom he quotes extensively. His selection of texts is sufficiently wide to exemplify both script and language, and the plates bring together in one place monuments which have hitherto been accessible only with difficulty. Besides such comparatively well-known texts as the four tax-exemption decrees of 1276, 1314 (two), and 1283, the proclamations of 1306 and 1307, the Mannerheim fragment, and the two Chü-yung-kuan inscriptions, he gives photographs also of a less familiar tax-exemption edict of 1321 and of four *p'ai-tzu*. The high quality of the linguistic and philological analysis need not be insisted upon by a reviewer, and the book as a whole is sure of a warm welcome. Of its various sections the least satisfactory is the commentary and since Professor Poppe's work will certainly become the standard handbook of hP'ags-pa Mongol it is necessary to point out that in matters of detail the commentary must be carefully controlled by the reader.

The treatment accorded to the Chinese text of the first four tax-exemption edicts (the fifth is fragmentary) seems to me to be open to question. Professor Poppe is probably right in stating (p. 7) that these bilingual texts were first composed in Mongol and then translated into Chinese; though it is only of a very few that the Mongol text survives. However, where parallel texts exist it is probably best, as was the opinion of Haenisch (*Steuergerichtsamt der chinesischen Klöster*, Leipzig, 1940, pp. 56-7) to make use of both. Professor Poppe's procedure seems to me of doubtful validity. First he has dismissed the great pioneer work of Chavannes who assembled, edited, and translated no less than 61 inscriptions with the words (p. 7): 'these inconsistencies (i.e. between the two texts) can, in the majority of cases, be explained by the inaccurate French translation of the Chinese text in the work of Ed. Chavannes'. But he has then regularly referred to the Chinese text via this 'inaccurate' translation, without citing the original Chinese. Secondly, although he frequently recalls the fact that Chavannes was working from the Chinese text, he also frequently leaves the impression that Chavannes was using the Mongol text. Thus a statement such as that in n. 19, p. 88, sub *gēyaddur* that 'Chavannes translates it "habitations"' is quite misleading. The word translated by

Chavannes is the Chinese 房舍. The use of this term does corroborate Professor Poppe's undoubtedly correct recovery of the earlier meaning of the Mongol word *keyid* (now = 'monastery') but Chavannes' translation is not strictly speaking the relevant thing.

A second example may be more important. In n. 7, p. 81, Professor Poppe discusses the difficult phrase *yorč'iqun yabuqun elč'ine*. Chavannes translated the corresponding Chinese text as 'courriers officiels qui vont et viennent pour faire appliquer (les édits impériaux)' and his translation 'qui vont et viennent' was repeated by Lewicki. Professor Poppe concludes: 'There is no basis for translating *yorč'i* as "to go" and *yabu* as "to come"; consequently the translation "qui vont et viennent" is not quite accurate'. As far as this statement refers to Chavannes it is quite inapplicable. His text runs 來往行踏的使臣 and it was on this basis and not that stated by Professor Poppe that he made his translation. There seems to me no obstacle to translating 來往 literally as 'qui vont et viennent' and in any case there is not much between this and Professor Poppe's own 'going to and fro'. It looks as if what happened is that the author of the Chinese text construed the Mongol as **yorč'ifu yabuqun*, making it parallel for instance with the phrase *barifu yabu'ayi* discussed by Professor Poppe in his n. 12. This latter phrase appears in the Chinese text as 收執行踏的(令旨). Elsewhere, as in the edict of 1314 (Poppe II, Chavannes X) the phrase 行踏 is simplified to 行. Chavannes was mistaken in translating this as 'pour faire appliquer'. The Chinese 行 serves as a gloss in the 'Secret history' and elsewhere to Mongol *yabu* 'to go' and the phrase 行踏, 行 evidently gives to the verbal form preceding it an habitual sense and no more: cf. Professor Poppe's translation (p. 47) 'a writ to be retained'. Nor is it indispensable, as many edicts omit it from the phrase 來往(行踏的)使臣 (e.g. the edict of 1314). The Chinese phrase 來往 was probably meant as equivalent to Mongol *yorč'i* (though this is glossed simply 去 in the 'Secret history') while 行踏 corresponded to *yabu*. Thus it seems that the texts of the Chinese and Mongol inscriptions differ subtly at this point, the Mongol being, as Professor Poppe says, a sort of compound, to be translated 'are under way', while the Chinese supposes the more usual Mongol construction of *converbum imperfecti* plus another verb form. But this possible elucidation has been obscured by the uncritical citation of Chavannes' translation without the original Chinese.

More than once one wishes either that Chavannes' text had not been quoted or that it had been more adequately examined; a simple statement that his translation differs from the correct translation of the Mongol text really serves no useful purpose. Note 49b would have been more helpful if it had been pointed out that the sole reason why Chavannes' translation differs from Professor Poppe's is that Chavannes mistook the phrase 提調著行者 for a nominal group meaning 'the administrators' whereas 著 as is usual in this type of language, and as Chavannes usually understood it, corresponds to the Mongol imperative suffix *-tuγai*.

Professor Poppe mentions that the main body of his book remains essentially unchanged from the original edition. It is a pity that more use was not made of the opportunities afforded by revision to bring up to date some notes rendered obsolete by such a publication as Haenisch's *Steuergerechtsame*. Note 14, p. 87, has, as far as Chavannes' translation is concerned, been overtaken, for Haenisch pointed out (op. cit., p. 40, n. 3) that the Chinese phrase 替頭裏, the phrase which misled Chavannes, is the equivalent of Mongol *oran-a*. The two texts thus correspond in meaning. Haenisch also suggested that the contradictory texts mentioned in Professor Poppe's n. 10e, p. 85, can be reconciled by supposing a forgery of the Chinese text by the clerics affected, and wilful damaging of the stele to cover the falsification. This interesting hypothesis might have been referred to.

Mr. Krueger has undertaken the difficult task of translating and editing this complicated manual. The translation is, as far as one can judge, accurate, though a few infelicities, such as the first sentence on p. 100, remain to puzzle the reader. His reduction of the number of notes by using the same reference number for words and phrases which occur in the text of more than one inscription in essentially the same form (p. 145) is not an entirely successful procedure, for he has not ensured that the text of the note is always equally applicable to the second or third occurrence of the item concerned. Thus n. 20, p. 88, as far as it concerns Chavannes, is all very well when applied to text no. I (Chavannes XLIII) but when applied to text no. II (Chavannes X) it simply does not correspond with facts. The phrase under review is in Mongol *ul'a šī'usu bu bari'ugayi* which in the Chinese text appears as 鋪馬祇應休着者. Chavannes (no. X) translates this as 'que les fournitures en chevaux de poste ne soient pas requises' and explains in a footnote that 鋪馬 means 'post-horse' and that 祇應 means 'the act of supplying something'. In

later texts he was misled by the more usual meaning 'bedding' of 鋪 to admit this unfortunate alternative into his translations, but it is ungenerous to suppress his earlier and correct translation of the phrase 鋪馬 and to omit to explain what, to the non-sinologist, must appear the absurd translation 'literie et chevaux'.

A number of errors in the commentary might have been picked up during the work of re-editing. Thus the quotations from Wylie's work in notes 36 and 37 have been wrongly made. He did translate *gey den ku* and he translated *k'ebid* as 'les abris' (shelters), not as 'shops'. In n. 41b Chavannes is incorrectly quoted as explaining his translation 'aménagement d'eau' as meaning 'equipment (for irrigation purposes, etc.)'. The words 'aménagement d'eau' mean here 'distribution of waters' and Chavannes' explanation is quite other than what is made of it. Note 43, p. 95, gives a quotation from Chavannes' translation but it is from an inscription not examined by Professor Poppe (that of 1318) and is hence strictly speaking irrelevant. The correct passage comes a couple of sides earlier and it looks as if two pages of *T'oung Pao* were turned over together by mistake. Finally, n. 6, p. 81, reads: '... *noyadda* which Chavannes leaves untranslated'. Chavannes' text had 官人每 corresponding to *noyadda* and he rendered it 'fonctionnaires'. Reference to the original sources at the time of making the translation from the Russian might have permitted the detection and exclusion of such errors of fact as these.

In some ways the method of editing shows a lack of balance. One would for instance willingly barter the information offered on p. 143 that p. is an abbreviation for page, vol. for volume, and so on, for a translation of the many Russian phrases which have been left in the original tongue in what is, after all, a translation of a Russian book. To give Tibetan script as well as transliteration is superfluous and only raises the price of an already costly book. Chinese characters for such well known titles as *Hsiao-ching* should be either quite familiar to the reader or else irrelevant to him and could have been omitted. The map is in some ways curiously out of date and appears not to have been revised since it was originally drawn for the Russian edition. Especially one wishes that the key indicated which inscription was to be found at which site.

There are a few minor points to be noted:

p. 7, n. 25. Three inscriptions were published by Haenisch, dated 1350 ?, 1351, and 1352 ?. p. 40, line 28. For 'the *t'i tien* which' read 'the *t'i tien* who'.

p. 87, line 22. Read 'temple of Yao'.

p. 121, line 51. The word *bō'el'ele* should surely be translated 'as long as . . . is'; cf. Haenisch, III, 25: 'so lange keine . . . vorliegen'.

p. 125, sub *fu lu*, etc. For Chiao Te-jen read Chiao Te-jun.

p. 142, sub 135. For Tsai read Ts'ai.

For 言舌 read 話.

For 74 read 75.

For 3121 read 1321.

Ts'ai's Chinese text of no. IV (not available to Professor Poppe) permits the establishment of the year 1321 as that of the edict. It shows an extra line giving the year 1331 as the year of erection of the stele, and hence 1321 is the last year which will fit the formula for the date of promulgation.

Apart from the criticisms made above, which fall upon one part of the book only, Professor Poppe's work is a most useful and thorough handbook of the Mongol language at a stage which has up to now been insufficiently studied. Its detailed phonological and grammatical analyses, accurate translations and -transliterations, and the carefully compiled glossary, will be most welcome to all Mongolists. The *hp'ags-pa* script may well prove to have been more extensively used even than is now believed. A recent publication entitled 'The Mongolian People's Republic' (Ulan Bator, 1956) mentions (p. 107) that 'to-day, books printed in the square writing are still to be found in private collections in Inner Mongolia'.

C. R. BAWDEN

JAMES WILLIAM MORLEY: *The Japanese thrust into Siberia, 1918*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) xv, 395 pp. New York: Columbia University Press; London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 48s.

Japan's intervention in Siberia cost her much money and a great deal of goodwill. Because Japan was the last of the Allies to evacuate the area—Japanese troops did not leave Vladivostok until 1922 and they remained in Northern Sakhalin until 1925—she was to bear thereafter the brunt of Soviet hostility. For the same reason the United States and, to a lesser extent, Great Britain and France regarded Japan's Siberian adventure with suspicion. Was this, they asked themselves, an attempt by Japan to establish a permanent protectorate over at least the Maritime Province? The whole affair became an object of mistrust for many, perhaps the

majority, of the Japanese people. By the time it was wound up the Japanese Army's popularity had fallen so far that officers, in Tokyo and Osaka at any rate, were often reluctant to wear uniform in the streets.

Professor Morley's excellent and indeed fascinating study deals only with the events leading up to Japan's part in what was, of course, in the first place an Allied intervention. He gives the first detailed account in the English language of the tussle that went on, in the early months of 1918, between the interventionists and their opponents. The latter comprised at least one of the *Genrō*, Saionji, the main opposition party in the Diet, the *Kenseikai*, and individuals such as Makino, of the House of Peers, and Shidehara, of the Foreign Ministry. Furthermore, Hara Kei, leader of the *Seiyūkai*, was, to say the least, very lukewarm towards the whole idea of Japanese intervention. Ranged in favour of an expedition were more powerful elements in the state. The Chōshū clan, which still dominated the upper reaches of the army, supported intervention for military, economic, and ideological reasons. Undoubtedly the most active planner in this field was Lieutenant-General Tanaka Giichi, Vice-Chief of the General Staff. This was widely believed at the time, and Professor Morley from his study of Japanese material amply confirms it. But he reveals that Prince Yamagata, *Genrō* and, of course, the venerated leader of the Chōshū clan, was very cautious and realistic in his approach to the Siberian problem. He was somewhat hesitant in consenting to the use of Japanese troops in Siberia, even after the American government had proposed that Japan should join a limited Allied expedition to help the Czechs. 'When drawing the sword,' warned Yamagata, 'one does not grasp the handle until he has considered first how it can be sheathed.' However, Yamagata was won over, probably by Tanaka. Both the Premier, Terauchi Masatake, and the Foreign Minister, Gotō Shimpei, were interventionists; and so when the American invitation came, in the summer of 1918, it was not difficult to allay the fears or overcome the objections of doubters such as Saionji, Makino, and Hara. Professor Morley points out that while the Chōshū clique wanted Japan to control the Amur basin they realized that success required the co-operation of Hara and Makino at home and the support of the Allies, of America especially, abroad. 'For six months' (writes Professor Morley) 'these reservations restrained action and indeed might have forestalled it altogether had not the American invitation arrived to break the deadlock. The American invitation enabled the "interventionists" and the "noninterventionists"'

for quite different reasons to agree on an expedition'.

Once intervention had been agreed upon the army took the bit between its teeth; and the more moderate Chōshū leaders lost control to such extremists as Uehara Yūsaku, Chief of the General Staff. Very soon Japan was to have some 70,000 troops in Siberia.

Professor Morley's book is based on both Japanese and Russian language sources. Thus he leads the reader on sure ground as he guides him step by step through a very complicated story, set partly in Tokyo and partly in Harbin, Vladivostok, Manchouli, and Khabarovsk. The activities, on the Japanese side, of such persons as Nishihara Kamezō, Nakajima Masatake, Araki Sadao, and Satō Kijiro are explained and described with clarity and skill—as are the manoeuvres and varying attitudes of anti-Bolshevik Russians such as Semenov, Kalmykov, Peter Derber, Kolchak, Kudashev, and Horvat.

The book is not only lucid on a subject that bristles with complexities; it is also extremely objective, almost too much so, perhaps. For the unspeakable Kalmykov, and the almost equally inhuman Semenov, are presented in a light so cool and neutral as to lead an uninformed reader to suppose that these two adventurers were simply patriotic young Cossack officers inspired by largely unselfish motives. On the other hand Professor Morley—and it is the only time when any bias is faintly evident—seems rather less than fair to Admiral Kolchak, who, of course, detested Semenov and was shocked and worried by the support that this rogue was getting from elements of the Japanese Army.

Finally, the author casts light on one aspect of the situation that has received very little attention; namely Japan's important economic interests in the Amur basin, and their fears, not entirely unjustified, of American penetration, in terms of finance and trade, in that region.

It is to be hoped that Professor Morley will carry the story, in a later book, beyond 1918. He is most admirably fitted to do so.

RICHARD STORRY

WALTER F. VELLA: *Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851*. (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, iv.) ix, 180 pp., front., plate, 4 maps. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin Inc. for the Association for Asian Studies, 1957. \$5.

The first four chapters of this study build up a general picture of the Siam of the second

quarter of the nineteenth century. Two chapters are devoted to the Malay and Laotian vassal states. Then follow relations with other powers, Cambodia, Annam, Burma, and China, in two chapters. Relations with the West and a short summary conclude the volume.

In addition to the well-known material in Western languages, the author has made use of Siamese sources. A considerable amount of material relating to the period has been published in Siam, and some 80 works in the language are listed in the valuable bibliography. The author makes use of local chronicles and other material as appropriate, but relies principally on two major compilations, *Bu'ang thut farang samai krung ratanakosin* 'Western diplomatic missions in the Bangkok period' and *Phongsavadan . . . ratchakan thi sam* 'Chronicle of the IIIrd reign'.

Thut farang is the more authoritative work, being a collection of documents relating to the subject of its title. The 'Chronicle' was written by Chao Phraya Thiphakkarawong in the Vth reign. Its author was a son of the Phra Khlang who was concerned with negotiations with foreign missions throughout the IIIrd reign. This close family connexion did not cause Thiphakkarawong to write revealingly on foreign missions. The physical progress of the visitors in terms of boat processions, receptions, and so on is faithfully catalogued, but of the progress and pattern of political negotiations there is very little of interest. Thiphakkarawong is better at battles, and the accounts of campaigns in the Lao states and in Cambodia are drawn mainly from this source. The local chronicles of Malay and Lao states are brief Siamese compilations made, for the most part, during the Vth reign.

The Siamese sources provide a wealth of background information which, in itself, enhances the value of this study. The author cannot, however, be said to treat these materials critically. He takes too much at its face value. Treated in this straightforward way, Siamese sources have a limited use, and little that is important or new can emerge.

There is much material, both British and Siamese, on affairs in the northern Malay states, and the chapter on this subject is written with an admirable detachment.

With regard to the Lao states, however, the author sees the whole question very much through Siamese eyes. The discussion is naturally chiefly concerned with Chao Anu's attempt to reconstitute an independent Laos. The campaign and its vicious aftermath are vividly described, but too uncritical a reliance on Siamese sources leads the author to present the events as a challenge to the whole of Siam. However one values Thiphakkarawong's report of the alleged conversations between Chao

Anu and the Uparat before the start of the campaign, the Lao ruler's actions can be more coherently explained as primarily to regain control over genuinely Lao areas in the Mekong valley, and to recover for his depopulated countryside the Lao peoples removed by the Siamese during earlier campaigns.

The part played by Annam in Laos and Cambodia is strongly emphasized. In relation to the latter country, reference to Rama III's correspondence enables the author to put forward an additional motive for Siamese action—that of the protection of Buddhism. This is an important suggestion and is entirely consistent with Rama III's character as a strong conservative Buddhist.

The position of the Chinese in the Siamese economy of the period is so important, overshadowing the whole question of relations with the West, that it could well have been treated in consolidated form instead of piecemeal in several chapters. Siamese motivation in keeping the West at arm's length is seen as being due to a patriotic desire to preserve the country's economy and culture from Western influences. The factor of personal profit to ministers as patrons of Chinese tax farmers is mentioned, but is not shown as the major factor which there is reason to believe it was, especially towards the end of the reign when the Chinese stranglehold on trade was disadvantageous to the country as a whole. Again and again in the Siamese sources dealing with Western missions appear the figures of the Phra Khlang and his younger brother. These two, members of the famous Bunnag family, then at the peak of its power, were the officials most concerned with tax-farming patronage.

Over the question of religious reform a Western orientated standpoint is taken in contrast to the author's usual attraction for the Siamese point of view. He says (p. 143): 'Although these Siamese did not entirely reject their religion because of Western influences, the mere fact that they felt compelled to reform it in order that it might conform to Western science says much for the impression Western ideas made on them'. It is not clear what is meant by 'Western science', but knowledge of the West in any organized or influential form was non-existent in the Siam of the IIIrd reign. Although some missionaries expressed the view that Christian influences were strongly at work, the religious reform movement sprang from within the Buddhist monkhood, and was carried out, in all important particulars, in purely Buddhist terms. This was by no means the first occasion on which reformist tendencies had developed in a South East Asian Buddhist country. It cannot be said that at this or any

other time the Thanmayut conformed to 'Western science'.

The book is most clearly written and beautifully produced. For transcription the best system for the purpose has been used: the general system of the Royal Institute of Thailand. Where transcriptions or transliterations of personal names are known to be in common use, they have been adopted even though unsystematic. It is a pity that this common-sense compromise was not extended fully to the treatment of place names. Where we are given Bangkok, Hué, and so on, we can expect, for example, the equally well known Vientiane and Perlis, but we get the specialist Thai: Wiang Chan and Polit.

Finally, although this cannot be considered as the definitive work on the subject, it justifies the author's conviction that a general analysis limited to a relatively short period of time would be valuable. It is not entirely successful as 'a critical study of Siamese history', but it will be of great use to all who work in this field.

E. H. S. SIMMONDS

W. R. GEDDES: *Nine Dayak nights*. xxxi, 144 pp., front., 8 plates. Melbourne, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 42s.

While the author of this book was carrying out an anthropological survey among the Land Dayaks of Sarawak, the leading spirit-medium of the village of Mentu Tapuh formally offered to tell him one of the legends of his people. The story, which was told in the course of nine successive nights, is that of a culture-hero of the Land Dayaks. His adventures (related in a prose interspersed with song) partake of both mythology and epic poetry. It is perhaps in a body of very similar material (allowing for cultural and geographical differences) that Homeric poetry must have found its inspiration. Dr. Geddes shows how stories such as this, coloured by the present and yet deeply-rooted in the past, not only give a concrete expression to the fears and hopes of a simple community which has not always had the best of its enemies, but have an entertainment value and also function as a charter for the performance of ceremony and ritual. That is to say, a 'validatory myth' not only serves as a mnemonic basis for the proper carrying out of customary observances. It is also by reference to such a myth that these observances are institutionalized. In this instance the observance is that of the Festival

of the Heads which is regarded as the most important of the Land Dayak festivals.

The significance of many of the incidents in such a story, probably immediately clear to the normal type of audience, would be lost to the average Western reader unfamiliar with the Dayaks and their country. If he is not to lose the flavour and the thread of the story, he needs much more than bare narration. And so the author, rather than having recourse to an excess of parenthetical explanations or to distracting footnotes, has supplied an introduction and a sketch of life in a post-war Dayak village which serve as a kind of double prologue and attune our minds to the story.

It seems fairly certain that the work as a whole is intended for a wider audience than that normally commanded by an ethnographical textbook. The author has therefore taken full advantage of his temporary freedom from the constraint of anthropological terminology. His style is eminently readable, though he is inclined to be somewhat arch and patronizing. If I understand the underlying sentiment he has the warm humanism of some modern anthropologists and his desire is to show these Sarawak villagers primarily as men and women like ourselves and only incidentally as Land Dayaks with a relatively latent propensity to head-hunting. Accordingly he has stressed the obvious points of comparison between their culture and Western culture. The disadvantage of making such a comparison is that similar behaviour is too easily assumed to proceed from similar motives, and thus the Dayaks may strike both the author and his readers as being somewhat childish creatures when they appear, superficially, to behave like Western children. There is, however, other evidence to show that certain aspects of European adult behaviour may also strike the members of a so-called primitive community as 'childish'. It is rather doubtful whether the observable differences in any one society between the adult and the childish norm can be held to be valid across cultural boundaries.

As to the story itself, it seems possible that the author has paraphrased the original text freely in order to avoid too much repetition on the one hand and on the other too terse and bald a narrative: 'Up leapt Kichapi. He grabbed Bilantur by the loin-cloth, and with a sweep of his knife, cut off his head' (p. 138). If the author has made his tale stylistically much more palatable than a bare translation could have made it, one cannot take him to task but it seems regrettable that the original text has not been given also, possibly with an interlinear translation.

G. B. MILNER

G. B. MILNER: *Fijian grammar*. [ii], vii, 150 pp. Suva: Government Press, [1956]. 10s.

This book has been expressly designed as a teaching grammar, for the benefit of English students of the Fijian language, and while it will be most useful to those working with a teacher (the author himself in many cases), it has been written as a manual complete in itself.

The language is presented in a series of 'Lessons' (not chapters), each being followed by a selected vocabulary and exercises, to which a key is given at the end of the book, the last four exercises taking the form of actual Fijian texts.

After a short introduction, on the subject of language learning by adults and on the use of some of the technical terms to be employed, the author deals in the first two lessons with Fijian pronunciation and orthography. Inevitably in a book of this nature phonetic topics are treated with brevity (though quite adequately), and the remaining 19 lessons are concerned with the grammar of the language.

With the needs of students and his own teaching experience in mind, the author presents the grammar of Fijian piecemeal. The major grammatical categories, constituents, and structures are divided up into small sections and distributed among the lessons. The reader is thus furnished from the outset with material to form complete Fijian sentences of progressive complexity and elaboration, and frequent cross-references serve to link together the *disiecta membra* of what would probably be treated in single chapters in a purely descriptive grammar of the language.

Fijian sentences are built up from 'Bases' and 'Particles'; broadly speaking, the bases are free forms, and the particles, though treated as separate words, do not appear without a base in sentences. Nominal and verbal are grammatical categories rather than lexical classes, and are indicated for the bases by the class of particle determining them. Sentence structure is, in the main, concerned with the nominal and verbal pieces; these consist of one or more bases (which may be reduplicated, prefixed, and suffixed) and the particles associated with them. Word order seems to be fairly fixed, and subordinate elements are found in particular relative positions both before and after their heads. Various concord patterns link words and word groups that enter into certain constructions within sentences. Word structure is predominantly of the 'agglutinative' type.

In view of the purpose of the book, the author justifiably lists many of his topics by their nearest English translation equivalent

(e.g. 'To have', p. 36), and some technical terms are illustrated first from the grammar of English. But the grammar of Fijian as it is here set out is obviously based on a strictly formal analysis, and great care is taken by the author to point out common features of the grammar of English and of familiar European languages that are not found in Fijian grammar, and, conversely, grammatical features of Fijian for which parallels in European languages are either not available or would be perplexing. The student is helped along all the way (and encouraged when the going might prove hard for the faint-hearted (cf. p. 25)), but he will nowhere be misled. It is, in fact, most agreeable to see in this book the application of the principles of formal linguistic description to the presentation of a language in terms that any intelligent layman should be able to follow at once.

Besides the lessons and exercises, lists of 'Idioms and expressions', greetings, forms of politeness, etc. appear throughout; and at the end there are appendices on Fijian kinship terminology, on intonation, and on the technical terms employed in the book. None the less, an index would, in the reviewer's opinion, have been a useful addition.

This Fijian grammar should fulfil its purpose admirably, but the descriptive linguist cannot but feel tantalized as he tries to work out for himself a systematic picture of the syllable structures, word structures, and sentence structures of the language. It is much to be hoped that the author will find the opportunity of writing an exhaustive description and analysis of Fijian phonology and grammar, as a complement to the present work. Meanwhile some linguists may well envy him the perspicuous clarity and ease of presentation that he displays in this attractive book.

R. H. ROBINS

A. N. TUCKER and M. A. BRYAN: *Linguistic survey of the northern Bantu borderland. Vol. four. Languages of the eastern section, Great Lakes to Indian Ocean*. 89 pp., map [in end-pocket]. London, etc.: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1957. 25s.

From even before the time of Sir Harry Johnston's epoch-making comparative dictionary of the Bantu languages linguists have always been attracted by the comparison in parallel columns of key words from the vocabularies of different languages of one great family. The book under review, with its close phonetical transcription and marking

for tones, provides an interesting example of scientific evolution from the method employed by Sir Harry Johnston.

The present volume by Professor Tucker and Miss Bryan is the result of the scholarly and scientific application of their great knowledge of African languages, built up by research with Africans in their own country and in England.

With the arrangement therefore of the actual material available there is very little with which even the most captious critic can find fault, even if he were to possess the detailed knowledge of all the languages recorded which would justify him in doing so.

In the introduction it is stated that as far as the material allows, the same noun examples have been used for all languages, but it is difficult to see how this general intention can ever be carried out within the limits imposed by some 100 pages. Thus on p. 64, in Teri and Dabida we see that *tjala* = 'finger', Class 7, but its resemblance to the Ganda *ólwála* (pl. *ónjalá*) 'nail, claw', Class 11, cannot be detected, because the word is not given. Yet on p. 57 we find *ndoará* ('nails') and *kaará* ('little finger') under Gikuyu, and *kaara* ('nail') under Tharaka and *kaala* in Kamba. Also on p. 53 under Shaka (Chagga) we are given *njalá* ('nails'). P. 64 provides another example, for *andu* ('place'), occurring in other languages as *andò*, *handu*, etc., should also appear in Ganda in the expression *bùli wántu* ('everywhere'), but on pp. 17-20, there is no mention of the survival of the word *wántu* ('place') in the above expression.

On p. 64 it is of great interest to find that Teri and Dabida, both of the Taita group, use completely different words for 'ears', Teri having *masikilio*, while Dabida has *madu* with its singular *kudu*, like most of the Bantu languages away from the coastal area. Giryama and Pokomo follow the Swahili root with *sikiro* and *sikio*, though the latter has *kuguru* ('leg') in Class 15. But which root does Bajuni (Tikuu) follow? It would be interesting to know.

What a fascinating pursuit the vocabularies open up of the geographical distribution of the common word *énté* ('cow') in the partly Bantu Amba; *te* in Iraqw and *de* in Mbugu; *a(k)rite(ŋ)* in Teso and *enkíteŋ* in Maasai; with the *ente*, *ente*, forms of the Bantu languages of Uganda from the Ruwenzori up to the eastern boundary of Soga. So different is this common word for 'cow' from the word in use in other Bantu languages that it is tempting to theorize that the word was imported by the peasant cultivators from their pastoral and nomadic non-Bantu neighbours. Thus we are provided with a most rare gem of similarity in vocabulary between

northern Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic Teso and Maasai and Iraqw and Mbugu languages.

The search could have been pursued even farther if the survey had included languages related to those of this area, even if they were not comprehended within the 'Bantu borderland'. But interesting as it would have been, it is perhaps asking too much of a book of 90 pages.

The interest of the reader is really aroused, however, by a study of the map which goes with the book, for the distribution of the language families and groups is clearly shown and the languages are described in a more generally accepted spelling without recourse to the symbols of a phonetic alphabet. Unfortunately no indication of the geographical whereabouts is given of Bwisi and Teri, beyond their inclusion in the vocabularies as akin to other languages of the group. One has to go back to Vol. 1 to find out where they are spoken and to prove that Teri and Terik (the latter shown on the small inset map of the Kakamega area) are not akin.

Is it really intended, by leaving them unstippled, that the islands in the north-west of Lake Victoria should be shown as 'unclassified'? There is surely no doubt about their kinship to Ganda or Soga and they are truly Bantu.

Why is it that the language of Kerebe is not shown as being spoken on Ukerewe Island? The map indicates that Kara is the language of Ukerewe Island and that the language of Kerebe is confined to the mainland. Also need Lamu and Pate be left as 'unclassified'?

Such queries as the above are small ones, but they are puzzling. Moreover it is likely that the map will have a more general appeal than the vocabularies and therefore that the queries will be often repeated.

All those interested in the languages of East Africa owe a great debt of gratitude to the authors of this volume for the meticulous labour and scholarship which has been expended in its preparation, nor must the printers and proof-readers be forgotten for having succeeded in producing such a pleasant looking text, having regard to the variety of types, letters, and diacritics which had to be employed.

R. A. SNOXALL

SABURI O. BIOBAKU: *The Egba and their neighbours, 1842-1872*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) viii, 128 pp., 4 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. 21s.

Rarely does the reviewer complain of the

brevity of an author! Dr. Biobaku, however, overdoes the virtue. It is questionable whether it is possible to assess the significance of the relationship of the Egba to their neighbouring fellow-Yoruba states in 99 pages of text. Serious historians of Africa are still pioneers, and they suffer accordingly from a chronic lack of 'background' works. The researcher must construct his own background for he has no adequate secondary authorities to consult. The reader has an even greater need. He cannot be expected to have an acquaintance with even the most elementary facts of traditional African political or social life; unless, by chance he is of the tribe or nation under discussion.

The external policies of the Egba state were formulated against a background as subtle and complicated as that of any European state of the time. The state centred on Abeokuta had been founded amid the general ruin and disintegration of the Yoruba country. Its government never achieved fixed constitutional forms. Throughout their history the Egba were in a condition of constant change and flux, caused by both external and internal factors. The community had to absorb a stream of 'Saro'—immigrants from Sierra Leone who were mostly Egba in origin; pushing, ambitious, and resourceful as a result of their conquest of distance and adversity; often possessing an acute understanding of European political and military techniques. The Egba had to make their response to the impact of Christian missionaries who had a clear economic, social, and political programme for the regeneration of Abeokuta. The penetration of European 'legitimate' trade, with its novel imports, and its demand for exportable surpluses, created social and political tensions. The British anti-slave-trade policy had to be accepted and utilized to advantage. Policies designed to defend the state from traditional enemies like Dahomey had to be refurbished to deal with a system of 'international' relations in which the British colony of Lagos increasingly assumed a dominant position.

Though Dr. Biobaku refers to all these influences, often with brilliant insight, the space which he has allotted himself permits only the briefest treatment of the broad themes, and leaves the reader tantalized and unsettled. Over one-quarter of the text is devoted to the foundation of the Egba state before 1842; yet there is no real attempt to put the Egba into perspective in the pattern of Yoruba politics. Dr. Biobaku writes as if the Egba were a completely independent federation, and practically denies, by implication, the existence of a Yoruba empire, of which the Egba were a constituent part.

This may well be so; using European concepts of sovereignty it is undeniably so, but Yoruba political theorists appear to have recognized the existence of an empire. The point therefore needs to be discussed more fully. Moreover, the reader needs some account of the origins, functions, and structures of the other Yoruba states if he is not to be left confused after the first two chapters.

In spite of these considerations Dr. Biobaku has produced a study of real value. His discussions of British policy show in detail the successes, failures, ramifications, and unlooked-for results of the policy of 'legitimate commerce' in its particular application among the Egba. The author also qualifies the predominant impression gained from a reading of British documentary sources that the struggles between the Yoruba states were primarily commercial and monopolistic, for domination of trade routes. By utilizing oral evidence he shows that there were other factors of rivalry, and that the Yoruba did not behave with such outright commercial ambition as the coastal people of the Oil Rivers. It must also be said that this is a book which will gain in value with the passage of time. When our knowledge of the history of the Yoruba expands, and the student can consult reputable outline histories, then tutors will be able to recommend Dr. Biobaku's book without trepidation.

This reviewer must protest at one minor inaccuracy. Sir George Goldie's middle name was Taubman, not Tubman (p. 97), which is the name of the President of Liberia. One might also complain at the paucity of footnote references, most of which are explanatory and could have been incorporated into the text, leaving room for at least a skeleton system of documentary references, including those to oral witnesses. The space given to bibliography is inordinate, and might have been used instead for more text. There is really no need to specify Foreign Office volumes individually, especially when this is not done for Colonial Office volumes; nor to include so many old, bad, secondary works which, fortunately, had no influence upon Dr. Biobaku's study.

J. E. FLINT

J. R. FIRTH: *Papers in linguistics, 1934-1951*. xii, 233 pp., 11 plates. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 35s.

For students of linguistics outside the School of Oriental and African Studies, the assembling and publishing of these papers was much overdue. Scattered as they are, over many journals and many years, they reveal a

remarkable unity; much that may have remained obscure to those who have read only one or two of them, will become clear in the full context of the book.

The major and most important part of the whole volume is devoted to the development of a theory (and of techniques) of linguistic description. But large sections, accounting for about one-third of the total (papers I, VIII, XII, and parts of III and VI), are concerned with the history of the discipline. The chief interest of these sections is that they are history from a point of view—a point of view which causes much that had been neglected to stand out in relief and much that is familiar to appear in a new light. Professor Firth's detailed treatment of the English tradition will be welcome to all—also to those who do not share his intense concern with the Englishness of English linguistics.

The principles of historical and comparative studies are only touched upon in passing. Some critical remarks occur—e.g. on the 'starred forms' in comparative philology (178), on 'original' meanings in etymology, on the categories of an outdated rhetoric in historical semantics (7-15)—which are highly stimulating, yet cursory and even obscure. The consequent frustration which a reader may experience has fortunately been made good by others, most notably by Professor W. S. Allen's work in comparative philology.

Professor Firth's own work has been concerned almost exclusively with—to quote his words—speech and language 'in living human beings in contemporary society' (179); and it could all be viewed as a gradual elaboration of the principles first outlined by him as early as 1935, in the second part of the paper entitled 'The technique of semantics', here reprinted (17-33).

The ruling idea, throughout, is that of a *contextual approach* to linguistic analysis (19)—an approach which allows speech to be treated as a meaningful activity, without reliance on 'such dualisms as mind and body, language and thought, word and idea, *signifiant et signifié*, expression and content' (227). This is what has given Professor Firth's linguistic techniques their distinctive character. There has been no need for him to follow either (i) de Saussure, Hjelmslev, and indeed, an ancient tradition, in creating that stultifying gulf between two disparate methods of description: a physical study of noises, on the one hand, and a psychological study of ideas, on the other, which have left the linguist poised precariously between them, or (ii) to follow recent American attempts to escape from the no-man's-land between those 'two planes' by the desperate device of excluding considerations of meaning entirely. The

position, here, seems to be sounder. Linguistics, conceived as the study of 'functions' and 'inter-relations' in the observable context of words, things, and persons (19), can remain 'a discipline and technique for the statement of meanings' (192) and secure for itself an autonomy without isolation. With more justification than any other linguist, Professor Firth may claim that he has kept his techniques of linguistic analysis in a state of metaphysical neutrality (181, 187, 190). When the linguist does not exclude the 'concept of mind' or ever directly refer to it (225), his contact with introspective psychology or literary criticism remains as easy as contact with acoustics, physiology, or behaviouristic studies. Moreover, since all linguistic data are dealt with as they are found, namely, as integral parts of contexts of situation, the alliance with sociological and anthropological studies is bound to be especially close.

Although Professor Firth does not claim that in these essays the theory and practice of contextual analysis has been worked out completely, still, in view of some ten years of experimentation—very largely with other principles of analysis—it seems to be safe, to-day, to predict that the contextual approach will survive its rivals. As well as the main trend, a number of special techniques seem to be securely established.

Professor Firth, as everyone may notice, never deals with mere noises in sequence. Even the least fragment of speech is looked on as 'having the implication of meaningful utterance'; i.e., it is treated as a 'component' of meaning in some 'context of situation' (19, 170 f., 183, 220). A speech-event is not to have its meaning captured 'in one fell swoop'; it yields it up only as 'dispersed', and dealt with 'by a hierarchy of linguistic techniques, descending from social contextualization to phonology'. Each of these techniques working at its own 'level of abstraction', secures whatever there is of its own 'mode' of meaning in the speech-event in question. The various modes, taken together, are then said to present the total meaning in 'a sort of linguistic spectrum' (220).

Analogies have, of course, their limitations. But how far the 'linguistic spectrum' is intended to take us does not seem to have been made quite clear. In particular, how is it to live with its companion notion, a 'hierarchy of linguistic techniques'? Obviously, the bands of the spectrum are not in any hierarchical order. They are not 'levels'. It may be that Professor Firth does not mean the term 'hierarchy' to refer to the *elements* (phonological, morphological, syntactical) which appear in the different 'bands', but only to the different *minimum ranges* of

context which are relevant for establishing those elements. The question is difficult to decide on the basis of these papers. The leading analogy has not been sufficiently gone into. The only 'bands' of the 'spectrum' which Professor Firth has treated in any detail are the extremes, the 'lowest' and 'highest' levels of linguistic analysis: phonology and semantics.

Morphological and syntactical analysis are touched upon in these papers, but not explicitly treated. One of the most significant suggestions here, is that a morphological description expressed in terms of features and prosodies will often be more adequate and simpler than the usual description in terms of segments (23, 41 f.). For instance, if the English noun plural is said to be marked by 'assibilation' rather than by /-s, -z, -iz/, then we are rid of morphological alternation, and of a separate level of morphophonemics: the difference between /-s, -z, -iz/ represents simply a general fact of phonological distribution—namely, distribution of the voice-correlation with regard to the prosody 'final assibilation'. There is an interesting affinity between this kind of analysis and Trubetzkoy's notion of neutralization. One might say that neutralization is here extended to mere *features* of speech.

Words are treated as 'institutionalized' elements. They are simply 'given' (122, 127). It is somewhat misleading here, however, to speak of a level of lexical analysis. For we are supposed to be free to operate with words (in phonology, grammar, and semantics), without first having to obtain them by some special linguistic technique. This can hardly be the last word on words. To resign ourselves to an irrational acceptance of convention may be a convenient way out of notorious difficulties, but many linguists will continue to ask for more: they will want a *ratio* of the convention, i.e., a technique of lexical analysis.

With regard to a 'phonetic level' beside or below the 'phonological' (introduction, 171, 183), a similar problem arises; only that, here, one may well doubt whether such a non-phonological level can be considered to be part of any linguistic description. Professor Firth himself seems to have doubts about it. He uses the term 'phonetic level'. But as soon as 'the demands of descriptive linguistics' are considered (145 f.) and we begin to ask questions about the relevance of phonetic terms and categories, we find ourselves on the level of 'phonological' analysis, with all the physiological or acoustic techniques of description firmly established and controlled as '*ancillary*' on that level. Such, in fact, is the phonetics of this book, even in the two papers which take us into the laboratory (XI and XIII). Always we find ourselves working

under the control of criteria of phonological relevance. It is 'the pressure of "invention" at the levels of phonology and even of general linguistic theory, which has led to ancillary "inventions" in the laboratory' (173).

One of the most characteristic features of Professor Firth's approach to linguistic analysis is, of course, his conception of phonological structure. He holds that we have allowed 'the characteristics of the Roman alphabet to dictate the course of our linguistic thought' (73, 126, 147): we have been unduly preoccupied with unit-segments in linear sequence (allophones representing phonemes). What is proposed, in order to escape from this tyranny, is a shift of emphasis: a shift from the usual segments in paradigms (substitution classes) to features which characterize whole syntagmas, such as syllables, words, clauses, sentences. We are told that as 'syntax is the dominant discipline in grammar', so to extract the phonological characteristics (the 'prosodies') of whole syntagmas of sounds is the primary task of *phonology* (123, 128, 134, 138, 228).

It is a change of emphasis which has led to new and important results. Unavoidably, it has also given rise to new problems. Having come to recognize two types of phonological relevance—paradigmatic variance, on the one hand, and syntagmatic constancy, on the other—we are faced with the question of their relation. It is perhaps natural that Professor Firth, in stressing the need for syntagmatic criteria, should leave us with the impression of a gulf, if not a conflict, between prosodic and substitutional techniques of analysis. But the two types of criteria—syntagmatic and paradigmatic—seem to be capable of co-ordination. Indeed, they seem to be complementary. We may recognize phonemes among allophones occurring in different prosodies, and thus avoid that 'polysystemic' fragmentation of phonological description which seems to be the greatest drawback of prosodic analysis as here presented. All the same, the essentials of Professor Firth's syntagmatic phonology ought to be an integral part of any future work in this field. To do without it would be an intolerable impoverishment of linguistic description.

Polysystemic also is Professor Firth's approach to the contextual study of semantics. 'The multiplicity of social roles we have to play as members of a race, nation, class, family, school, club, as sons, brothers, lovers, fathers, workers, churchgoers, golfers, newspaper readers, public speakers, involves also a certain degree of linguistic specialization. Unity is the last concept that should be applied to language' (29). No one will deny the vitality and richness of such an approach.

It has found a later and fainter echo in the preoccupation of some philosophers with what Wittgenstein has called 'language-games'. Sensitivity to the given variety of linguistic functions is one advantage of such an approach. But there are others. The contexts of any word 'multiply indefinitely' and are 'infinitely various' (28); and we should find it difficult to study such material, unless we succeeded in discovering some ways of restricting it. The required restriction is to be found by dividing the speech of persons into a number of linguistic 'routines', that is by, first of all, 'describing and classifying *typical* contexts of situation within the context of culture' (27). Our task is then more manageable; it is to study the semantics of the various '*specialized languages*' that are spoken in those special types of situation (182). Most interesting of Professor Firth's suggestions of suitable techniques are those which transcend mere classification; mainly his suggestion to study the 'collocations', and the 'mutual expectancies' of words and sentences (195 ff.). In considering the various frequencies of collocations for the same word—all involving 'expectancies', but of varying force—we may do more than impose

a system of rubrics: we may discover something like a semantic *organization* in the uses of words. The question arises, whether in doing this we need to exclude the possibility of some characteristics of such semantic organization extending *beyond* the boundaries of the 'specialized languages', and covering the speech of a person, or even a community, as a whole. If we begin by dividing speech into a number of unconnected linguistic functions, need we prejudge the issue, by assuming dogmatically that no single semantic system can emerge in the end? Many who gratefully accept Professor Firth's techniques will yet continue to aim at a single systematic account, in deference to another notable assumption, namely, that there is such a thing as *une langue une*. Here, as in other parts of the book, we find its greatest merit in that it furnishes us not so much with final results, as with signposts for the direction of future research.

'In these selected papers', Professor Firth says, '... a developing linguistic theory is presented.' We cannot pretend to have arrived yet. But we can have no doubt about the decisive pioneering quality of these papers.

W. HAAKS

SHORT NOTICES

CHAIM RABIN: *Qumran studies*. (Institute of Jewish Studies, Manchester. Scripta Judaica, II.) xv, 135 pp. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1957. 21s.

Immediately after the discovery of the Damascus Documents, 'H. Ward drew attention to some points of contact with the Pharisees', and 'the identity of "Zadokite" halakha with the Pharisee-Rabbinic system' was 'demonstrated in detail... [by L.] Ginzberg'. In the book under review all the new 'Zadokite' material is subjected to a detailed examination and comparison. Interesting observations and ingenious combinations abound. Dr. Rabin believes that the Qumrân community developed from Pharisaism, continuing the *haburah* of the first century B.C.E. and representing it 'more faithfully than does the "Rabbinic" community of the Tannaitic period'—that, in fact, at Qumrân we have 'a diehard Pharisee' group. He thus arrives at what he calls 'the point of transition between Pharisaism and Rabbinic Judaism'—the first century C.E.—as the time when the Qumrân community came into existence.

When a date is based on internal evidence only, it should be subjected to the test of any external evidence that might be available. Let us see whether Dr. Rabin's dating is compatible with the palaeographical evidence.

The main sources for our knowledge of the Qumrân community are the Damascus Document, and the Habakkuk and Yahad ('1QS', 'Manual of Discipline') Scrolls. The first of these cannot be used for the purpose, as our two Cambridge MSS are medieval copies and the Qumrân fragment of the Damascus Document has not yet been published. As regards the Habakkuk Scroll, its script dates from the second quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. or thereabouts.¹ This is roughly a century before Dr. Rabin's date. The Yahad Scroll—the Qumrân community book par excellence—is shown by its script²

to have been penned about a century before the Habakkuk Scroll, i.e. roughly two centuries before the date put forward by Dr. Rabin. The palaeographical material from Qumrân being considerable, I venture to state that a mistake of two centuries is out of the question and accordingly Dr. Rabin's theory is—in its present form at least—not tenable.

However, his observations might indicate that there was perhaps more 'Pharisaism' in Essenism than appears from the accounts in Philo, Josephus, and Pliny.

In the final chapter of the book—described by the author as 'more speculative'—Dr. Rabin suggests that the main Jewish influences on Muhammad might have been exercised by descendants of the Qumrân group who had escaped from the Romans to Arabia.

S. A. BIENBAUM

AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA: *The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai: a hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*. (Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, Vol. 1.) xxxiv, 97 pp., 16 plates. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, [1955]. \$7.50. (Distributed in G.B. by Geoffrey Cumberlege. 60s.)

The American Foundation for the Study of Man sponsored an expedition which in 1950 began the work of making microfilm reproductions of manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, whence, as it is well known, Tischendorf carried off the Codex Sinaiticus, later to find a resting-place in the British Museum. The fabulous treasures of the Monastery Library had long been known in the world of scholarship from the catalogues of Gardthausen and Bensheviach for the Greek and from the lists of those 'redoubtable Scottish ladies', Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, for the Syriac and Arabic collections respectively. Of a total of some 3,300 manuscripts in the Library, roughly half of those in Greek, Arabic, and Syriac were microfilmed, the remaining collections in Georgian, Slavonic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Coptic, Polish, Latin, and Persian being microfilmed in their entirety. In addition, there were photographed the entire collection of Arabic and Turkish firmans, 1742 in all,

¹ See the present reviewer's articles 'The date of the Habakkuk Cave Scroll', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXVIII, 1949, 161-8; 'The dates of the Cave Scrolls', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 115, 1949.

² See the present reviewer's 'The date of the Covenant Scroll', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, LXXXI, 1949, 140-7; and the second article mentioned in the preceding footnote.

and more than 2,500 miniatures. These micro-filmed reproductions are preserved in the Library of Congress whence positive copies may be obtained from the Photoduplication Service at current rates. A complete set of the microfilms (over 2,000,000 MSS pages) was presented to the University of Alexandria.

The present hand-list is intended as a short guide to the items in the microfilm collections. For a complete list of the manuscripts, published in Arabic, the reader is referred to the inventory of Murād Kāmil dated 1951. A statement on p. xxvi would seem to permit us to infer that a 'more complete catalogue of the collection as a whole' will be issued later. 308 out of a total of 602 Arabic codices were microfilmed, practically all of them Christian in content. Several MSS noted as missing by Mrs. Gibson were recovered. The Arabic documents and Turkish firmans constitute a collection of source material of paramount importance; there are to be found six modern copies of the Covenant of the Prophet in Arabic with no fewer than 43 Turkish translations of the same. In addition, the Arabic documents include decrees, firmans, treaties, *fatwas*, deeds, *procès-verbaux*, administrative orders, 'current affairs', letters, proclamations, inventories, accounts, bills, receipts and—invariably—miscellaneous items. The earliest of these documents dates from the twelfth century of the Christian era, and all are enumerated by Professor Atiya and details of size, material, and date given. The Turkish documents are described briefly by category on p. xxxi, and in an appendix at p. 80.

While it may be a trifle extravagant to declare in the picturesque language of the author that 'the microfilms of Mt. Sinai will be remembered from generation to generation as one of the happier features of the Age of the Atomic Bomb', undoubtedly the American Foundation for the Study of Man is to be congratulated for having made this magnificent collection of treasures available to scholars for whom access to the Monastery itself would be quite beyond the realms of possibility.

J. D. P.

W. E. N. KENSDALE: *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria*. 3 parts: [ii], 14 pp.; 15–27 pp.; 31–33 pp. Ibadan: University Library, 1955–8. 1s. each.

These three small pamphlets give brief descriptions of some 150 Arabic manuscripts collected during a tour of the Northern Region

in 1954. Some of these were purchased for the Ibadan University Library, others were generously presented by their owners. The remaining MSS were microfilmed either in the field or in the Library's studio. A collection in the library of Lugard Memorial Hall, Kaduna (the Northern Regional House of Assembly) has also been microfilmed in part.

It is to be hoped that the Library will be able to continue this valuable work of preserving the indigenous literature of West Africa, in which Dr. A. D. H. Bivar of the Nigerian Antiquities Service, is also engaged. Photographs of letters important for the history of the Fulani Emirate have recently been given by him to the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies and to other suitable repositories.

J. D. P.

TOR ANDRAE: *Les origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme: traduit de l'allemand par Jules Roche*. (Initiation à l'Islam, VIII.) 213 pp. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1955. Fr. 1300.

This eighth volume of that very useful series 'Initiation à l'Islam' is a French translation of Andrae's 'Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum' which appeared as long ago as 1923–5 in the Swedish journal *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*. Page numbers of the article are given in the margin in order to facilitate reference to the original German text.

GUSTAVE E. VON GRUNEBaum: *Kritik und Dichtkunst: Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*. vii, 161 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. DM. 16.

Professor von Grunebaum has permitted himself the luxury of re-publishing in book form a selection of ten of his articles which appeared in English during the last ten years in a variety of more or less inaccessible periodicals and symposia, together with a fragment of two pages on a literary theme, 'the butterfly that stamped', which has not hitherto seen the light of day. These pieces now appear in a German translation made by the author himself with minor alterations here and there designed to bring them into line with up-to-date findings of research.

The first article, a translation of his essay 'Transformation of culture as illustrated by the rise of Islam' is regarded as a 'Horizontsetzung': there follow a sketch of the history

of the investigation of Arabic literature by Western scholarship, the growth and structure of the Arabic poetry of the early Middle Ages, discussions of five individual problems of Arabic literature, and, finally, four studies on literary criticism, of which the last, on 'The aesthetic foundation of Arabic literature' (from a journal, *Comparative Literature*, not widely circulating amongst Orientalists) is described as an attempt to assemble the basic and more or less undefined principles of this criticism.

HERBERT PENZL: *A grammar of Pashto: a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan*. (American Council of Learned Societies. Program in Oriental Languages. Publications, Series B—Aids—No. 2.) [vi], 170 pp. Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1955. \$2.

The dialect of Kandahar, the author points out, is alone among the regional forms of Pashto speech in having a phonemic system that corresponds to the prevailing orthography. The description of this system therefore presents few surprises to the reader, except for the unusual transcription adopted by the author, in which, e.g. *steedazh* represents the Kandahari pronunciation of English 'stage'. The morphology is clearly explained in praiseworthy detail. The author distinguishes five classes of masculine and six of feminine nouns, as well as six of adjectives and four of verbs. The close attention paid to irregular forms and to verbal aspects constitutes the chief merit of the book. The frequent reference to the views and terminology of Afghan grammarians is welcome.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

OLAF HANSEN: *Berliner sogdische Texte II: Bruchstücke der grossen Sammelhandschrift C2*. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrg. 1954, Nr. 15.) 100 pp., plate. Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1955. DM. 7.80.

The publication, initiated by F. W. K. Müller in 1907, of the extant fragments of Christian literature in the Sogdian language, has notably

progressed with the present edition of fresh material. The new fragments belong to translations from the Syriac of the *Antirrhētikos* of Euagrius Pontikos, the *Apophthegmata patrum*, Acts of martyrs, and a number of as yet unidentified writings. Our knowledge of the Sogdian vocabulary is much enriched by these texts which, moreover, display a number of grammatical features that are not found in the previously published fragments of Christian Sogdian literature. In addition to identifying numerous fragments the editor has made a beginning in the translation of all of them. The understanding of these difficult texts has since been considerably furthered by E. Benveniste in *J.As.*, 1955, 297 ff.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

Indo-Iranian Reprints, II-III. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957-8. (Distributed in Great Britain by International University Booksellers.)

II. L. FINOT (ed.): *Rāstrapāla-pariprocchā: sūtra du Mahāyāna*. [ii], xviii, 77 pp. [Original edition, Bibliotheca Buddhica, II, St. Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1901.] 1957. 16s.

III. J. S. SPEYER (ed.): *Avadāna-cātaka: a century of edifying tales belonging to the Hīnayāna*. xx, cx, 388, 238 pp., plate. [Original edition, Bibliotheca Buddhica, III, St. Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, [1902-]1906-9.] 1958. £4 14s.

This most valuable series of photographic reprints of volumes of the Bibliotheca Buddhica will be welcomed by all serious students of Buddhism, for the works are indeed indispensable, and in recent years very few individuals have had the good fortune to obtain copies of the original editions.

In its new dress, the *Rāstrapāla-pariprocchā* is provided with an appendix which collects together all the textual corrections and conjectures proposed by La Vallée Poussin, J. Ensink, D. R. Shackleton Bailey, and J. W. de Jong.

The *Avadāna-cātaka* is much more convenient to handle in one volume than in the two volumes of the original. (The lengthy preface, originally published with vol. II, now appears in its rightful place.) It is to be hoped that the new availability of this book will stimulate fresh interest and inspire further research in Buddhist popular literature, much of which still remains unpublished in manuscript collections.

Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, Nos. I-III. Calcutta : Sanskrit College, 1958.

I. DURGAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA (ed.): *Chândogyabrâhmana, with the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu and Sâyana*. (Texts, No. 1.) xxvii, 226 pp. Rs. 15, 25s.

II. R. C. HAZRA : *Studies in the Upapurâṇas. Vol. I (Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurâṇas)*. (Studies, No. 1.) [iv], xiii, 398 pp. Rs. 25, 42s.

III. GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA (ed.): *Jñānalakṣaṇāvicārarahasyam of Śrī Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa, with the commentary of [sic] Vimarśinī by Anantakumar Bhattacharyya*. (Texts, No. 2.) [vii], xiv, 121 pp. Rs. 9, 15s.

These three volumes from the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, mark the beginning of a series which promises to be of considerable importance.

The edition of the *Chândogyabrâhmana* is limited to the first and second chapters, that is, the portion familiarly known as the *Mantra-brâhmana*. Presumably the editor assumed that no one would expect to find the *Chândogyâ Upaniṣad* (chapters 3-10) printed under the title of the *Brâhmana*, but it would nevertheless have been desirable to have the position made clear on the title-page. The edition represents a conscientious exploration of manuscripts, and the editor has been able to clarify a long-standing confusion arising from the conflation of the two commentaries in some manuscripts.

Professor Hazra has undertaken an analytical study of all the extant *Upapurâṇas* available either in print or in manuscript, and we learn from the foreword that four further volumes may be expected. The present volume deals with the *Sâmba Purâna* (Saura), the *Viṣṇu-dharma*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Narasimha*, and other minor Vaiṣṇava puranic works. A concluding chapter collects together information about several lost works known by citation or mention only. Professor Hazra's summaries of the contents of the *Upapurâṇas* will be an invaluable guide for any scholar wishing to use these works as source-material.

Harirâma's work is a short Navya-nyâya monograph, dating from approximately the end of the sixteenth century. It is concerned with analysing the concept of *jñānalakṣaṇâ pratyakṣatih*, which is here used to account for the perception of absences as well as the perception of qualities not appropriate to the sense perceiving the object (propositions of the form

'I see fragrant sandal-wood'). Professor Anantakumar's modern Sanskrit commentary gives a critical discussion as well as an exposition of Harirâma's theories.

FRIEDRICH WELLER : *Die Legende von Śunahṣepa im Aitareyabrâhmana und Sâṅkhâyanasrautasûtra*. (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Bd. 102, Ht. 2.) 91 pp. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1956. DM. 6.

In this short but important monograph Professor Weller subjects the well-known story of Śunahṣepa in its two versions to a detailed critical examination. His arguments are in most respects convincing, and his conclusion, that the 'legend' as we have it in these sources is a pastiche formed principally from two originally distinct stories, appears to be well-founded. Some hesitation might be felt in accepting his theory that the text is 'an Handschriften gebunden, er geht letzten Endes auf ein einziges Manuskript zurück'. This would have far-reaching implications for the dating of the later Vedic texts, or would require a much earlier date than is usually envisaged for the transmission of these texts by writing. The further possibility—namely, that like the Epics and the Purâṇas, these texts were subjected to interpolation for many centuries after their compilation—seems most improbable. An alternative would be to believe that such variations in order of verses as are noted on pp. 82-4 arose in the later transmission of one or other of the texts. Professor Weller's theory admittedly seems to provide the simplest explanation in the present case, and this is obviously a matter worthy of further investigation in other Brâhmana and Sûtra texts.

J. B.

ERICH FRAUWALLNER (tr.): *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus*. (Philosophische Studentexte. Texte der indischen Philosophie, Bd. 2.) xiii, 423 pp. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1956. DM. 18.

SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN and CHARLES A. MOORE (ed.): *A source book in Indian philosophy*. xxix, 684 pp. Princeton : University Press; Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1957. 40s.

Professor Frauwallner's book is the second in a series designed to present in translation

essential Indian philosophical texts, and will be of great value, not only to the reader who has no intention of learning Sanskrit and Pali, but also to the serious student of Indian philosophy. We are given here translations of a well-chosen selection from canonical texts (pp. 9-60), post-canonical Hinayāna (pp. 61-142), and Mahāyāna (pp. 143-407), the translations being introduced by exegetical essays which will be valued as highly as the translations themselves.

The English volume, while covering a wider field—from the Vedas to Radhakrishnan—is similar in aim, but differs in spirit and presentation. The translations, by a wide diversity of authors, have almost all been published before; and the reader who turns to the book in search of Indian philosophy may wonder why the Laws of Manu and the *Kautiliya Arthashastra* have been included. A curious puzzle is the fact that the *Vimśatikā* and the *Trimśikā* of Vasubandhu are here presented in translations from the Chinese translations—becoming in the process of double translation much more difficult to understand—although the Sanskrit original has been available since Sylvain Lévi's edition of 1925.

'Extensive selections from the writings of Radhakrishnan are not required in a book of this type, since all his major works are still in print and are readily available', writes Professor Moore. He has nevertheless been able to persuade Dr. Radhakrishnan to reprint here *in extenso* his translations of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Dhammapada*. Appreciative readers of the volume will note with pleasure Professor Moore's assessment of his co-editor: (p. 610) 'Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan is a versatile genius, universally recognized and acclaimed for his remarkable ability as teacher, lecturer, scholar, and administrator, as philosopher, statesman, and India's cultural ambassador throughout the East and the West. His deep learning, his brilliant style, and his absolute tolerance have brought him recognition not only as the greatest living interpreter of Indian philosophy, religion, and culture, but also as an original and creative thinker of the first order'. *Claudite iam riuos pueri, sat prata biberunt*.

J. B.

VIBHUKUMAR S. DESAI (ed.): *Rāga-tattvavibodha: a work on Indian music by Śrinivāsa*. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXVI.) [vii], vii, 62 pp. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1956. Rs. 4.

This book is the welcome result of the co-operation between the old-established

Oriental Institute of Baroda, which has already earned fame by its meticulous—if slow—edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and the comparatively young Sangeet Natak Akademi in New Delhi. It is intended as the first instalment of a series of six texts on the theory of music to be published in the course of the next few years.

In the introduction (pp. i-vii) the editor gives a most useful survey of the variety of texts on the subject written in North and South India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the period to which the *Rāga-tattvavibodha* belongs (second half of the seventeenth century). He records interesting evidence of contact between the two spheres: Śrinivāsa, with his Southern name, representing the Northern tradition and Bhāvabhatta, at the Northern court of Bikaner (between 1764 and 1790), favouring the Southern system of classification, one of the main points of difference being the basic scale (Kafi in the North, Mukhāri in the South). The editor's contention, however, that the modern custom of choosing Bilaval, corresponding to our major scale, as a starting point was introduced by Muhammad Razza Khan of Patna in the nineteenth century, is erroneous, because Sir William Jones mentions that his informants used our major scale as their basis.

The edition stresses Śrinivāsa's dependence on Ahobala's *Saṅgītapārijāta*, clearly marking the places where he quotes from the earlier text. Śrinivāsa follows Ahobala and his older contemporary Hṛdayanārāyaṇa (second half of the seventeenth century) in fixing pitch by means of measurements of sounding wire.

The editor appears to have dealt ably with the many difficulties inherent in producing a readable text from one single manuscript.

A. A. BAKE

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA: *The East India Company and the economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740*. 240 pp., plate, 2 maps. London: Luzac & Co., 1954. 21s.

One of the several points of contemporary interest which emerges from a re-reading of Professor Sukumar Bhattacharya's book is the remarkable similarity between certain aspects of Bengal's trade in silk and cotton textiles in the early eighteenth century and the controversy surrounding India's present day trade with the U.K. in cotton manufactures. Of course, there are also certain differences: 200 years ago it was Bengal workmanship which produced the high quality specialities which were so much

sought after by European buyers; nowadays cotton and silk manufactures play only a minor role in the industrial economy of West Bengal, and it is the enterprise of Bombay and Ahmedabad which has raised India to the position of the world's second largest producers of cotton piecegoods. But there is a certain latter day topicality about Professor Bhattacharya's statement (p. 158) that 'the rapid increase of the Indian textile trade excited the jealousy of the weavers of woollen and silken fabrics in England', with the result that an Act was passed in 1700 prohibiting imports into this country 'of all wrought silks, Bengals and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China or the East Indies and all calicoes painted, dyed or printed or stained there'. These articles were, however, permitted to come into England if they were for re-export.

Very much the same situation prevails to-day with a declining Lancashire industry seeking protection against the inflow of cheap piecegoods emanating from India and Hong Kong and enjoying special terms of entry into the U.K. under Ottawa and Commonwealth preferences. To-day the emphasis is on price rather than quality, but the wheel has indeed come full circle. The great difference between then and now is that, whereas in the first half of the eighteenth century India had little need for the manufactures and raw materials of the West, her twentieth century programme of economic development to-day places a high premium on these things, especially on capital goods and heavy machinery. Two hundred years ago, until the Battle of Plassey and the Industrial Revolution changed the whole nexus of Indo-British trade, India's consistently favourable balance of payments with Europe had to be adjusted by imports of bullion (mostly silver) to Calcutta by the East India Company. This helped gradually to monetize the Indian economy and to offset the persistent tendency of local officials of the crumbling Moghul regime to debase the coinage for their own profit and so fill the country with a variety of rupees of differing and dubious value. These and other points are made with admirable clarity in Professor Bhattacharya's book.

G. T.

RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE: *The dynamics of a rural society: a study of the economic structure in Bengal villages*. x, 134 pp. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM. 12.70.

The author argues (1) that an analysis of economic structure is essential for the understanding of social structure, and (2) that

Indian 'peasant' society is economically not homogeneous, but differentiated. Both these propositions are adequately documented and will provide a stimulating corrective to current unitary conceptions of peasant society.

The book also has an historical argument, applied particularly to rural Bengal. Before the British arrived, the people of rural Bengal were divided into two classes: Class I, the 'usurping castes' who lived as feudal rent-receivers; and Class II, subsistence cultivators owning their own land. The British, the argument runs, substituted commodity for subsistence production, and converted Class I into landowners. This resulted in the progressive pauperization of Class II and the emergence of Class III, the landless labourers and the share-croppers. The cleavage between rich and poor has grown wider, but 'progressive' and 'revolutionary' elements have been curbed by the caste system and by communal dissension, both of which the British encouraged. The documentary and the statistical evidence by which this argument is buttressed would need further examination than is possible here.

The chapter 'The dynamics of a rural society' could have been supplemented by references to the work of contemporary anthropology (e.g. Marriott, *Village India*; Srinivas, *India's villages*) and in general many of Professor Mukherjee's remarks on caste look like over-simplifications in the light of the past ten years' anthropological research.

There are innumerable misprints and grammatical errors. Apart from this the book could be recommended to students as a clear argument, on which they might exercise their critical faculties.

F. G. B.

EDNA BRYNER: *Thirteen Tibetan tankas*. xxv, 153 + [4] pp., front., 15 plates. Indian Hills, Colorado: 'The Falcon's Wing Press, [1957]. \$9.95.

The main part of this book (ch. II), to which in fact the title refers, consists of a résumé of the already existing English translation of the 34 birth-stories of Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā*. The first 29 are illustrated by 13 *thankas*, excellently reproduced in monochrome, which belong to the City Art Museum of St. Louis. Two *thankas* are missing from the set; thus the last five stories are without illustration. Ch. IV contains translations of two other versions of the story of 'Feeding the Tigress' from *mDzans-blun* and the *Suvarnaprabhāṣottamasūtra*. Ch. V recounts three other birth-stories from the Kanjur *Vinaya*, vol. IV: of the Deer 'Goldenside', the Woodpecker, and Viśvantara (already translated into

English by Ralston from Schiefner's German translation). Ch. I gives a brief uncritical account of the way Buddhism reached Tibet and ch. III provides a popular description of the Tibetan scriptures. The coloured frontispiece of Śākyamuni is described inaccurately (p. 28). 'At the top left is the future Buddha, Maitreya; and at the top right, a Dhyāni Buddha.' Why a Dhyāni Buddha, and in any case which one? These two little inset buddhas are in fact Dipaṅkara (left) and Maitreya (right). Thus we have the Buddhas of Past, Present, and Future. Also I am sure that the Tibetans would be justly offended to read that their 'scriptures are faithful translations—made by learned Indian and Kashmiri pandits and a few Chinese monks, with the assistance of Tibetan scholars' (p. 81). Miss Bryner has things the wrong way round, for it was the Tibetan translators (*lo-tsa-ba*) who made themselves proficient in Sanskrit and so were mainly responsible for the translations. Very few foreign pandits learned Tibetan. That remarkable language, classical Tibetan, was codified, mastered, and used by Tibetans and Tibetans only.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

SHAU WING CHAN [SHOU-YUNG CH'EN]:
*A concise English-Chinese dictionary,
with romanized standard pronunciation.
Second edition.* xvii, 416 pp. Stanford,
Calif.: Stanford University Press;
London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1955.
52s.

Professor Chan's excellent English-Chinese dictionary has been republished in a slightly enlarged form. The outstanding feature of this dictionary is that all Chinese equivalents given form part of the spoken language. The student, therefore, need not fear that he may learn obsolete terms or lapse into the literary style. This second edition adds another 550 entries, which bring the total number of entries to well over 8,000. Among notable omissions, not supplied in the 'Addenda', I noted 'mother-in-law', whereas the other kinship terms have been provided. It would seem that the tone marks in the 'Addenda' (and in one case at least the transcription of the initial) have been affected by Cantonese pronunciation. On p. 90 the Chinese equivalent for 'entice' is correctly given as *yin³ yu⁴* 誘, but on p. 392 we find the same Chinese compound under 'allure' as *yin³ yu³*, followed by *yu³ huo⁴* 誘惑. In the same way, on p. 415, the equivalent for 'virus' is given as *ping⁴ chun³*, instead of *ping⁴ chun⁴*. Similarly I noted *chu²* for *tsu²* 組 on p. 397 (entry

'component'). In the newly added tone diagram (p. xi) one is surprised to see the second tone starting at a lower pitch than the third tone and the latter descending not lower than the starting point of the former. These few remarks, however, do not detract from the great merit of the book which—but for its price—one would wish to see in the hands of all English students.

W. SIMON

GERHARD KAHLO: *Grundriss der
malayischen und indonesischen Sprache.*
72 pp. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz,
1957. DM. 4.80.

It is difficult to understand whether this very short 'Outline of the Malay and Indonesian language' is intended to be an introductory course for beginners or a statement of language structure for those who wish to make comparisons with other languages. It is too sketchy for either purpose. Perhaps a clue is given in the part of the bibliographical section dealing with Grammars, where Dempwolf's 1937 book is described as 'the only work in German'. If so, Mr. Kahlo is a little late, for Hans Kahler's *Grammatik der Bahasa Indonesia* was published in 1956 by the Wiesbaden branch of Mr. Kahlo's own publishers.

Again it is not clear what Mr. Kahlo means by the composite term 'Malay and Indonesian language'. The reader will expect an account of standard Riau-Johore Malay followed by notes on the comparatively recent grafting on to it of non-Malay and other elements with a view to building up an Indonesian national language. Besides fulfilling the promise of the title this would have been a useful approach to the subject, as Riau-Johore Malay, which has a literature and a discipline, could have provided a solid background against which to paint the peculiar, and not as yet firmly established, characteristics of the Bahasa Indonesia.

Instead, the author has ignored Riau-Johore Malay as a separate study and devoted himself to a somewhat dogmatic description of a rather pidgin language full of oddities. Here are some of these oddities taken at random:

Kembang (the author's stress) means in its root form 'unfolded' (rather than 'expansion').

Ali di-gigit andjing means exactly the same as *andjing menggigit Ali*.

Temu in its root form means a 'comrade'.

The main function of *ber-* is to form a continuative tense ('english: I am doing').

-lah is either a sign of the past tense or,

attached to the imperative, the equivalent of 'please'.

It is clear from his omissions and insertions that the author does not appreciate the existence of the characteristic balanced substantial phrases of Malay or of the constant variation of the order and length of these phrases to place the emphasis just where it is required.

It is possible that the language Mr. Kahlo describes is current in some part of Indonesia but he should not attempt to teach it as if it were standard. After all, there is no standard conversational language if Riau-Johore Malay is to be ignored. The Bahasa Indonesia is not a mother tongue and the speakers of each of the 250 mother tongues of the Republic introduce characteristics of their own in any conversation that they may have in the new national language.

A suspicion that this book is written with superficial knowledge would appear to be confirmed by a study of the bibliographical section at the end of it. This starts: 'The older works (von Seidel, Winstedt, etc.) have been sold out for decades'. A little later we come to the dictionaries of 'Classical Malay'. These include only van Ronkel's, Mr. Kahlo's own, and the 1901 edition of Wilkinson's dictionary in the Jawi script. Has not the writer, who has himself tried his hand at compiling a Malay dictionary, heard of others, including Wilkinson's 1932 romanized edition?

E. C. G. B.

SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT: *An unabridged English-Malay dictionary*. 398 pp. Singapore: Marican & Sons, 1958.

The debt of students of the Malay language to Sir Richard Winstedt is incalculable. Not only has he been responsible for making available to them so many of the best specimens of Malay literature, but for over 40 years they have had to thank him for the only noteworthy English-Malay dictionary. The first edition of this work appeared in 1913: a revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1922 and he has now produced the *Unabridged English-Malay dictionary* which forms the subject of this review.

The 1922 edition is a book of 524 pp. His latest work numbers only 398 pp.: but seeing that its predecessor's print and margins are those of more spacious days and that over 30 pages have been wisely saved by omitting from the new work such names of plants and fishes as have only Latin equivalents, it will be realized that the new dictionary is little, if any, smaller than the old. And in many

ways it must have been much more difficult to write. For to the question 'what is Malay?' it was vastly easier to provide a reasonably satisfying answer in 1922 than it is in 1958. Whether an English-Malay dictionary should include all Malay equivalents of an English word, including dialect words, archaisms, and the like, is arguable: but one thing the user may fairly expect to get from it is the Malay equivalent most commonly used and understood throughout Malaya. That was not easy to determine in 1922. It is even less easy in 1958, now that in the towns and amongst the younger generation at any rate, Indonesian is rapidly superseding true Malay in conversation and in literature, while at the same time in the countryside and amongst the older people the vocabulary of 1922 still largely persists. It may accordingly be expected of an up-to-date English-Malay dictionary that for an English word it should provide (a) a 'Standard Malay' equivalent, where one exists, (b) one or more dialect equivalents, and (c) an Indonesian (or 'Modern Malay') equivalent: and for these the reader will seldom seek in vain in Sir Richard Winstedt's latest dictionary. It is to be hoped that he will enrich future editions of this work by a transfer from its admirable counterpart, his *Unabridged Malay-English dictionary* (Kelly and Walsh, 1954), of more of the Indonesian words and expressions that the latter contains. But even as it stands we have here an English-Malay dictionary of the standard we could expect from one who in the province of Malay studies is *consul non unus anni*.

C. C. BROWN

A. A. CENSE and E. M. UHLENBECK: *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*. (Koninkrijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Bibliographical Series, 2.) [iv], 82 pp., plate, map. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Guilders 5.50.

This publication, commissioned and financed by the Netherlands Institute for International Cultural Relations, deals with 323 works, only 47 more than those covered by Sidney Ray, 'that remarkable student of languages' in his 200 pp. contribution 'The languages of Borneo' (1913). Though the importance of these 47 additional works should not be underrated, the main difference between Ray's list and this monograph lies in the regional grouping of the material and the critical evaluation. Kept within the restrictions of the specific purpose, this new study will

certainly prove a valuable help to any student concerned with this field of linguistics. 'In view of the great scarcity of reliable data' the co-authors (both professors) 'have acted on the assumption that they should do best to be as exhaustive as possible as regards the literature to be mentioned. Even publications have been included whose linguistic value is very slight. Schoolbooks, missionary tracts, data from ethnological literature have not been passed over; perhaps they may be of some importance for a future research-worker. *The long list of literature rather serves to demonstrate the poverty than the abundance of truly linguistic data*' (my italics). This statement differs considerably from the remark of Karl M. Helbig in his 'Die Insel Borneo in Forschung und Schrifttum' (1955) regarding general knowledge of this large island. From these three bibliographies it is quite clear that the Borneo languages have not been given the attention they require. We can only hope that the painstaking work of Professors Cense and Uhlenbeck will evoke a wider interest in the subject. There remains much to be done in the study of the 87 languages of Borneo.

C. HOOPYKAAS

Social implications of industrialization and urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara. Prepared under the auspices of Unesco by the International African Institute, London. ([Unesco] Tensions and Technology Series.) 743 pp. Paris: Unesco, 1956. \$11. (Obtainable from H.M.S.O. 55s.)

This bulky volume consists of four distinct and unrelated parts: a brief general review, by Professor Daryll Forde, of 'social aspects of urbanization and industrialization in Africa'; a survey, by Miss Merran McCulloch, of 'recent and current field studies on the social effects of economic development in inter-tropical Africa'; three studies (by V. G. Pons, N. Xydias, and P. Clément) on the 'social effects of urbanization in Stanleyville, Belgian Congo'; and a series of relatively brief papers, by 15 different writers, prepared for a Unesco conference in 1954 on the general theme indicated by the title. The book would have gained considerably in value had more space been devoted to comparison, and less to summarizing studies already published elsewhere (Part II) or consisting merely of preliminary reports (Part III). Although undoubtedly an important and impressive contribution to knowledge of what is happening in Africa to-day, it remains essentially a source-book of raw material, whose use-

fulness is much diminished by the absence of an index or even adequate cross-referencing.

I. SCHAPIRA

H. CORBIN and others: *Conferenze tenute all'Is.M.E.O. da H. Corbin, N. Egami, M. Eliade, J. Filliozat, P. Humbertclaude, J. Masui, E. H. de Tschärner*. (Serie Orientale Roma, VII.) [iv], 197 pp. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1955. L. 2,500.

This is the second volume to be published of lectures delivered at the Institute of the Middle and Far East in Rome, the first having previously appeared in 1952 as number V in the Serie Orientale Roma. The contents are: H. Corbin, 'Avicenne et le récit visionnaire'; N. Egami, 'Découverte l'église romaine établie au XIII^e siècle, en Mongolie, par Giovanni da Monte Corvino'; M. Eliade, 'Techniques de l'extase et langages secrets'; J. Filliozat, 'La dévotion vishnouite au pays tamoul'; P. Humbertclaude, 'Nara-ebon, le livre à miniatures japonaises 1570-1730'; J. Masui, 'Sri Aurobindo et l'universalisation de la pensée indienne'; and E. H. de Tschärner, 'Un art chinois peu connu: le théâtre'.

ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH ORIENTALISTS: *A select list of books on the civilizations of the Orient, prepared by the Association of British Orientalists and edited by W. A. C. H. Dobson*. xii, 80 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. 10s.

This list of works on Oriental subjects is intended to serve not only the needs of students embarking on courses in these studies, but also the interests of a wider public curious to know more about Asia. It is evident that the compilers of the book have successfully solved their problem of providing an introductory list of books for the classes of persons to which it is addressed and it may well prove of value to scholars requiring elementary information in fields not their own. It is to be hoped in the interests of the furtherance of Oriental studies that the book will enjoy a large circulation and find its way on to the shelves of every public and, perhaps more important, every senior school library.

It is arranged under the four principal headings of Egypt, and the Ancient Near and Middle East; Islam; India and Further India; and the Far East and constitutes a selection as representative as could possibly be achieved with the stringent need to restrict

the size of the book. Works demanding a knowledge of Oriental languages are, reasonably enough, omitted, while those comprised in French and German are cited only when a suitable English work is not available.

Useful lists of the principal societies concerned with Oriental studies, the facilities for Oriental studies offered by British Universities, and the outstanding Oriental booksellers are appended.

In the second edition which will undoubtedly be called for, consideration should be given to the inclusion of sections on the Hebrew language and literature, oldest of all Oriental studies, and of the languages sometimes

known as 'Christian Oriental' of which, apart from the few references to Coptic in the Egyptian section, no mention is made. A short list on Korea should also be added.

A few minor blemishes should be removed; the phrase 'in ibidem' on pp. 10 and 18 is pleonastic and ungrammatical; Manichaeism should surely not be included as a sect of Christianity. To one librarian, at least, the practice of giving capital letters to all words other than prepositions, articles, and the copula, savours rather more of the newspaper headline than the scholarly bibliography.

J. D. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- J. G. AMAMOO : *The new Ghana : the birth of a nation*. xi, 145 pp. London : Pan Books Ltd., 1958. 2s. 6d.
- N. D. ANDREYEV : Mashinny perevod i problema yazyka-posrednika. [Offprint from *Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, 1957, No. 5.] pp. 117-21.
- N. D. ANDREYEV : Periodizatsiya istorii indoevropeyskogo prayazyka. [Offprint from *Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Voprosy Yazykoznaniya*, 1957, No. 2.] pp. 3-18.
- N. D. ANDREYEV and M. V. GORDINA : Sistema tonov v'etnamskogo yazyka (po eksperimental'nym dannym). [Offprint from *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 1957, No. 8, *Seriya Istorii Yazyka i Literatury*, Vyp. 2.] pp. 132-48.
- TOUVIA ASHKENAZI : Native river boats in Trāq. [Offprint from *Ethnos*, 1957, 1-2.] pp. 50-6.
- JACQUES BERQUE : *Al-Yousi : problèmes de la culture marocaine au xviième siècle*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études, vième Section. Le Monde d'Outre-Mer, Passé et Présent. Première Série : Études, II.) 144 pp., 4 plates. Paris, La Haye : Mouton & Co., 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. 20s.)
- G. H. BHATT (ed.) : *The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa : critical edition*. Vol. 1, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Fasc. 1. xxxiv, 80 pp., 4 plates. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1958.
- DURGAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA (ed.) : *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa, with the commentaries of Guṇarīṣṇu and Sāyaṇa*. (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. 1. Texts, No. 1.) xxvii, 226 pp. Calcutta : Sanskrit College, 1958. Rs. 15, 25s.
- GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA (ed.) : *Jñānalakṣaṇāvicāraḥasyam of śrī Harirāma Tarkavāgiṣa, with the commentary of Vimarśiṇi by Anantakumar Bhattacharyya*. (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. III. Texts, No. 2.) [vii], xiv, 121 pp. Calcutta : Sanskrit College, 1958. Rs. 9, 15s.
- WERNER BURMEISTER (ed.) : *Democratic institutions in the world today. Published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs*. (The Library of World Affairs, No. 38.) x, 157 pp. London : Stevens & Sons, Ltd., 1958. 17s. 6d.
- A. A. CENSE and E. M. UHLENBECK : *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Bibliographical Series, 2.) [iv], 82 pp., plate, map. 's-Gravenhage : Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Guilders 5.50.
- R. K. CHOUDHARY : *Bihar : the homeland of Buddhism*. [vi], ii, 154 pp. Patna : Sri Siddhartha Press, 1956. Rs. 4.
- A. E. COOPE : *A guide to Malay conversation. Revised and enlarged fourth edition*. [vi], vi, 132 pp. Singapore : Marican & Sons, 1958.
- DAVID COWAN : *An introduction to modern literary Arabic*. xi, 205 pp. Cambridge : University Press, 1958. 35s.
- O. G. S. CRAWFORD (ed.) : *Ethiopian itineraries circa 1400-1524, including those collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the years 1519-24*. (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series, No. cix.) xxix, 232 pp., front., plate, 2 maps. Cambridge : University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1958. 30s.
- ĀSUTOṢ DĀS (ed.) : *Dvij Rāmādev : Abhayāmaṅgal*. lxxxvi, 472 pp. Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1957. Rs. 7.
- SHASHI BHUSAN DASGUPTA : *Aspects of Indian religious thought*. [iii], v, 247 pp. Calcutta : A. Mukherjee & Co., Private Ltd., 1957. Rs. 5.

- SUSHIL KUMAR DE (ed.): *The Megha-dūta of Kālidāsa. With a general introduction by S. Radhakrishnan.* [ii], 32, [i], xxxiii, 35-115 pp. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1957.
- ISAAC O. DELANQ: *Atimō ede Yoruba.* lxviii, 209 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 12s. 6d.
- A dictionary of the Sinhalese language, begun by the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, and continued by the University of Ceylon. Vol. I, Part 7. xli, 267-314 pp. Colombo: University of Ceylon Press Board, 1957. Rs. 2.50.
- J. DUOHESNE-GUILLEMIN: *The Western response to Zoroaster.* (Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, 1956.) vii, 112 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 25s.
- C. J. DUNN and S. YANADA: *Teach yourself Japanese.* (The Teach Yourself Books.) vii, 310 pp., table. London: English Universities Press Ltd., 1958. 10s. 6d.
- J. D. FAGE: *An atlas of African history.* 64 pp. [London]: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1958. 30s.
- ALFONSA FERRARI (ed. and tr.): *mK'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of central Tibet. Completed and edited by Luciano Petech, with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson.* (Serie Orientale Roma, xvi.) xxiii, 202 pp., 53 photos., 3 maps. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 4500.
- L. FINOT (ed.): *Rāṣṭrapālāparīpṛcchā: sūtra du Mahāyāna.* (Indo-Iranian Reprints, II.) [ii], xviii, 77 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Booksellers. 16s.)
- H. A. R. GIBB (tr.): *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354, translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti. Vol. I.* (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society. Second Series, No. cx.) xvii, 269 pp., front., 2 maps. Cambridge: University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1958. 30s.
- S. D. GOITEIN and A. BEN SHEMESH: *Muslim law in Israel. An introduction to Muslim law, by S. D. Goitein: Basic principles and laws, by A. Ben Shemesh.* (Faculty of Law of the Hebrew University. Legal Studies, No. 3.) xv, 311, [iii] pp. Jerusalem: Mi'āl Hashichpul and Gvilim Publishing Co. Ltd., 1957.
- J. H. GROBLER: *Africa's destiny.* 207 pp. Johannesburg: Book of the Month Club, 1958.
- J. D. HARGREAVES: *A life of Sir Samuel Lewis.* (West African History Series.) xii, 112 pp., front., plate. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 6s.
- R. C. HAZRA: *Studies in the Upapurāṇas. Vol. I (Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas).* (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. II. Studies, No. 1.) [iv], xiii, 398 pp. Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1958. Rs. 25, 42s.
- H. R. VAN HEKKEREN: *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia.* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel xxii.) [vii], 108 pp., 34 + 25 plates. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Guilders 15.
- WALTHER HEISIG and CHARLES R. BAWDEN (ed.): *Mongγol borǰigid oboy-un teike von Lomi (1732)—Meng-ku shih-hsi-p'u.* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 9.) vii, 133 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957. DM. 14.
- A. R. HEWITT: *Guide to resources for Commonwealth studies in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, with bibliographical and other information.* viii, 219 pp. London: University of London, The Athlone Press for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1957. 21s.

- C. EDWARD HOPEN : *The pastoral Fulbe family in Gwandu*. xiii, 165 pp., 4 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1958. 30s.
- HUANG SUNG-K'ANG : *Lu Hsin and the New Culture Movement of modern China*. x, 158 pp. Amsterdam : Djambatan, 1957. Guilders 13.
- FARID JABRE : *La notion de la ma'rifa chez Ghazali*. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tom. VIII.) 207 pp. [Beyrouth] : Éditions Les Lettres Orientales, 1958.
- E. O. JAMES : *Myth and ritual in the ancient Near East : an archaeological and documentary study*. 352 pp., table. London : Thames and Hudson, 1958. 35s.
- F. C. JONES : *Hokkaido : its present state of development and future prospects*. viii, 146 pp., 2 maps [on endpapers]. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1958. 21s.
- K. M. KAPADIA : *Marriage and family in India. Second edition*. xxxii, 318 pp. Bombay : Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1958. 27s. 6d.
- A. H. M. KIRK-GREEN : *Adamawa past and present : an historical approach to the development of a Northern Cameroons Province*. ix, 230 pp., map. London, etc. : Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1958. 35s.
- D. D. KOSAMBI and V. V. GOKHALE (ed.) : *The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa, compiled by Vidyākara*. (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 42.) cxxi, 341 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1957. \$6.
- JACQUES NUMA LAMBERT : *Aspects de la civilisation à l'âge patriarcat : étude d'histoire juridique et religieuse comparée*. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Économiques de l'Université d'Alger, Vol. XXVIII.) 169 pp. Alger : Imprimerie Charry, 1958.
- JEAN-PIERRE DE MENASCE : *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne : le Dēnkart. Quatre conférences données à l'Université de Paris sous les auspices de la fondation Ratanbai Katrak*. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences Religieuses, Vol. LXIX.) [iv], 117 pp. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1958. Fr. 800.
- G. B. MILNER : *Fijian grammar*. [ii], vii, 150 pp. Suva : Government Press, [1956]. 10s.
- RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE : *The dynamics of a rural society : a study of the economic structure in Bengal villages*. x, 134 pp. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1957. DM.12.70.
- PAUL NWYIA (ed.) : *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (1333-1390) : Lettres de direction spirituelle (Ar-rasā'il aṣ-ṣugrā). Texte arabe*. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tom. VII.) 15, 144, [x] pp. [Beyrouth] : Imprimerie Catholique, 1958.
- JACQUELINE PIRENNE : *À la découverte de l'Arabie : cinq siècles de science et d'aventure*. (L'Aventure du Passé.) 328 pp., 16 plates. [Paris] : Le Livre Contemporain, [1958].
- J. J. POORTMAN : *Ochēma : geschiedenis en zin van het hylisch pluralisme (het z.g. dualistisch materialisme)*. II. *Het hylisch pluralisme in het oosterse denken*. 171 pp., front., 3 plates. Assen : van Gorcum & Co. N.V., 1958. Guilders 8.50.
- PUNYAVIJAYAJI (ed.) : *Angavijjā (science of divination through physical signs & symbols)*. (Prakrit Text Society Series, No. 1.) [iv], viii, 94, 372 pp., front., 4 plates. Banaras : Prakrit Text Society, 1957. (Distributed by Motilal Banarasidass, Banaras. Rs. 21.)

- S. RADHAKRISHNAN and others (ed.): *Felicitation volume presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belwalkar. Edited by S. Radhakrishnan, V. V. Mirashi, R. N. Dandekar, S. K. De, V. Raghavan, A. S. Altekar.* xxxv, 321 pp., front., 3 plates. Banaras: Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1957.
- ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL: *Political thought in medieval Islam: an introductory outline.* xi, 324 pp. Cambridge: University Press, 1958. 35s.
- WERNER RÜDENBERG: *Chinesisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. Dritte erweiterte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage von Hans O. H. Stange. 1. Lief.* Cover-title, 192 pp. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 26.
- ZAKI SALEH: *Mesopotamia (Iraq) 1600-1914: a study in British foreign affairs.* [ii], 317 pp. Baghdad: Al-Ma'arif Press, 1957. (Obtainable from Luzac. 20s.)
- B. SCHINDLER (ed.): *Gaster centenary publication.* viii, 40 pp., front. London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd. for the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1958. 10s. 6d.
- HANNS-PETER SCHMIDT: *Vedisch vrātā und awestisch urvātā.* (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, hrsg. vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg, 9.) 167 pp. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1958. DM. 25.
- SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES: *The Far East and South-East Asia: a cumulated list of periodical articles, May 1956-April 1957.* xiii, 123 pp. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, [1958]. [Distributed by the Library of the School.] 17s. 6d.
- S. P. SEN: *The French in India, 1763-1816.* xvii, 621 pp. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958. Rs. 25, 50s.
- LILIANE SILBURN (ed. and tr.): *Le Paramārthasāra.* (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. Série in-8°, Fasc. 5.) 105 pp. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957.
- J. S. SPEYER (ed.): *Avadānaśataka: a century of edifying tales belonging to the Hinayāna.* (Indo-Iranian Reprints, III.) xx, cx, 388, 238 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958. (Distributed in G.B. by International University Book-sellers. £4 14s.)
- State of the Union: economic, financial and statistical year-book for the Union of South Africa, 1958.* 452, 7 pp. Cape Town: Culemborg Publishers, [1958].
- 'ABDALLAH AL-TAYYIB: *Zalwaj al-samar: qizsa shi'riyya . . .* [Part I.] 132 pp. Khartūm: Matba'a Miṣr, [1377/1958].
- ARNOLD TOYNBEE: *Christianity among the religions of the world.* (Hewett Lectures, 1955.) xii, 116 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 8s. 6d.
- L. A. TREGENZA: *Egyptian years.* xx, 198 pp., front., 8 plates. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1958. 25s.
- K. G. TREGONNING: *Under Chartered Company rule (North Borneo, 1881-1946).* ix, 250 pp., front., 2 plates. Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1958. (Distributed by Oxford University Press, 30s.)
- KITA TSOHENKÉLI: *Einführung in die georgische Sprache.* 2 vols.: [i], lxxv, 628 pp. + errata sheet; x, 614 pp. + errata sheet. Zurich: Amirani Verlag, 1958. Sw. fr. 70.45.
- GIUSEPPE TUCCI: *Minor Buddhist texts. Part II. First Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla: Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with introduction and English summary.* (Serie Orientale Roma, IX, 2.) xi, 289 pp. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958. L. 6000.

- K. M. VARMA : *Nāṭya, nr̥tṭa and nr̥tṭya : their meaning and relation*. xiii, 86 pp. Calcutta, etc. : Orient Longmans, 1957. Rs. 3.
- JAKOB WACKERNAGEL : *Altindische Grammatik. Introduction générale. Nouvelle édition du texte paru en 1896, au tome I par Louis Renou*. v, 125 pp. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957. DM. 18.
- JAKOB WACKERNAGEL : *Altindische Grammatik. Nachträge zu Bd. I von Albert Debrunner*. iv, 194 pp. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957. DM. 28.
- ERNST WALDSCHMIDT (ed.) : *Das Catuṣpariśatsūtra : eine kennische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde*. . . . Teil I—Teil II. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrg. 1952, Nr. 2 ; Jahrg. 1956, Nr. 1.) 67 pp. ; 69–217 pp. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1952, 1957. DM. 10.30, 19.50.
- BURTON WATSON : *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, grand historian of China*. xi, 276 pp. New York : Columbia University Press ; London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 40s.
- W. H. WHITELEY : *A short description of item categories in Iroquo (with material on Gorowa, Alagwa and Burunge)*. (East African Linguistic Studies, No. 3.) [iv], 75 pp. Kampala : East African Institute of Social Research, 1958. 15s. (Distributed outside E. Africa by Kegan Paul.)
- D. J. WIJAYARATNE : *History of the Sinhalese noun : a morphological study based on inscriptions*. [ii], xxv, 217 pp. Colombo : University of Ceylon Press Board, 1956.
- WILLIAM WILLETTTS : *Chinese art*. (Pelican Books, A 358, 359) 2 vols. : xxxv, 392 pp. ; vi, 393–802 pp. ; 64 plates, map. Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1958. 15s.
- WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS : *America and the Middle East : open door imperialism or enlightened leadership?* (Source Problems in World Civilization.) v, 58 pp. New York : Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1958. \$0.75.
- SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT : *An unabridged English-Malay dictionary*. 398 pp. Singapore : Marican & Sons, 1958.
- FREDA WOLFSON (comp.) : *Pageant of Ghana*. (West African History Series.) xvi, 266 pp., col. front., 8 plates. London, etc. : Oxford University Press, 1958. 30s.
- JOHN YOUNG : *The location of Yamatai : a case study in Japanese historiography, 720–1945*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, No. 2, 1957.) 205 pp., 4 facsimis. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. \$3.50.
- ANANIASZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI (ed.) : *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husn u Širîn Qutba. Część I. Tekst*. (Prace Orientalistyczne, Tom VI.) 304 pp., 11 plates. Warszawa : Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, 1958. Z. 31.